



# CIVIL WAR FLAGS OF TENNESSEE

Stephen D. Cox

*Principal Author and Editor-In-Chief*



*Civil War Flags of Tennessee*



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TENNESSEE STATE MUSEUM

*Nashville, Tennessee*

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*Frontispiece:* Detail from the canton of the Confederate First National flag made for the Lebanon Greys, later Company H of the 7th Tennessee Infantry Regiment, featuring the seal of the State of Tennessee. Tennessee State Museum, Accession Number 82.59.



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*In Honor of Sheila Morris Greene*  
(February 20, 1959–December 6, 2002)



Sheila Morris (later Greene), attired in period costume while attending a Civil War re-enactment event as a member of the Ladies' Soldiers' Friend Society, about 1990. Photographic Archives, Tennessee State Museum.

This book on Tennessee's Civil War flags is a tribute to the life and dedication of Sheila Morris Greene, without whose inspirational work and initiative it would likely not exist.

Sheila came to the Collections Department of the Tennessee State Museum in the early 1990s, bringing with her a zeal and tireless commitment to the institution that was infectious. Within a few years she was named curator of costumes and textiles, and she set forth on a mission to bring from obscurity and neglect some of the most important jewels in the institution's collection: its Civil War flags.

Through her tireless and determined efforts, these flags were brought out from the back recesses of the museum, and for the first time they began to be appropriately housed in custom-built storage units. Through her, they were also properly documented, catalogued, and preserved for future generations by professional conservators.

This work at the State Museum led Sheila to seek out flags from all over the country. She also consulted with many colleagues, including Howard Madaus, whose 1976 book on the battle flags of the Army of Tennessee was groundbreaking and inspirational. Sheila realized that there was a very important story yet to be told and a need to create a book encompassing all of the flags under which Tennesseans served—highlighting those banners that survived and documenting those that apparently had ceased to exist.

She embarked on this effort with her characteristic enthusiasm, gathering grant funds, enlisting interns, compiling files, assembling photographs, securing essays from recognized authorities, and negotiating with The University of Tennessee Press as a publisher. It was an enterprise that would have proved daunting to most. But it was not to Sheila. It all seemed to be coming together, until dark fate stepped in.

In January 2002, Sheila was diagnosed with cancer and by December, she was gone. But her work, both finished and unfinished, remained as a legacy, an inspiration, and a challenge. There were many, like State Representative Steve McDaniel, who realized that this book about Tennessee's Civil War flags was one of those challenges, and it had to be completed.

It has taken several years and involved earnest work on the part of many, but the book is now a reality. It is a gift to future generations, a testament to the heritage of Tennessee, and a tribute to Sheila Morris Greene.

Dan E. Pomeroy  
Chief Curator and Director of Collections  
Tennessee State Museum

## Contents

Foreword	xv
Preface	xvii
Acknowledgments	xix
Contributors	xxiii
Abbreviations	xxv
SECTION I. ESSAYS	1
<i>Part 1. Tennessee and Its Flags During the Civil War</i>	3
For the Defense of Our Rights: Tennessee's Civil War	5
A Symbol for the Nation	9
"Forward the Colors": The Evolution and Importance of Military Flags as Devices of Command and Control in the Civil War	11
For Prompt Delivery: Government Issue Flags	14
<i>Part 2. Tennessee's Confederate Flags and Their Makers</i>	21
A Most Pleasing Form: Patterns and Styles	23
Confederate Depots and Major Flag Patterns	26
Presented by the Ladies: Flags from the Home Front	32
Tennessee's Confederate Flag Makers	37
Flag Makers in Other States Who Made Tennessee Confederate Flags	47
<i>Part 3. Tennessee's Union Flags and Their Makers</i>	55
A Divided State: The Union Flag in Tennessee During the Civil War	57
Union Quartermaster Depots and Major Union Flag Patterns	59
Flag Makers for Tennessee's Union Troops	61

<i>Part 4. "Forward the Colors": Tennessee's Flag Bearers</i>	71	14th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	216
The Role of the Flag Bearer	73	15th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	229
Tennessee's Color Bearers	74	16th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	233
		17th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	241
<i>Part 5. Tennessee's Civil War Flags Today and Their Preservation for the Future</i>	79	18th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	245
Surviving the Ages:		19th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	256
The Fate of Tennessee's Civil War Flags, 1861–2017	81	20th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	262
The Evolution of Flag Conservation:		21st Tennessee Infantry Regiment	270
A Look at Where We Are Today and How We Got There	85	22nd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	274
Civil War Flag Preservation at the Tennessee State Museum	89	23rd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	276
		24th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	279
		25th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	285
SECTION II.		26th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	290
TENNESSEE'S CONFEDERATE FLAGS CATALOGUE	93	27th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	299
<i>Part 1. Infantry Flags</i>	95	28th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	302
<i>Battalions</i>	97	29th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	304
Crews's Tennessee Infantry Battalion	97	30th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	309
1st Tennessee Infantry Battalion (Colms)	97	31st Tennessee Infantry Regiment (A. H. Bradford)	313
3rd (Memphis) Tennessee Infantry Battalion	98	32nd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	316
23rd Tennessee Infantry Battalion	100	33rd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	322
24th Tennessee Sharpshooter Battalion	102	34th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	324
<i>Regiments</i>	104	35th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	327
1st Tennessee Confederate Infantry Regiment (Turney)	104	36th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	328
1st Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Maney/Feild)	114	37th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	330
2nd Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Bate)	133	38th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	334
2nd Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Walker)	139	39th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	337
3rd Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Brown)	141	40th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	338
3rd Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Vaughn), Provisional Army of the Confederate States	149	41st Tennessee Infantry Regiment	338
4th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Neely)	151	42nd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	342
5th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	158	43rd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	343
5th Confederate Infantry Regiment	163	44th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	347
6th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	166	45th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	352
7th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	171	46th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	354
8th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	180	47th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	355
9th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	185	48th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Nixon)	357
10th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	193	48th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Voorhies)	358
11th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	199	49th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	360
12th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	207	50th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	363
13th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	210	51st Tennessee Infantry Regiment	367

52nd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	369	<i>Regiments</i>	427
53rd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	371	1st Kentucky Cavalry Regiment (Helm)	427
54th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	372	1st Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Carter)	427
55th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Brown)	373	1st Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Rogers)	428
55th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (McKoin)	374	2nd Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Ashby)	431
59th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	375	3rd Tennessee Cavalry Regiment	432
60th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	376	4th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Murray)	438
61st Tennessee Infantry Regiment	377	4th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Starnes–McLemore)	438
62nd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	378	5th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (McKenzie)	439
63rd Tennessee Infantry Regiment	380	6th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Wheeler)	441
154th Senior Tennessee Infantry Regiment	385	7th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Jackson, Stocks, Duckworth)	442
Unidentified Regiment (Tennessee Campaign Flag)	397	8th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Baxter Smith)	444
Unidentified Regiment	397	9th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment	450
Unidentified Regiment	398	11th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Holman)	451
Unidentified Regiment	399	12th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Richardson–Green)	453
Unidentified Company	400	13th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Dibrell)	456
Unidentified Regiment (“Patterning” Flag)	401	14th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Neely)	457
		15th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Stewart–Logwood)	458
<i>Part 2. Cavalry Flags</i>	405	19th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Biffle)	459
<i>Companies</i>	407	20th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Russell)	460
Forrest’s Escort Companies	407	21st Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Wilson)	460
Forrest Escort Company No. 1	407	22nd Tennessee Cavalry Regiment (Bartean)	461
Forrest Escort Company No. 2	408	Unidentified Regiment in General Tyree H. Bell’s Cavalry Brigade	464
Orleans Light Horse Company	409	Unidentified Regiment in General George Dibrell’s Brigade	466
Harvey Scouts	409	Unidentified Regiment, Forrest’s Cavalry Corps	466
Company H, 11th Alabama Cavalry Battalion and 3rd Confederate Cavalry Regiment	412	<i>Part 3. Artillery Flags</i>	469
<i>Battalions</i>	413	<i>Companies</i>	471
Dawson’s Battalion, Tennessee Partisan Rangers	413	Captain P. W. Bibb’s Tennessee Artillery Battery	471
McDonald’s Cavalry Battalion	414	Captain Samuel Freeman’s Battery	471
1st Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (McNairy)	414	Captain James Hamilton’s Tennessee Heavy Artillery Company	472
3rd Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (Brazelton)	415	Captain Gustave Huwald’s Battery, Horse Artillery	472
4th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (Branner)	418	Captain W. C. Kain’s Tennessee Light Artillery Company	473
5th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (McClellan)	420	Captain John Peyton Lynch’s Tennessee Artillery Company	473
6th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (Logwood)	421	Captain W. R. Marshall’s Tennessee Light Artillery Company	474
9th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (Gantt)	422	Captain Hugh L. W. McClung’s Tennessee Light Artillery Company	475
12th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion (Day)	425	Captain John W. Morton’s Tennessee Light Artillery Company	476
26th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion	426	Captain J. W. Phillips’s Tennessee Light Artillery Company	478
		Captain Arthur M. Rutledge’s Tennessee Light Artillery Battery	479

Captain William L. Scott's Tennessee Light Artillery Company	480	<i>Part 5. Naval Flags</i>	497
Unidentified Tennessee Artillery Company	481	The First Battle of Memphis	499
<i>Regiments</i>	481	CSS Colonel Lovell	499
1st Tennessee Heavy Artillery Regiment	481	CSS General Beauregard	500
<i>Corps</i>	484	CSS General Bragg	500
Artillery Corps of Tennessee	484	CSS General Earl Van Dorn	501
		CSS General M. Jeff Thompson	502
<i>Part 4. Company Flags Not Associated with Regiments</i>	485	CSS General Sterling Price	502
Chattanooga and Hamilton County	487	CSS General Sumter	503
Boys Company	487	CSS Little Rebel	504
Hamilton County Volunteers	487	Other Confederate Naval Vessels	505
Columbia and Maury County	488	Steamboat <i>Commercial</i>	505
Maury Guard	488	CSS <i>Nashville</i>	505
Union Guards	488	CSS <i>Tennessee</i>	506
Jackson and Madison County	488		
Independent Southern Guards	488	<i>Part 6. Garrison Flags</i>	509
Southern Rights Guards	489	Fort Donelson	511
Lebanon and Wilson County	489	Fort Henry	511
Cedar Cadets	489	Lavergne, Tennessee	512
Wilson Invincibles	489	Fort Pickering, Memphis, Tennessee	513
Wilson County Home Guards	490	Fort Pillow, Lauderdale County, Tennessee	513
Memphis and Shelby County	491		
Bluff City Home Guards	491	<i>Part 7. Headquarters Flags</i>	515
Captain Benson's Company	491	Army of Northern Virginia	517
Farnsworth Guards	491	General William McComb's Brigade of General A. P. Hill's Corps	517
Garde Civile	491	Army of Tennessee	518
The Defiants	492	General Thomas C. Hindman's Corps	519
Tyler Grays	493	General Benjamin F. Cheatham's Division	
Morristown and Hamblen County	493	of General William J. Hardee's Corps	520
Unidentified Company	493	General John Adams's Brigade	
Murfreesboro and Rutherford County	493	of General Alexander P. Stewart's Corps	521
Breckenridge Old Guard	493	General William A. Quarles's Brigade	
Nashville and Davidson County	494	of General Alexander P. Stewart's Corps	522
Bell Highlanders Home Guard	494	General George Dibrell's Brigade	
Capitol Hill Fire Company	494	of General Joseph Wheeler's Cavalry Corps	522
8th Ward Home Guards	494	District of East Tennessee	523
11th District Home Guards	495	General Felix Zollicoffer's Brigade	523
Tennessee Invincibles	495		

<i>Part 8. Truce Flags</i>	525	Banner of the Leonidas Polk Bivouac No. 3, A.C.S.T.D., Columbia, Tennessee	553
General Albert Sidney Johnston Flag of Truce	527		
Memphis Truce Flag	528	Banner of the Joseph B. Palmer Bivouac No. 10, A.C.S.T.D., Murfreesboro, Tennessee	554
Vicksburg Flag of Truce	528	Banner of the George G. Dibrell Bivouac No. 12, A.C.S.T.D., Lewisburg, Tennessee	554
<i>Part 9. Non-Military Flags</i>	531	Banner of the James E. Rains Bivouac No. 14, A.C.S.T.D., Dickson, Tennessee	555
Clarksville and Montgomery County	533		
Montgomery County Courthouse	533	United Confederate Veterans (U.C.V.)	556
Columbia and Maury County	534	Troop A, Forrest Cavalry Camp 4, United Confederate Veterans	556
Public and Private Non-Military Flags	534	Captain John W. Morton's Battery, Forrest Cavalry Corps	557
Confederate Flag Fabric in a Quilt	534	General J. W. Starnes Camp 134, United Confederate Veterans, Franklin, Tennessee	558
Dixon Springs and Smith County	535	McEwen Rifles, Franklin, Tennessee	559
Georgie W. Alexander's Personal Flag	535		
Franklin and Williamson County	536	United Daughters of the Confederacy	559
Gaut House Flag	536	Membership Banner of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Tennessee Division	560
Manchester and Coffee County	537	Flag of General Patrick Cleburne Chapter 14, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Franklin, Tennessee	560
Personal Flag of Mrs. E. N. Marcell	537		
Memphis and Shelby County	537	Flag Donated to Chapter 91, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Murfreesboro, Tennessee	561
<i>The Memphis Daily Appeal</i> Flag	537		
Memphis Public Square Flag	538	Banner from Confederate Memorial Hall, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville	561
Murfreesboro and Rutherford County	540	Sons of Confederate Veterans (S.C.V.)	562
Personal Flag of Martha "Mattie" (Ready) Morgan	540		
Rutherford County Courthouse Flag	540	Individual Postwar Flags	562
Nashville and Davidson County	542	Postwar Flag of the 7th Tennessee Infantry Regiment	562
Tennessee State Capitol Flag	542	Personal Flag of General Mark Perrin Lowery	563
Tennessee General Assembly Flag	543	Franklin Family Flag	564
Mary (Vannoy) Dahlgren Flag	543		
Personal Flag of Penelope Brunson	544		
Personal Flag of Henrietta Clark Cheney	545		
Springfield and Robertson County	546		
Confederate Flag Fabric in a Quilt	546		
<i>Part 10. Pre-Secession Flags</i>	547		
Pre-Secession Flag	549		
2nd Division, Tennessee State Militia	549		
<i>Part 11. Postwar Flags</i>	551		
Association of Confederate Soldiers, Tennessee Division (A.C.S.T.D.)	553		
		SECTION III.	
		TENNESSEE'S UNION FLAGS CATALOGUE	565
		<i>Part 1. Union Flags Presented in Tennessee</i>	567
		Cogswell's Independent Battery, 1st Illinois Light Artillery	569
		47th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment	570
		8th Iowa Volunteer Infantry Regiment	571
		Army of the Ohio Engineers	572
		10th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment	573
		11th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment	574
		59th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment	576
		74th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment	577
		99th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment	578

<i>Part 2. Garrison Flags</i>	581	Unidentified Company	640
Fort Cleveland, Nashville	583	East Tennessee "Bridge-Burners"	641
Fort Gillem, Nashville	583		
Fort Andrew Johnson (Tennessee State Capitol), Nashville	584	<i>Part 5. Artillery Flags</i>	643
Regimental National Flag of the 6th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment	584	<i>Battalions</i>	645
Captain William Driver's Flags	585	1st Tennessee Light Artillery Battalion	645
Fort Pillow, Lauderdale County	587	<i>Part 6. Militia Flags</i>	647
<i>Part 3. Infantry Flags</i>	589	2nd Tennessee Infantry Volunteers	649
<i>Regiments</i>	591	2nd Tennessee Regiment, Enrolled Militia	649
1st Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment	591	<i>Part 7. Quartermaster and Commissary Flags</i>	651
2nd Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment	592	United States Army Quartermaster Forces Raised in Nashville	653
3rd Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment	595	Nashville Quartermaster Depot, Franklin Road Shops	654
4th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment	597	1st Regiment Quartermaster Forces, Nashville	654
5th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment	598	2nd Regiment Quartermaster Forces, Nashville	656
6th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment	599	3rd Regiment Quartermaster Forces, Nashville	657
7th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Clift)	600	4th Regiment Quartermaster Forces, Nashville	658
8th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment	602	5th Regiment Quartermaster Forces, Nashville	659
10th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment	606	6th Regiment Quartermaster Forces, Nashville	660
<i>Part 4. Cavalry Flags</i>	609	7th Regiment Quartermaster Forces, Nashville	662
<i>Regiments</i>	611	8th Regiment Quartermaster Forces, Nashville	663
1st Alabama and Tennessee Vidette Cavalry Regiment	611	Commissary Regiment, Nashville Depot	664
1st Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	611	<i>Part 8. United States Colored Troops (U.S.C.T.) Flags</i>	667
2nd Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	616	12th United States Colored Infantry Regiment	669
3rd Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	617	13th United States Colored Infantry Regiment	671
4th Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	620	14th United States Colored Infantry Regiment	674
5th Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	624	40th United States Colored Infantry Regiment	676
6th Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	629	44th United States Colored Infantry Regiment	677
7th Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	631	59th United States Colored Infantry Regiment	678
8th Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	632	61st United States Colored Infantry Regiment	680
9th Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	634	<i>Part 9. Truce Flags</i>	683
11th Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	635	Battle of Memphis, June 6, 1862	685
13th Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	636	<i>Part 10. Non-Military Flags</i>	687
14th Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry Regiment	637	Blount County	689
<i>Companies</i>	639	The Home Guards of Blount County	689
Unidentified Company	639	United States Flag at Walland, Blount County, Tennessee	690
Unidentified Company	640		

Sevier County	690	United States Flag Presented to the Memphis Union Club	706
Flag Presented at Sevierville, Tennessee	690	United States Flags at the Memphis Anniversary Celebration	707
Loudon County	691	United States Flag at the Memphis Overton Hospital	708
Loudon County, Tennessee, Personal Flag	691	United States Christian Commission Flag at Memphis	709
Knox County	691	Antebellum Non-Military Flags	709
United States Flag Raised at Knoxville in February 1861	691	Antebellum Pro-Union Banner	709
United States Flag Raised at Knoxville in May 1861	692	Non-Military Recruiting Flags	710
Susan Brownlow Sawyers's Flag	692	United States Recruiting Flag	710
Flag Captured from Unionists Near Knoxville	694	Political Banners	710
United States Flags in Knoxville and East Tennessee	694	Lincoln and Johnson Campaign Banner	710
Bradley County	695		
Samuel Burton Flag, Bradley County, Tennessee	695	<i>Part 11. Postwar Flags</i>	713
United States Flag Raised in Cleveland, Tennessee	696	Isaac R. Hawkins Post 56, Grand Army of the Republic	715
Hamilton County	696	James Ross Post 79, Grand Army of the Republic	715
United States Flag Raised at Lookout Mountain, Tennessee	696	Joseph A. Cooper Camp 32, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War	716
Davidson County	697	Prisoner of War Commemorative Flag	716
Hettie McEwen Flag, Nashville	697		
United States Flag Raised Over Nashville City Hall	697	<i>Appendix A. Confederate Flags for Other States Made by Tennessee Flag Makers</i>	717
United States Flag Flown Over Nashville	697	Missouri State Guard Flags Made in Memphis	717
Fenian Brotherhood Flags at Nashville	698	8th Texas Cavalry Regiment	718
United States Flag at the Tennessee State Capitol	699		
Abraham Lincoln Mourning Flags at Nashville	699	<i>Appendix B. Non-Tennessee Civil War Flags in the Tennessee State Museum Collection</i>	719
Rutherford County	700	7th Mississippi Infantry Regiment	719
United States Flag at Eagleville, Tennessee	700	15th Mississippi Sharpshooter Battalion	720
Wilson County	700	Unknown North Carolina Infantry Regiment	721
United States Flag at the Wilson County Courthouse, Lebanon, Tennessee	700	Unknown Regiment in Polk's Corps, Army of Tennessee	722
Maury County	701	CSS <i>Alabama</i>	723
Antoinette Polk Flag, Columbia, Tennessee	701	17th Indiana Volunteer Mounted Infantry Regiment	724
Bedford County	702	Desha's Company, 2nd Kentucky Infantry Battalion	725
United States Flags at Shelbyville, Tennessee	702		
Henry County	702	<i>Appendix C. Confederate Flags in the Tennessee State Museum Collection with No State Affiliation</i>	729
United States Flag Raised Over the Henry County Courthouse	702	Flag Captured by Colonel James J. Seibert at Murfreesboro, Tennessee	729
Shelby County	703	Unknown Confederate Regiment	730
United States Flag Raised Over the Memphis Post Office	703	Unidentified Regiment in Polk's Corps	731
United States Flag Raised Over Planters Bank at Memphis	704		
United States Flag at the Gayoso Hotel in Memphis	705	<i>Bibliography</i>	733
United States Flag Presented to <i>The Memphis Union Appeal</i>	705	<i>Subject Index</i>	771
United States Flag at the Memphis Navy Yard	706		
United States Flag at the Memphis Home of Dr. Snyder	706		



## *Foreword*

A complete history of Tennessee must include the period from 1861 to 1865— unquestionably the most tragic years in our nation’s heritage. This book, in particular, provides a special and unique opportunity for students of the Civil War. It allows them to see the flags that were inspiring symbols to the soldiers and civilians who sacrificed so much for what they believed.

The Tennessee General Assembly has provided strong and continuing support for this special project. Legislators clearly understand the importance of recording Tennessee’s past and making it available to citizens of this state. It is the responsibility of each generation to do its part in preserving the history of our ancestors.

Sheila Greene began this project when I was a new member of the House of Representatives. I had the good fortune to meet her around this time. She was one who sought out the long-forgotten flags and looked for every opportunity to make new discoveries. Tennessee’s Confederate and Union flags had found their way into public and private collections and were thought to be unavailable for public view. Sheila made certain that these banners were documented and photographed as historically important symbols of the state’s heritage.

One does not have to be a vexillologist to appreciate the beauty of these flags carried by Tennesseans. In our quickly changing world, it is extremely important for future generations to have the tools and information to understand the role of all citizens in this state. In some instances, this is reflected in the design of the flags from their generation. Flags can be a source of pride and patriotism.

This is a unique book, as there is no other publication like it in our country. Tennessee’s history is rich and sometimes controversial. It has been said that “history is history.” For one to understand Tennessee’s deep and colorful events, a publication such as this, based upon detailed research, is invaluable. The catalogue entries and images may help readers to appreciate the fact that this time in our past was important and should not be forgotten. Whether civilian or military, the people in this drama were citizens of Tennessee, representative of their time in history.

Steve McDaniel  
Representative  
Tennessee General Assembly



## *Preface*

The genesis of this book was a study proposed and initiated by Sheila Greene, former Curator of Costumes and Textiles at the Tennessee State Museum. In the late 1990s, Mrs. Greene, a colleague and friend, approached Dan E. Pomeroy, Director of Collections, with the idea of documenting the Civil War flags from Tennessee then located in the museum's collections. This study was quickly expanded to include all Civil War flags made for and used by Tennessee Confederate and Union forces between 1861 and 1865.

Mrs. Greene's study involved continuous communication with several vexillologists who had been involved in the study and identification of Civil War banners since the 1970s. Numerous letters and emails between Mrs. Greene, Howard Michael Madaus, Greg Biggs, Dr. Robert B. Bradley, Devereaux D. Cannon Jr., and Kenneth Legendre, then known as "The Flag Group," produced a wealth of first-generation documentation about extant and non-extant colors associated with Tennessee Civil War military units. At the time of her death, Mrs. Greene had already begun to write histories for many of the flags in the collections of the Tennessee State Museum, which have been incorporated into the catalogue entries in this book.

Mr. Pomeroy and Dr. Candace Adelson, upon the passing of Mrs. Greene, took up the torch and have continued the study and preservation of Tennessee's Civil War flags. The volume of documentation pertaining to extant and non-extant colors has been expanded tremendously through the dedicated efforts of Greg Biggs's ongoing research. The number of flags in the museum's collections has expanded to eighty-three, many of which have now undergone an intensive program of conservation assessment and treatment.

Two years after my retirement, I was asked to return to the museum to finish the work begun by Mrs. Greene. My assignment, which I readily accepted, was to pull together all texts written over the last fifteen years and intently review all documentation gathered principally by Mrs. Greene and Mr. Biggs. The goal was to write and edit text about all currently identified Civil War flags from or related to Tennessee. This book is the product of the dedication shown by the aforementioned professionals to document a portion of Tennessee's rich heritage as represented by its flags produced and used between 1861 and 1865.

The information contained within the pages of this book is not intended to be an end unto itself. This book is considered a first step toward consolidating documentation about Tennessee's Civil War flags. It is the hope of those who

have dedicated years of their professional careers to this study that future scholars of Tennessee history will use this book as a foundation for expanding our knowledge of the colors that guided Tennessee Confederate and Union troops across the many battlefields of the 1860s. There is still much work to be done. Hopefully there are many more flags to be found and most of them will find their way into the collections of the Tennessee State Museum for the benefit of future generations.

Stephen D. Cox  
Editor-in-Chief

## *Acknowledgments*

The preparation of this detailed catalogue of the Civil War flags of Tennessee, although a monumental undertaking, was not accomplished by one individual alone. Were it not for the initial inspiration and dedication of Sheila Greene, former Curator of Costumes and Textiles at the Tennessee State Museum, who departed from this earth too soon, none of those who followed in her footsteps would have had the same drive to see her work completed. Sheila, my promise to you in the waning moments of your life has now been joyfully fulfilled, and this work will hopefully provide a torch for those who follow us to carry on the research and preservation of Tennessee's heritage as represented in its Civil War flags.

This work was based upon years of intensive research about items of our material culture that represented the very commitments to causes that divided our nation in the 1860s. But at the same time, these flags unified and provided guiding leadership to the forces of the Union and the Confederacy as they met numerous times on America's battlefields during that time. The design, production, and use of the national and unit colors of both armies were constantly in flux, resulting in the creation of probably thousands of banners of many varied patterns. The research pertaining to when, where, and how each of these flags was created and by whom and when they were used has often been like a maze, only entered into by a few very dedicated and detail-oriented vexillologists. Were it not for the years of dedicated research by Howard Michael Madaus, Greg Biggs, Kenneth Legendre, Devereaux D. Cannon Jr., Robert B. Bradley, and of course, our own Sheila Greene, this publication would have not come together as the detailed reference work that it is today. Untold hours of research by these individuals, often referred to as "The Flag Group," as well as volumes of letters and emails between them, exist today at the Tennessee State Museum and form the very foundation upon which this publication was assembled.

But raw research materials must then be analyzed separately and together and then used to tell the many stories about these flags and the men who carried them and were guided by them in the horrendous combat that divided the American nation in the 1860s. The dedication of the men from the North and the South to their national and unit colors was always a basic element of every story, even to the present. These flags, while immediately perceived as pieces of fabric, were representative of human emotions displayed by the men, women, and children of all ages who created, carried, respected, and worshipped them during and after the war. Landmark publications such as *Tennesseans in the Civil*

*War*, produced by the Civil War Centennial Commission of Tennessee; *The War of the Rebellion*, assembled by the United States War Department; *The Battle Flags of the Confederate Army of Tennessee*, written by Howard Michael Madaus; and *The Flags of the Confederacy*, prepared by Devereaux D. Cannon Jr., provided inspiration, direction, and a wealth of established research to me and the other authors who wrote stories of the flags featured in this publication.

My unqualified gratitude is also offered to Dan Pomeroy, Robert B. Bradley, Greg Biggs, Kenneth Legendre, Rebecca Ansell Rose, Fonda Ghiardi Thomsen, Dr. Candace Adelson, and Paul Richard White, Jr., and the families of Howard Michael Madaus and Sheila Greene. Their essays and catalogue entries have provided the foundation upon which the stories surrounding each of Tennessee's Civil War flags, Union and Confederate, were based in this publication.

Knowledge about Tennessee's Civil War flags featured in this work would not today exist were it not for the loving and ongoing efforts of many individuals and organizations dedicated to preserving extant banners and documentation about these living and other still-undiscovered symbols of the state's history between 1861 and 1865. Many museum professionals, like Dr. Robert B. Bradley, now retired from of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, and Rebecca Ansell Rose, currently at the Virginia Historical Society and formerly with The Museum of the Confederacy (now The American Civil War Museum at Richmond), as well as Dan Pomeroy, Sheila Greene, Dr. Candace Adelson, and Bob White at the Tennessee State Museum, have dedicated large parts of their professional careers to the documentation and preservation of the Civil War flags. Merle Borne, a volunteer in the collections department at the Tennessee State Museum, dedicated many hours to the reorganization and inventory of documentary files relating to Tennessee's Civil War flags, created by former curator Sheila Greene, and made my labor of love as editor-in-chief and principal writer of this book much easier.

Individuals and organizations in the statewide community of Tennessee and throughout the nation have provided funding support to the Tennessee State Museum and other institutions for the conservation treatment of extant Tennessee Civil War flags. Individuals like Devereaux D. Cannon Jr. and Ronny Mangrum, and organizations like the Sons of Confederate Veterans, the Confederate Military Forces, the Society of the Order of the Southern Cross, and the North American Vexillological Association, have provided or raised thousands of dollars needed to make these flags available to future generations who will study the Civil War and its effects on this nation. Professional conservators, like Fonda Ghiardi Thomsen (retired), Cathy Heffner, and Donna Tissue of Textile Preservation Associates, Inc. and Shelley Reisman-Paine and Nichi Benson of the Tennessee State Museum, under the direction of Sheila Greene and Dr. Candace Adelson, have dedicated endless hours toward this effort to "Save Our Colors." Without their dedication, many of these flags would no longer be extant or available for study. And we must express our special gratitude here to the Tennessee State Museum Foundation and its accounting personnel, particularly Controller Ron Beaver, for facilitating all this work through its dedicated Civil War Artifact Conservation Fund.

In recognizing financial assistance for the preservation of extant flags and the publication of this work, I certainly would be remiss in not mentioning the long-standing support of the State of Tennessee and the Tennessee General Assembly. The late State Senator Douglas Henry and Representative Steve

McDaniel, scholars in their own right of the Civil War in Tennessee and leaders in memorializing the causes of the Confederacy, have been long-standing supporters of the Tennessee State Museum and the publication of this work. And of course, The Senator Douglas Henry State Museum Commission, guiding the Tennessee State Museum and its long-time executive director, Lois Riggins-Ezzell; current executive director, Ashley Howell; and deputy director and director of administration, Mary Jane Crockett-Green, have remained steadfast in their support for advancing and preserving the institution's flag collections. These collections have been presented to the public in three different facilities: first in the Tennessee War Memorial Building, then in the James K. Polk State Office Building, and now in the museum's new exhibit facility adjoining the Tennessee Bicentennial Capitol Mall State Park.

Tennessee's Civil War flags were created as visual focal points for the Union and Confederate troops who followed them. No publication such as this would therefore be complete in its presentation without the dedicated assistance of those who provide, maintain, and determine the most effective use of visual images of extant flags. I am therefore very grateful for the tireless efforts of State Photographer Jed Dekalb and his staff and June Dorman, a former volunteer at the Tennessee State Museum, who provided many of the images of flags featured in this book. A museum-wide team, including preparators Mark Haggitt (retired), Dan Justice, and Cheng Wu, helped organize photo shoots. The museum's late graphic designer, Marvin Stewart, worked with the images over the years, both for fundraising purposes and for the preparation of this volume. Many other images were found and provided through the research assistance of the staff at the Tennessee State Library and Archives. Kevin Smith, Brad Kavan, and Ed Dismukes, former and current registrarial staff at the museum, contributed to the cataloging and maintaining of these photographs. Jim Hoobler, Curator of the Tennessee State Capitol and a longtime colleague at the Tennessee State Museum, has again, as he has many times in the past, proven to be a wealth of knowledge about Civil War images. Thanks also go to the many other institutions and private collections which hold Tennessee Civil War flags for their aid in procuring images and their permission to publish them here.

Myers Brown of the Tennessee State Library and Archives has been called upon as a source of knowledge about Civil War cavalry units and their colors. And to Dr. Tim Mulligan, a true scholar of the actions of the Army of Northern Virginia during the American Civil War, I say thank you for your assistance in reviewing and editing the catalogue texts pertaining to the flags from that Confederate army. Ann Toplovich, Director of the Tennessee Historical Society, provided a first editing of the introductory essays.

No editor-in-chief can complete a publication of this magnitude without the scholarly and well-overqualified assistance of his editorial committee. To the Tennessee State Museum's Director of Collections, Dan Pomeroy; Senior Curator of Fashion and Textiles, Dr. Candace Adelson; and Curator of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Tennessee History, Paul Richard White, Jr., as well as Nancy Lee Andrews, contracted Publication Director for this project, I offer my undying gratitude for always being my right arm. Nancy, an internationally acclaimed photographer in her own right, also provided a sharp eye toward creating the most visually compelling impact in telling the story. And at the University of Tennessee Press, Scot Danforth, Thomas Wells, and their talented staff have expertly refined the manuscript and design and made the book shine.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my wife, Debra K. Cox, for always standing by me and giving me encouragement through the often-long hours in writing and editing this publication. Your perseverance and always realizing that this was a labor of love for me will, I hope, be rewarded by our pride in seeing it shared with the people of Tennessee and across the nation.

Stephen D. Cox  
Principal Author and Editor-in-Chief  
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and  
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## Abbreviations

The following are abbreviations used frequently throughout this work:

A.C.S.T.D.	Association of Confederate Soldiers, Tennessee Division
C.S.A. (and CSA)	Confederate States of America
CSS	Confederate States Ship
G.A.R. (and GAR)	Grand Army of the Republic
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no page
O. R.	United States War Department. <i>The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies</i> . Vols. I–CXXXVIII. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880–1910.
O.V.I.	Ohio Volunteer Infantry
O.V.V.I.	Ohio Valley Volunteer Infantry
S.C.V. (and SCV)	Sons of Confederate Veterans
THS	Tennessee Historical Society
TICW I	Civil War Centennial Commission of Tennessee. <i>Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel</i> . Vol. I. Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1964.
TICW II	Civil War Centennial Commission of Tennessee. <i>Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel</i> . Vol. II. Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1965.
U.C.V. (and UCV)	United Confederate Veterans
U.D.C. (and UDC)	United Daughters of the Confederacy
U.S.C.T.	United States Colored Troops
USS	United States Ship
WD	War Department (United States)



“Furl that Banner, softly, slowly!  
Treat it gently—it is holy.”

Excerpt from *The Conquered Banner*, written by Father Abram Joseph Ryan,  
the “Poet-Priest of the South,” while serving in the Catholic parish  
at Knoxville, Tennessee, and initially published in the *New York Freeman’s Journal*, June 24, 1865



SECTION I

Essays



PART ONE

Tennessee and Its Flags  
During the Civil War



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## FOR THE DEFENSE OF OUR RIGHTS: TENNESSEE'S CIVIL WAR

*Dan E. Pomeroy*

[Plate 1]

By the spring of 1861, Tennessee was awash with patriotism and pomp, as fresh-faced boys and eager young men flocked to join neighborhood military units. The impending war made life itself an exciting adventure, and these new soldiers did not doubt that they would return home as vindicated heroes. They likely feared only that the war would be over before they could capture their share of the glory. Long-winded politicians played to the courthouse crowds, delivering speeches extolling the virtues of patriotism and honor. Town squares across the state reverberated to the pumping cadence of martial music as a backdrop to flag presentations, chicken dinners, and flirtatious girls standing in admiration of the boys in their crisp new uniforms.

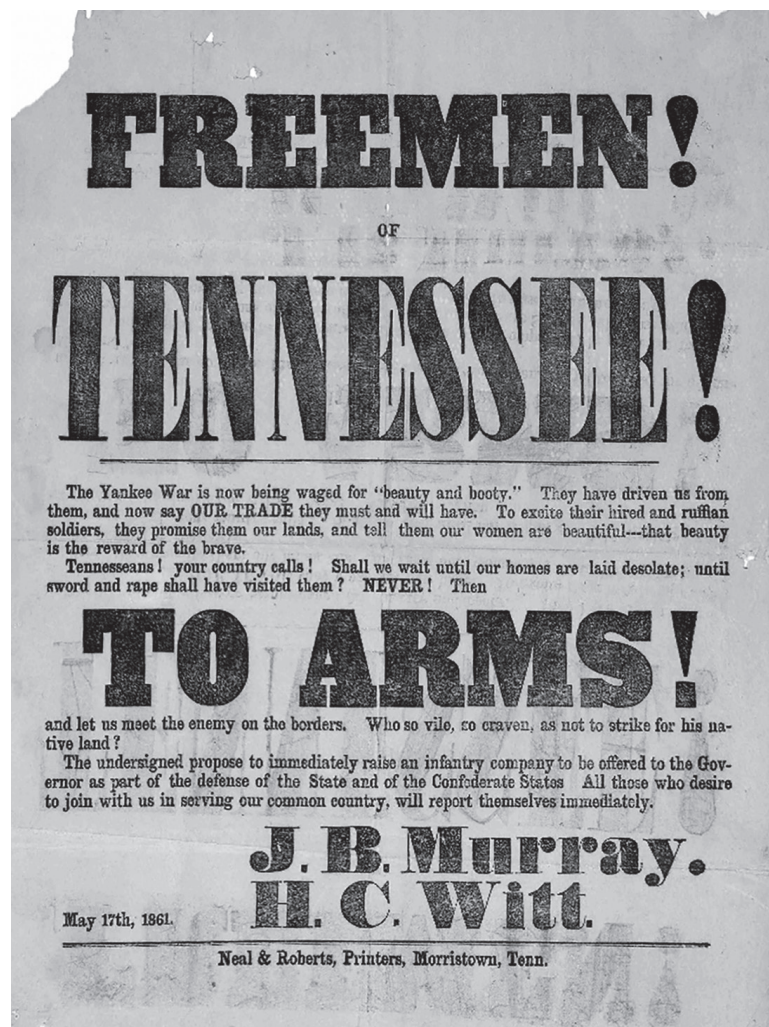


Fig. 1: Confederate recruiting poster from Morrystown, Tennessee, May 17, 1861, printed by Neal & Roberts. Library of Congress, Accession Number 022.00.00.

The rising enthusiasm of 1861 should have been leavened with anxiety and cooled by sobering reality. But it wasn't. And during the next four years, that reality, accompanied by the searing destruction of civil war, would devastate both Tennessee and Tennesseans.

The war had been ushered in by decades of sectional strife between the North and South until the presidential election of 1860 provided the final catalyst for conflict. The states of the Deep South began to withdraw from the Union in December, refusing to accept Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party.

Tennessee, balanced on the middle ground between the North and the Deep South, was reluctant to dissolve the Union, but equally reluctant to wage war to preserve it. When the issue of secession was presented to the public in a February 1861 referendum, almost 55 percent of the voters declared their intention to stay in the United States. But the vote was also a harbinger of future troubles. West Tennessee, having some counties with plantations and slavery, voted overwhelmingly for secession, while East Tennessee, a mountainous region with mostly small farms and few slaves, voted overwhelmingly for the Union. Middle Tennessee, with more balance among planter, yeoman, and industrial interests, tipped the scale in favor of the Union.

In February 1861, the states that had seceded from the Union met in Montgomery, Alabama, and formed the Confederate States of America. During the subsequent month, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as president of the United States, with still undisclosed plans to put down both the rebellion and the Confederacy it had spawned. In Charleston, South Carolina, the test of wills reached a flash point when Lincoln refused to abandon the federal property of Fort Sumter, and the Confederates, equally determined to assert their independence, opened fire on the bastion and forced its surrender. Lincoln now called on those states still in the Union to furnish troops to suppress the rebellion, inevitably furnishing a platform to those firebrands who were anxious to drive Tennessee and other border states into secession. Governor Isham Harris, whose strident response to Lincoln reflected the changing sentiment of many others, replied that "Tennessee will not furnish a single man for purposes of coercion, but 50,000 if necessary for the defense of our rights and those of our Southern brothers."<sup>1</sup>

Energized and emboldened, Governor Harris and his cohorts now moved quickly, calling the General Assembly into a special session, which on May 6 declared Tennessee's independence, authorized the mobilization of a state army, and the next day, formed a military alliance with the Confederacy. The declaration of independence was submitted to another public vote on June 8, and Tennessee's destiny was cast. The public voted overwhelmingly to support secession, with the greatest change in sentiment coming in Middle Tennessee. Most of East Tennessee, however, remained overwhelmingly supportive for the Union.

There were Tennesseans strongly committed to the cause of the Confederacy. In Franklin County, on the Alabama border, Southern partisans exasperated at the slow progress of state government made plans to secede from Tennessee. In May 1861, they organized a Confederate regiment, which was promptly sent off to fight in Virginia.

But a delegation of East Tennesseans, equally committed to maintaining the Union, convened in Greeneville ten days after the referendum and petitioned the legislature to allow them to separate from the remainder of the state. When their petition fell on deaf ears in Nashville, they began planning other means of

supporting the United States. Thousands joined the ranks of the Union Army, often at recruitment rallies in Upper East Tennessee. In November 1861, several railroad bridges were burned in an organized effort to disrupt Confederate supply lines. Four of the bridge burners were executed after summary trials, Upper East Tennessee was placed under martial law, and the Confederates began to treat the region as enemy territory. One beleaguered Confederate officer wrote that “the whole country is now in a state of rebellion.”<sup>2</sup>

Tennessee’s state army would not come under Confederate control until July 1861, and in the interim Governor Harris and his appointed state commander, Gideon Pillow, made desperate and often ill-advised preparations to defend the state. Pillow, a wealthy planter commissioned as a brigadier general during the Mexican War by his friend, President James K. Polk, proved to have poor command judgment and cost the South dearly. Governor Harris and General Pillow focused their attention on the Mississippi River, constructing forts designed to prevent Union gunboats from descending this watery highway. But they neglected the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, both of which cut like a knife into the heart of the state. They seemed lulled by a mistaken belief that Kentucky’s declaration of neutrality would protect Tennessee from a direct northern invasion. The Confederates finally removed Pillow from command and placed the defense of Tennessee and most of the Western theater into the hands of Albert Sidney Johnston, but by the time he arrived in September, he faced a daunting task.

Tennessee was well worth defending. Indeed, its retention was essential for the Southerners to entertain any thoughts of victory. With more than one million people, it was one of the most populous states in the Confederacy, and it was a manufacturing center for a variety of military goods, including artillery, swords, rifles, cartridges, gunpowder, and saddles. Tennessee also had the South’s finest deposits of iron ore and copper, and its abundant wheat, corn, pork, and horses were essential to feeding and supplying Southern armies. It was interconnected by several navigable rivers and traversed by twelve hundred miles of railroad. General Johnston, therefore, could not afford to lose it.

But events and reality would conspire against the Confederates. Kentucky’s neutrality was soon violated, and vast numbers of Union troops began pouring into the Bluegrass State. General Johnston had cobbled together a thin line of undermanned and ill-equipped forces stretching across the lengthy northern Tennessee border. But in January 1862, that line was ruptured at Mill Springs, Kentucky, when a Confederate force, under the command of a near-sighted, newspaperman-made-general named Felix Zollicoffer, attempted to block the Union advance. At the end of the day, the Southerners were defeated and General Zollicoffer lay dead. And the hopes of keeping the war out of Tennessee quickly came to an end.

The Confederate setback at Mill Springs was followed in the subsequent month by twin disasters at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson and the emergence of a hitherto unknown Union general named Ulysses S. Grant. Fort Henry, established to protect the Tennessee River, was lost more by Southern incompetence than by Grant’s prowess. But the result was the same. Oversight of its construction had been neglected by Governor Harris and General Pillow, and it had also been laid out on a flood plain. When the Union gunboats appeared in early February 1862, the fort was partially under water and incapable of being defended. Its fall meant that federal gunboats and troops could now advance up the muddy

Tennessee River, threatening both the middle and western portions of the state, as well as northern Alabama. Yet for the South, the worst was yet to come.

Fort Donelson was just a few miles away on the Cumberland River, and it was all that stood between Union forces and the capital city of Nashville, with its tons of Confederate stores and its arms factories. Grant wasted little time in attacking the fort, and it fell on February 16, resulting in the surrender of fifteen thousand Confederate soldiers. The South was shocked, and Nashville was thrown into panic. Stores were boarded up, military supplies were burned, lawlessness was rampant, and civilians clogged the roads and train depots trying to flee the city. Governor Harris and the remainder of the Confederate state government beat a hasty retreat to Memphis, but they would not remain there for very long.

Nashville was the first Southern capital to fall into Union hands. It was soon turned into a massive supply depot for the Union war machine in the west and became one of the most fortified cities in the world. Like the remainder of Union-occupied Tennessee, it would soon be governed by a resolute and uncompromising leader, as President Lincoln had appointed East Tennessean Andrew Johnson as military governor. Johnson had been Tennessee’s elected governor in the 1850s, and as a United States senator in 1861, he had refused to support dissolution of the Union. To quell the rebellion, this new military governor was not above censoring the press and arresting anyone he considered disloyal, including the mayor of Nashville.

While Governor Johnson began his work of governance, General Grant pursued his single-minded task of military conquest within the state. Grant had barely paused to savor the victories of Forts Henry and Donelson before he plowed up the Tennessee River, reaching Pittsburg Landing, near the Mississippi border, by early April 1862. This Tennessee town was also near a church named Shiloh, and the lands around it would soon bear the scars of Old Testament retribution.

The Confederates, reeling from their successive defeats, had consolidated their forces in nearby Corinth, Mississippi, and were planning to reverse the tide of war by hammering Grant with a surprise attack. Initially their plan went well, and the federals were surprised when forty-four thousand Confederates fell upon them on the morning of April 6. A force of five thousand Union troops quickly evaporated, fleeing in panic, and Grant’s line bent back to the river. But the Southerners were not disciplined enough to press the attack, and their momentum was further interrupted when General Albert Sidney Johnston was struck by a bullet to the leg and died on the field. Confederate command then passed to General P. G. T. Beauregard.

Grant had been given some breathing room, and it was enough time for him to establish a new defensive line with massed artillery. The federals drove back the last Confederate attacks with a rain of shot and shell that produced a terrible carnage. The battle resumed the next day, but Grant had been reinforced with twenty-five thousand more men. The outnumbered Confederates were then forced to withdraw back into Mississippi.

For two days, some one hundred thousand men had fought a vicious battle, and at its end, one-fourth of them were casualties. America was shocked as the reality of war made the festive enthusiasm of 1861 a distant and faded memory. “The South never smiled again after Shiloh,” George Washington Cable later wrote.<sup>3</sup> But the grim carnage went on.

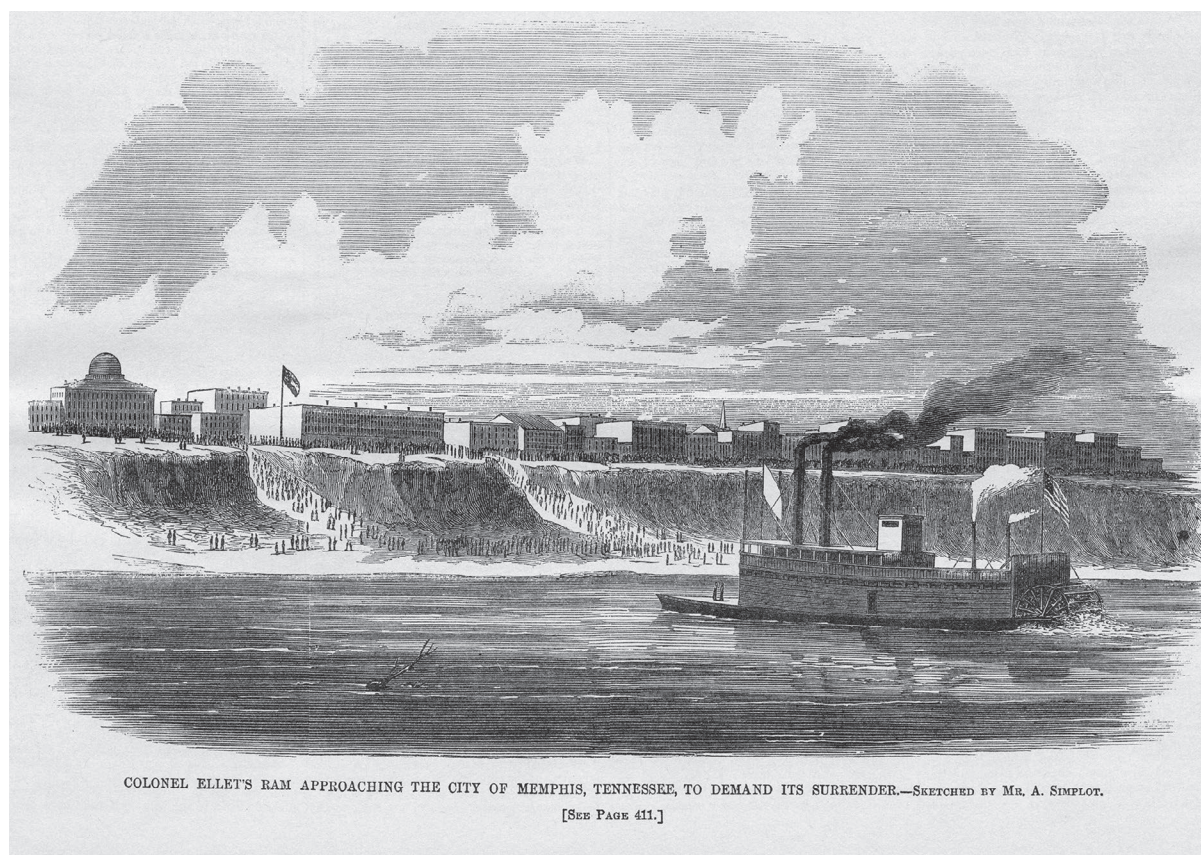


Fig. 2: Print from a drawing by Civil War artist Alexander Simplot of *Colonel Ellet's Ram Approaching the City of Memphis, Tennessee, to Demand Its Surrender*, reproduced in *Harper's Weekly*, June 28, 1862. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

The Confederates were now beleaguered, with Union forces out of Nashville sweeping into Middle Tennessee and threatening the important rail center at Chattanooga. General Grant was poised to strike simultaneously toward Memphis and the Deep South. Governor Harris and his mobile state government had already lost faith in Memphis, having departed from the city two weeks before Shiloh. The Confederates, therefore, had effectively ceased to have a state government in Tennessee.

Southern fears for Memphis proved to be well founded since Confederate forts on the Mississippi, north of the city, began to fall one by one in early April. By June 1862, the black smoke of federal warships was visible from the Memphis levee. After a spirited but futile contest by an improvised Southern flotilla, Tennessee's largest city was also lost to the Confederacy on June 6. And with it went supplies and factories that the South desperately needed.

Ironically, the Confederates then retained control only of East Tennessee, where Unionist sentiment remained steadfast. That unlikely toehold, however, helped the Confederates rise from the ashes of defeat and mount an offensive that moved into Kentucky in the fall of 1862, spreading fear and consternation throughout the North.

Confederate General E. Kirby Smith commanded a small army in East Tennessee, and in August he met with General Braxton Bragg in Chattanooga. Bragg had before him the unenviable task of trying to stop Union General Don Carlos Buell's superior army of thirty thousand men from advancing on Chattanooga from Nashville. But Buell, unlike General Grant, who was now occupied with trying to capture the Southern bastion at Vicksburg, was slow and deliberate. That deliberation provided the gray-frocked generals with an opportunity. General Bragg uncharacteristically agreed with General Smith that the best defense might be an offense, and they hatched a plan to simultaneously

strike into Kentucky. The plan worked perfectly, to a degree. General Buell was caught by surprise and sent his forces scurrying into Kentucky after General Bragg's army, while General Smith forced the evacuation of Cumberland Gap and captured thousands of prisoners. But in the end, it was all for naught. Generals Smith and Bragg never communicated well and never joined their forces. General Bragg's Army of the Mississippi fought a savage but inconclusive battle at Perryville, Kentucky, in October 1862, after which the Confederates limped back into Tennessee.

General Bragg now positioned his army northwest of Chattanooga and steeled himself for the expected Union advance. In November 1862, the force he commanded was officially redesignated as the Army of Tennessee, and it remained as the major Confederate force in the west for the remainder of the war.

By December a Union Army of some forty-four thousand, now under the command of General William Rosecrans, was situated on the banks of Stones River, near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, about thirty-five miles southeast of Nashville. General Bragg consolidated his own army, amassing a force of some thirty-eight thousand, and prepared to strike. His assault began on December 31, 1862. General William Hardee's corps spearheaded the strike, and after a day of savage fighting, the federal line was bent back. But it did not break, and when the fighting resumed on January 2, 1863, the hapless Confederates were mauled by massed Union artillery. A despondent Bragg abandoned the field, and General Rosecrans declared victory. It was another bloodbath, costing almost twenty-five thousand casualties.

[Plate 2]

General Bragg's leadership became increasingly ineffective in the wake of Murfreesboro. In the ensuing months, he gave ground, offering little resistance as

the federals pushed toward Chattanooga. By early September, he had abandoned Chattanooga itself, and his gray columns fell back into northern Georgia. At this critical juncture, his Army of Tennessee received uncharacteristic support from the Confederate capital at Richmond, and reinforcements began to buttress their beleaguered ranks. Most notably, General James Longstreet was sent bouncing down the rails with eleven thousand men borrowed from General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. The Army of Tennessee, which had swelled to more than sixty thousand men, found itself in the almost unheard-of position of numerical superiority in the face of the enemy.

That enemy, now numbering about fifty-eight thousand and still under General Rosecrans's command, had also crossed into Georgia and was spread out near Chickamauga Creek, just south of Chattanooga. The fighting began in earnest on September 19, 1863, and the next day the Confederates secured a momentous victory when Longstreet's men penetrated the center of the Union line. The Union troops were forced to withdraw into Chattanooga in disarray. But it was a victory for the Confederacy with a very heavy price—almost thirty-five thousand casualties on both sides.

Chickamauga was also a shimmering victory quickly lost by General Bragg's lack of resolve. Instead of pursuing General Rosecrans's army, Bragg was content to besiege the Union forces in Chattanooga by occupying the surrounding mountains. In so doing, he gave the Union Army time to marshal its vastly superior numbers and resources to come to Chattanooga's aid. They then swept the ill-equipped graycoats from the hills. And the Union soldiers had a new commanding general who would not lack for either resolve or initiative. Ulysses S. Grant, the old nemesis of the Army of Tennessee, was back. He was fresh from his latest victories at Vicksburg and wasted little time dispatching the Confederates around Chattanooga. General Grant, over the course of several days in November 1863, methodically dislodged the Southerners from their various summits. He finally sent the Army of Tennessee careening back into Georgia, minus a significant number of soldiers taken prisoner and much-needed but abandoned equipment. General Grant then headed off to Virginia to confront General Robert E. Lee and left General William T. Sherman to deal with the Army of Tennessee and the conquest of Atlanta.

As General Grant was settling the score at Chattanooga, a smaller-scale military drama was unfolding in Upper East Tennessee. Union forces under the command of General Ambrose Burnside had advanced into that region in mid-August and were received as liberators by the jubilant and loyal Unionists. Some of the Confederates huddled on the Chattanooga hills to the south were anxious to force General Burnside and his twenty-three thousand bluecoats back into Kentucky. General James Longstreet and seventeen thousand men were then detached and sent north. The expedition also offered an opportunity to separate General Longstreet from General Bragg, because the former, like other senior officers, had openly expressed his total contempt for his commanding officer.

General Longstreet maneuvered and skirmished his way to Knoxville by mid-November 1863, and General Burnside slowly pulled his troops into the safety of the city's fortifications. General Longstreet sealed off the city and settled down for a siege, but after about two weeks his aggressive personality got the better of him, and he launched an ill-conceived assault against the stronghold at Fort Sanders. This decision proved to be a complete failure. While the Union recorded five dead and eight wounded, General Longstreet lost more than eight

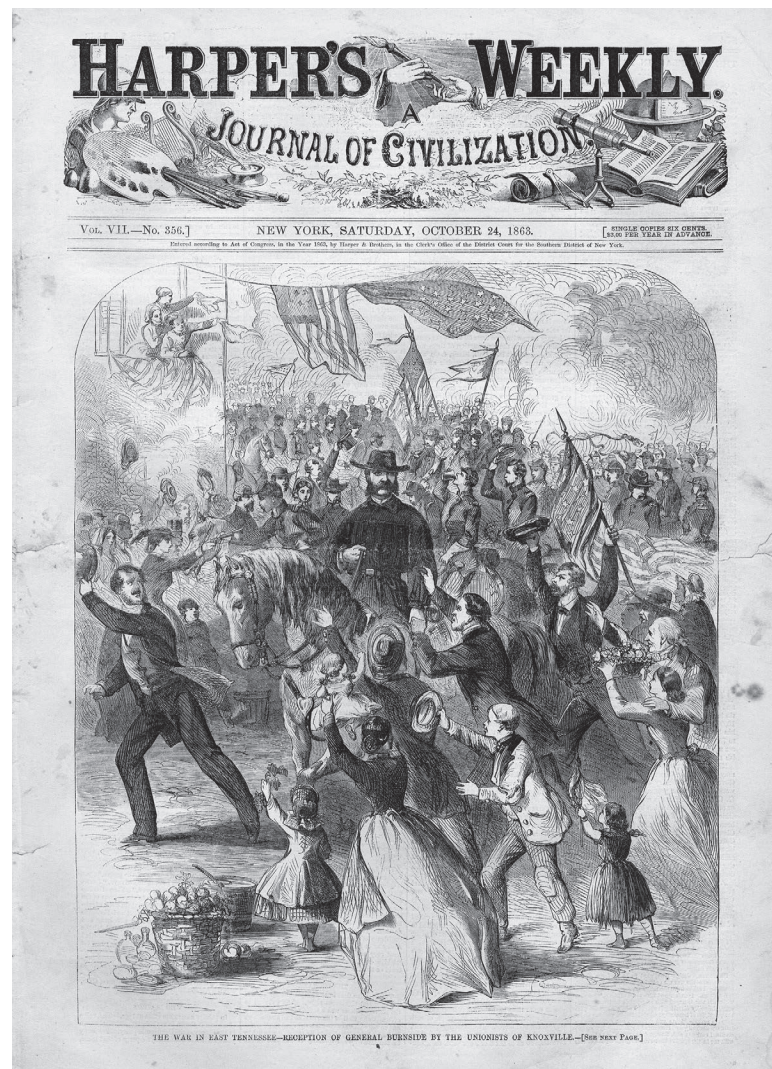


Fig. 3: Hand-colored engraving, *The War in East Tennessee—Reception of General Burnside by the Unionists in Knoxville*, from the cover of *Harper's Weekly*, October 24, 1863. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

hundred men. The Confederates slipped away from Knoxville and, after a miserably cold and wet winter in East Tennessee, returned to Virginia and Robert E. Lee's army. The Unionists then held unfettered sway over all of Tennessee.

In northern Georgia, the Confederate Army of Tennessee stood grimly astride the route from Chattanooga to Atlanta and spent the spring and early summer of 1864 in a bloody but fruitless effort to stem the advance of overwhelming Union armies under General Sherman. By July the federals were on the outskirts of Atlanta, and the desperate Confederate government at Richmond turned over command of the Army of Tennessee to the impetuous John Bell Hood. He was a man unrealistically wedded to offensive action and one who had already been grievously wounded in both body and mind. Over the next several days, General Hood squandered his irreplaceable soldiers in a series of fruitless attacks, and in the end, he was forced to abandon Atlanta.

General Hood then remained true to his reputation for audacity, and the Confederates probably had little else to draw upon but audacity. Rather than falling back to protect the remainder of Georgia and the important Confederate supply centers in Alabama, the commander of the Army of Tennessee headed north, determined to re-enter the Volunteer State and influence Sherman to

follow him. But General Hood woefully miscalculated his own abilities as well as the now Ajax-like strength of the federal behemoth. General Sherman realized that he had enough men in Tennessee to take care of Hood's undermanned force of only about twenty-six thousand, so he turned instead to the south and burned his way to Savannah, Georgia. The Army of Tennessee consolidated its forces in northern Alabama, where the soldiers again unfurled their flags.

Within a few weeks, the graycoats shouldered their muskets and crossed into Tennessee, chasing after a small Union force under General John Schofield that General Sherman had sent north to contest any Southern advance on Nashville. General Hood, who missed an opportunity to defeat General Schofield at Spring Hill and was overwhelmed with frustration, halted to confront the federals at Franklin on November 30, 1864. He then ordered his loyal veterans to make a direct assault against the Union Army, once again secure behind elaborate fortifications. After eighteen charges, the Confederates had lost seven thousand men, and the bluecoats still sat safely behind their breastworks. Among the Confederate dead were six generals. Darkness ended the slaughter and provided General Schofield the opportunity to slip away to Nashville. General Hood followed him, oblivious to the threat that awaited him.

Reality was harsh for the Army of Tennessee, now numbering only about twenty-five thousand. At Nashville they faced a Union Army of fifty-five thousand, protected by impregnable fortifications and bristling with a vast array of artillery. And reality was given an even harder edge when the weather turned bitterly cold, bringing more misery to the ill-clad and under-equipped Southerners. The result, after two days of fighting in mid-December, was as predictable as it was inevitable. The Confederates were overwhelmed, and their headlong retreat turned into a near rout. They did not stop their precipitous flight until they reached the safety of northern Alabama.

General Hood was relieved of his command, and the once-mighty Army of Tennessee was sent to the east, where it joined in the forlorn attempt to impede Sherman's march north from Savannah, Georgia, through the Carolinas. On April 26, 1865, seventeen days after General Lee's surrender in Virginia, the Army of Tennessee furled its flags for the last time, relegated to the judgment of history on a field in North Carolina.

The war left Tennessee devastated. For four tortuous years, the state had been subjected to massive armies and had been scarred by many hundreds of battles and skirmishes. Farms were pillaged, crops destroyed, and hillsides denuded of once-lush forests. Hunger and privation became a way of life for many areas of the state, and at the war's end, financial ruin and bankruptcy were common occurrences.

The debris of war was everywhere, including deserted fortifications, the carcasses of thousands of dead animals, and the litter of abandoned equipment. One observer declared Tennessee to be a "wide, wild, and dreary waste."<sup>4</sup>

Marauding bands of raiders, guerillas, and outlaws who followed in the wake of great armies contributed to the disaster and brought death, destruction, and fear into many communities. This bitter reality of civil war was particularly acute in those communities split by conflicting allegiances. The cities and towns had been transformed into centers of military occupation, attended by free-flowing liquor, gambling, prostitution, and rampant venereal disease. Churches, businesses, and homes had been seized for use as hospitals, prisons, military warehouses, and quarters for troops.

And the human toll was staggering. Out of a population of a little more than one million, Tennessee had furnished about 120,000 young men to the Confederacy and more than thirty-one thousand to the Union armies. Most of them, who had not previously been more than a few miles from home, then fought and died in far-off places, from Pennsylvania to Mississippi. About 20 to 25 percent of them would not return home, mostly dying from disease and privation. And there were thousands more who did return home, crippled in body and spirit. Every family was touched. Women were often left on their own to work their farms and protect their families.

The war that had begun with so much excitement and promise in the sunny days of 1861 had ground to a stark and desolate conclusion by 1865. Tennessee's former military governor, Andrew Johnson, then led the nation toward reconciliation and reconstruction as president of the United States. The years ahead would be rough and uncertain. "You have been good soldiers," Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest advised his men in 1865, "[and] you can be good citizens. Obey the laws, preserve your honor, and the government . . . will be magnanimous."<sup>5</sup> These were heartening words of hope, and they would be needed by a people devastated by civil war, facing an uncertain future.

#### Notes

1. Tennessee Historical Society Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.
2. Digby Gordon Seymour, *Divided Loyalties: Fort Sanders and the Civil War in East Tennessee* (Knoxville: The Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1963), 32.
3. James Lee McDonough, *Shiloh: In Hell Before Night* (Knoxville: The Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1977), 225.
4. Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell, *Tennessee: A Short History* (Knoxville: The Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1969), 352.
5. Jack Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 258.

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## A SYMBOL FOR THE NATION

*Robert B. Bradley*

The secession of the Southern states and the formation of the Confederate States of America greatly altered America's view of flags as symbols. Colors, while representing national or regional pride prior to the Civil War, did not elicit the strong emotion that would be attached to the early secession banners and later the new national flag of the Confederacy. Not since the revolution had flags so reflected and stirred the public's emotions. Two months before Alabama would become the fourth state to leave the Union, secession flags had begun to appear (Plate 157). As early as November 10, 1860, the *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser* reported that "the maids and matrons of Montgomery enthused with the spirit that actuated the women of '76' are making a splendid flag to be presented to the Southern Rights men of this city." Seven days later, Jackson Ogden Belknap of Mobile advertised that he could "supply every description of flag except one that would indicate submission."<sup>1</sup> Belknap offered to newly formed volunteer companies "flags and banners of allegorical or any other composition designed for military use."<sup>2</sup> Similar advertisements appeared in papers throughout the South.

Before the beginnings of “secession fever,” most of the Southern states had adopted no flag of their own, using instead the United States flag for official purposes. As secession grew closer, banners expressing Southern sentiments began to appear throughout the South and in some northern cities as well. Few of these flags bore any resemblance to one another and were intended as “unique affairs.” Certain flags gained brief notoriety and received more widespread use as states began to secede, however, both in support of the states that had already seceded and as an encouragement to those yet to do so. Prominent among these were the palmetto flag of South Carolina, which saw widespread use in the Atlantic seaboard states (including New York harbor), and a wide variety of single-star flags, which were hugely popular in the Gulf states and throughout the South. Numerous militia units extant before secession carried no individual colors, content instead to stand apart by their fanciful uniforms. As the states seceded, however, a flag frenzy swept the land. No longer could a unit be without its colors. These company flags were usually presented in grand and formal ceremonies. Like the secession banners, rarely were any two alike, although some did have common features, such as the cotton plant and coiled rattlesnake that were seen more than once in Alabama. Most of these flags were silk, sewn by the local ladies and painted with fanciful designs and mottos by local artists. The common thread binding these flags together was the sentiments that they expressed—secession and the defense of the Southern way of life.

On February 4, 1861, delegates from six of the seven seceded states met in Montgomery, Alabama, where the provisional government of the Confederate States of America was formed. Four days later, the Confederate constitution was adopted. On February 9, state pride manifested itself when, during the congressional roll call, C. G. Memminger of South Carolina “presented the Congress, from the ladies of South Carolina, a model for the flag of the Confederate States of America.”<sup>3</sup> A gentleman from Charleston, assuring those present that the “Low Country” would not be upstaged, also presented a model flag. William Porcher Miles, also of South Carolina, quickly realized the division that this sort of competition could cause at a time when unity was paramount, and proposed “that a committee consisting of one from each state be appointed to take into consideration the adoption of a flag.”<sup>4</sup> This being accomplished, Congress returned to business and later that same day elected Jefferson Davis as president of the provisional government.

For the succeeding month, the Confederate Congress continued to receive designs, which were referred to the committee for consideration. However, none of these proved satisfactory. Finally, on March 4, 1861, “the committee to select a proper flag” submitted their report. Mr. Miles, in speaking for the committee, noted that the designs could be divided into “two great classes,” those that closely resembled the United States flag and those that were too “elaborate, complicated or fantastical.”<sup>5</sup> Miles and the committee strongly objected to the continued use of the United States flag or anything that resembled it, noting that they did not share with any sentimental attachment to “the old flag.”<sup>6</sup> The second class of flags were simply too elaborate to be practical.<sup>7</sup>

Prototypes of four designs had been submitted by the committee to the congress for approval.<sup>8</sup> The one selected is today called the first national flag of the Confederacy. This flag was to symbolize two things—complete and permanent separation from the United States and their new “benign government.”<sup>9</sup>

The new design was quickly taken to the sewing establishment of George Cowles on Market Street in Montgomery,<sup>10</sup> where the flag was made of merino, because there was no bunting available.<sup>11</sup> Upon completion, the new national banner was returned to the Confederate capitol, where it was quickly raised. The rush to complete and raise the flag was symbolic, as Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated the same day.

Use of the new flag spread like wildfire; even company flags, which had formerly been unique, were often variants of the first national. On March 30, 1861, the *Montgomery Weekly Mail* reported that the “flag was being raised almost everywhere in the South both in and outside the boundaries of the new government.” Descriptions of the flag as having stripes, however, raised the ire of Johnson J. Hooper, editor of the *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, secretary of the Provisional Congress, and author of several publications, including *Some Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs*. The prolific Mr. Hooper, referred to as “Jonce,” insisted that the flag be called the “Stars and Bars.”<sup>12</sup> The *Montgomery Weekly Mail* declared that “we protest against the word stripes as applied to the broad bars of the flag of our confederacy. The word is quite appropriate as applied to the Yankee ensign or a barber’s pole; but it does not correctly describe the red and white divisions of the flag of the Confederate States.”<sup>13</sup>

Once in use, the new national flag spread quickly, appearing on forts, arsenals, government and public buildings, and private homes. The Confederate national flag, following the bombardment and surrender of Ft. Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, was for the first time raised in celebration of a military victory, and its meaning was given even broader scope. Four states that had initially been reluctant to secede were now ready to embrace the “new flag.” The addition of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee broadened and focused the meaning of the Stars and Bars from pride in the new government to defense from the old one. The flag, which originally bore seven stars, would now have eleven (Plate 47). The addition of two stars for the border states of Missouri and Kentucky brought the final tally to thirteen (Plate 46). Numerous variants of the first national banner appeared as company, regimental, brigade, naval, and headquarters flags.

Although contrary to the intention of the flag committee, the Stars and Bars bore strong resemblance to the United States flag when viewed from a distance, or when hanging limp. It was therefore gradually replaced in the field by a variety of battle flag types, though it never completely disappeared. As a symbol of the Confederacy, the Stars and Bars continued to be used as the national colors, but its days were numbered. The resemblance to the United States flag continued to cause dissatisfaction and eventually led to its replacement in May 1863 with a new national flag (Plate 60). This flag, now called the second national flag of the Confederacy, was also altered in design. These two new flags, unlike the Stars and Bars which had inspired hope and optimism, were more symbolic of the South’s grim determination to carry on the fight.

Although the national banners represented the Confederate government, the men who did the fighting became more emotionally attached to the battle flags used by their individual commands (Plates 26, 71, 83). By the war’s end, dozens of unique flags, patterns, and variants of patterns had been used.

Attempts at standardization in the field continued throughout the war, eventually resulting in the widespread use of what is commonly known today as “the”

battle flag. Still, “the” battle flag, modeled after the Army of Northern Virginia flag (Plate 40), never completely dominated the field.

“The” battle flag even existed in a variety of forms and patterns. But regardless of pattern, once borne in battle, a flag was sacred, a hallowed reminder to the men of all they had been through. Oddly enough, in the end even some of the Union troops, against whom the Confederates had so desperately fought, revered the conquered banner. Many sentimental accounts exist concerning the captured flags, but perhaps none expressed the feelings quite so well as the contemporary account of E. N. Gilpin of the 3rd Iowa Volunteer Cavalry Regiment. Gilpin served as a clerk under General Upton in Wilson’s campaign through Alabama and Georgia. He observed from Macon, Georgia, on April 26, 1865:

Each flag had its history. I stacked them all in the corner of the tent thinking if they could speak they would have heroic tales to tell. Some of them were almost new, but others were torn and tattered, lashed by tempests of shot and shell. The fortunes of war have separated them from their brave defenders, and there is no one to even tell to whom they belonged. They have fought their last fight, and made “unconditional surrender.” Never again at the “Reveille” to unfurl in the morning light; never at sunset to lower, softly folding upon themselves with rustling murmurs to “Retreat.” So I put them all away gently, reverently, as became a soldier. Laid unnoted away, lost to those who loved them, their stillness to be forever unbroken, unless mayhap their muffled folds should stir and thrill to the softly-blown bugles of memory.<sup>14</sup>

The public perception of Confederate flags of all types has evolved since the war’s end, and will continue to do so, as each generation reinterprets their meaning. This emotional evolution continues to cloud the meaning and purpose of the flags made and used between 1860 and 1865. This reinterpretation of the past by modern generations has no place in a work of this type. Our purpose here is to study and understand the “original” flags of all types and interpret them within the time frame in which they were manufactured and used.

Today historians, curators, and conservators continue to work in concert to research, examine, classify, and conserve the surviving flags. We can fulfill Gilpin’s wistful thoughts on that spring day so many years ago, with the resources now available to us. He stated that “if they could speak they would have heroic tales to tell.” The information and technology available to us today, coupled with the dedication and determination of a small group of individuals, are allowing the flags as artifacts to begin telling their story.

#### Notes

1. Montgomery Daily Mail, November 17, 1860, n.p.
2. Ibid.
3. Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America 1861–1865 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 39–40.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 101–2.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Peleg D. Harrison, *The Stars and Stripes and Other American Flags* (Boston: 1906), 342–43. In a letter to P. G. T. Beauregard, dated May 14, 1872, William Porcher Miles noted that “the committee

could not agree upon a flag. They finally decided to submit four designs to Congress from which they should by vote select one. One of the four was the flag adopted . . . Models of considerable size, of the four flags submitted were made of colored cambric, and hung up in the hall where Congress sat . . .”

9. Journal of the Congress, 101–2.
10. Montgomery Weekly Mail, March 5, 1861, n.p.
11. Harrison, *The Stars and Stripes*. Miles also noted that the first Confederate flag was “made of merino, there being no bunting at hand.”
12. Montgomery Weekly Mail, April 2, 1861, n.p.
13. Frank Moore, *The Rebellion Record, a Diary of American Events* (New York: 1861), 20.
14. E. N. Gilpin, “The Last Campaign, A Cavalryman’s Journal,” reprinted in pamphlet form, from the Journal of the U.S. Cavalry Association, n.d., n.p.

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## “FORWARD THE COLORS”: THE EVOLUTION AND IMPORTANCE OF MILITARY FLAGS AS DEVICES OF COMMAND AND CONTROL IN THE CIVIL WAR

*Greg Biggs*

### The Earliest Battle Flags

Two thousand years ago, in his book *The Art of War*, Chinese military theorist Sun Tzu wrote that “to control many is to control few. This is a matter of formations and signals.” A later edition, featuring a passage from Chang Yu, stated that “officers and men are ordered to advance and retreat by observing the flags and banners. . . . Thus shall the valiant not advance alone, nor shall the coward flee.” Still later, Chinese general Wu Ch’i added a passage detailing different flags to be flown over each portion of the army, including the banner of the commanding general. The foundation for flags controlling troops in battle and serving as unit identification and objects of morale was thus established and would continue through the end of World War II.<sup>1</sup>

### The First Color Guard and Flags for Distinctive Units

Other ancient armies utilized banners or flags, but it was not until the rise of the Roman Empire that standards would come to represent specific combat units.

The basic tactical unit of the Roman army was a legion, a forerunner of the modern regiment. These units carried a standard featuring the emblem of an eagle atop the legion number and the letters S. P. Q. R. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, or the Senate and People of Rome). Legion sub-units, such as maniples, each carried specific standards. Other legion detachments and the cavalry carried a flag called a *vexillum*, which hung vertically from a cross-bar staff.

The legion standards in the Imperial era were protected by the *primus pilus*—the First Century of the First Cohort in the legion, historically the first “color company.” A special detail of men within this unit carried the standards in battle, often fighting to the death to protect them. Being a member of this first “color guard” was a position of honor for the selected legionnaires, a tradition that would endure for years to come.<sup>2</sup>

## The Rise of Heraldry

The fall of the western Roman Empire brought about the collapse of the single-nation concept. The eastern empire remained, but Europe fell into the Dark Ages, with nomadic tribes waging war as they roamed the continent. The Roman concept of law and order and the nation-state re-emerged with the rise of the Feudal System.<sup>3</sup> Vassals worked the lands of various lords in exchange for the protection of their military forces. Troops of this era wore total body armor, making identification of friend and foe problematic. The lords solved this problem by creating specific coats of arms to adorn armor and shields of their respective military forces. The lord's standard and banners for individual unit commanders also enabled officers to control their troops and distinguish their army from that of the enemy.<sup>4</sup>

## The Rise of Modern Battle Flags— Adolphus through the Age of Reason

In his 1590 book on warfare, Englishman Robert Williams solved the confusing heraldry issue by writing that “to every company belongeth one Ensigne, one Guydon and one Cornet; the Ensigne over the men at armes, the Guydon over the archers, the Cornet over the light horsemen.” Specific battle flags were thereupon established for each branch of service.

The wars of the 1600s brought about many reforms in tactics, the use of mercenaries, the rise of people's militias, and the creation of battle flags. Sweden's Gustavus Adolphus commissioned uniforms that were color-coded to each regiment. Over each regiment flew a battle flag of an identical color, often adorned with patriotic slogans. Adolphus used these flags and uniforms in combination to position and direct his troops effectively during the Thirty Years War.<sup>5</sup>

Warfare became more professional as each European state raised and maintained armies. The famous red coat was devised during Oliver Cromwell's era in England and had different colored collars and cuffs for each regiment. Each regiment's flags matched its uniform facings, helping each of the army commanders to identify his forces.

English regiments initially fought under as many as twelve flags, which included colors for the colonel, regimental officer, and company commander. In 1707, the English changed to a system of colors for the top three regimental officers. Forty years later, the system was again altered to that which is currently used—two flags, one a king's color, which was the national (Union) flag, and a regimental color with a field matching the colored facings of its respective unit. Both flags were adorned with a unit designation in Roman numerals.<sup>6</sup>

## Flags for an American Army—Revolution into Nationhood

In the aftermath of the Lexington and Concord engagements in April 1775, the thirteen American colonies found themselves in armed rebellion with England. Each colony had its own militia, and in June 1775 the Continental Congress authorized the raising of a continental army, naming Virginian George Washington as its commander. While besieging the English at Boston in January 1776, the army raised the “Union flag,” one so close to the English colors that it was mistaken for a flag of surrender. Orders were then issued the following month for the creation of distinctive flags for the American forces. These flags

were based somewhat on the English system and matched uniform facings of each regiment.<sup>7</sup>

Subsequently, General Washington took his battered army into camp at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, during the winter of 1777–1778. Prussian army officer Baron Friedrich Wilhelm Von Steuben, drill master and later inspector general of the army, then wrote the first drill manual, known as the “Blue Book.” Besides establishing training for the troops, this manual also called for “two colours to a regiment” to be carried by specified bearers. The first flag was to be the “standard of the United States,” and the second was to be “the Regimental Colour, which should vary with the facings of the regiment.” Von Steuben was basically copying the English system of flags despite coming from an army that used multiple colors.<sup>8</sup>

In May 1779, the Board of War ordered cloth to make regimental flags, specified to be five-foot square. But the war board secretary wrote that “it is not yet settled what is the standard of the U. States,” despite the creation of the Stars and Stripes flag on June 14, 1777. Apparently, the army perceived this flag to be a naval ensign. The Continental Army would therefore fight with a single flag for the duration of the war.<sup>9</sup>

The American army of the revolutionary period was the first true “people's army” to fight for a national identity based upon freedom and liberty and fueled by patriotism, rather than for a monarchy or financial gain. The importance of this somewhat Machiavellian notion cannot be understated. The flags that the American colonists followed at that time took on a meaning never before seen in military history, bonding troops to these new concepts. It was the definition of those ideals that would divide the United States several decades later when battle flags were raised once again.<sup>10</sup>

The Continental Army was disbanded after the Revolutionary War, and Congress replaced it with the United States Army. A “national standard” was adopted and issued to the 1st American Regiment in 1784. This flag may have been blue with the national coat of arms painted on the field. It was specified to be “four and a half feet hoist by six feet fly,” but a silk shortage and faltering supply system may have prevented these flags from being made and issued to United States Army units.<sup>11</sup>

In April 1808, several new regiments were raised for the army, and flags were ordered. The national standards, blue with the federal coat of arms, were to be “two yards on the staff and two and a half yards in length.” The regimental flags, white (or buff) in color with the unit designation on a scroll, were to be “five feet on the staff and six feet in length.”<sup>12</sup>

## Regulations and Drill Manuals— The Professional United States Army

General Winfield Scott laid the foundations for what would become the professional United States Army. He chaired a review board after the War of 1812 and oversaw the development of manuals addressing tactics, regulations, and drill procedures based on his study of European models. In this endeavor, Scott would have a profound effect on the future armies of the North and South during the American Civil War. In 1821, the first set of regulations, *The General Regulations for the Army of the United States*, was published. This manual established drill and other necessary military procedures and was subsequently

revised as new tactics were adopted, particularly those that came out of the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>13</sup>

In 1834, regulations specified that the national standard for artillery regiments was to be that of the Stars and Stripes, replacing the blue flag decorated with the national coat of arms. The artillery units, however, retained their regimental colors.

In 1835, Scott's revised manual changed the number of colors to be carried by an infantry regiment to only the blue flags used by those units. Six years later, however, new regulations restored the two-flag system for infantry regiments. The Stars and Stripes finally became the infantry's national standard, with the regimental colors being a blue flag featuring the national coat of arms and unit designation. These flags were specified to be seventy-two inches on the hoist by seventy-eight inches on the fly. The Stars and Stripes were initially used as a battle flag by the U.S. Army during the Mexican-American War of the late 1840s.<sup>14</sup>

Coinciding with the issuance of new regulations was the development of drill manuals, revised as new concepts were introduced. Each gave specific roles to the flag bearers and color guards leading regiments into battle. Paragraph fifty of General Scott's 1835 manual stated that "in each battalion, the colour-guard will compose of eight or five corporals, according as the battalion may be formed in three ranks or two ranks, and be posted on the left of the right centre company, of which company (for the time being) the guard will make a part." The color company was the same in Scott's regiments as the *primus pillus* in the Roman legions. General Scott continued by stipulating that "the corporals will be selected by the colonel . . . the front ranks or colour rank of the guard will be composed of a sergeant (to be selected by the colonel) who will be called . . . the colour bearer, with a corporal on his right and left." The manual allowed for different color guard formations depending on whether the regiment was fighting in three ranks or two.<sup>15</sup>

General Scott further stated that for movements of a regiment in line of battle, "the colour company will generally be designated as the directing company. That, as soon as formed, will be placed in the direction the colonel may have determined for the line of battle. The other companies will form to it. . . ." Other paragraphs cover the roles of flank marker flags, which along with the regimental colors were crucial to the movements and fighting of a regiment. The colonel and other officers were given specific places on the line, the former being forty paces behind the color guard. The colonel, after establishing his marker flags on the flanks of his unit, was then to order the color bearer to select two points on the horizon to direct the march. The colonel would then issue the command, "battalion, forward," and the color guard and flank markers would advance six paces and halt. The regiment would then move forward as one upon the command, "MARCH!" Despite the echoing of the colonel's orders by company officers on the line, the commands were given directly to the color guard, and the remainder of the regiment followed. When the flags moved, the regiment, officers, and men reacted accordingly.<sup>16</sup>

When engaged in battle, the color guard was to fall back into the regimental line with its flags and was not to fire its weapons unless the flags were under direct attack. Should the regiment be forced to retreat, the color guard also had a specific role, using the flags and markers and the drummer playing "beat to the colors" to implement it. Countless hours of drill were required for the unit to perform these complicated maneuvers, so the color guard and officers could move and fight properly.<sup>17</sup>

The cavalry and artillery units were also trained using drill manuals. Both regimental and marker flags were assigned roles like those used by the infantry. The cavalry units had a single flag bearer, one color guard, and marker carriers. Artillery batteries were instructed to carry a "guidon," but no details were given as to its use in movement or combat.<sup>18</sup>

This system was revised in 1847, whereupon regulations stated that only one flag was to be used in battle. General Scott's manual was replaced in 1855 by a new one written by Major (and soon to be Confederate General) William J. Hardee. This work, known as *Hardee's Tactics*, propelled its author to prominence and became the most commonly used manual in the armies of the North and South during the Civil War. Hardee's manual retained Scott's flag and color guard arrangements and specified a single flag. When it was revised in 1857, two flags were to be carried by each regiment, but it mirrored the 1847 regulations by stating that only one was to be used in battle.<sup>19</sup>

U.S. Army regular and volunteer infantry regiments utilized two flags throughout the Civil War as stipulated in the 1861 *Revised Regulations*. "The first, or the national color, of stars and stripes . . . the number and name of the regiment to be embroidered with silver on the centre stripe. The second, or regimental color, to be blue, with the arms of the United States embroidered in silk on the centre. The name of the regiment in a scroll underneath the eagle" (Plates 202, 203). The flags continued to be six by six and a half feet in size. Federal colors used in the field followed the regulations, but with unit designations that were painted rather than embroidered.<sup>20</sup>

Artillery regiments were also issued two flags. The regimental colors were yellow and had two crossed cannon tubes with the letters "US" above and the unit designation below. These flags were identical in size to the infantry colors. Cavalry units carried a blue flag decorated with the national arms and a unit designation and measured two feet, five inches by two feet, three inches. Each company was issued a swallow-tail guidon that was one-half red over one-half white, marked with the unit letter and measuring three feet, five inches by two feet, three inches. General Orders, No. 4, issued January 7, 1862, finally authorized cavalry units to use the Stars and Stripes as regimental colors (Plate 184), replacing these blue flags.<sup>21</sup>

United States forces used two flags during the Civil War, but the Confederate Army employed Hardee's 1855 single-flag specifications. Hardee's manual was very popular, and being a Southerner, he had tremendous influence among Confederate leaders.<sup>22</sup>

#### Notes

1. Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1963), 90–91, 160; some armies in World War II, notably those of Japan and the Soviet Union, still used flags to lead and rally troops; the United States ceased using flags for everything except ceremonial duties just before World War I.

2. Lawrence Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army: from Republic to Empire* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1994), 67, 214–15, 229; John Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 136–39; Thomas Greiss, ed., *Ancient and Medieval Warfare* (Wayne, NJ: Avery Publishing Group, 1984), 43; W. G. Perrin, *British Flags: Their Early History and Their Development at Sea; With an Account of the Origin of the Flag as a National Device* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1922), 9–11; "vexillum" is the root word for "vexillology," the study of flags; the Roman eagles would be copied later by Napoleon's legions of the nineteenth century and Hitler's army in the twentieth century, topping the staffs of unit colors.

3. Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson, *Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage* (Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1982), 54; Silas Casey, *Infantry Tactics for the*

*Instruction, Exercise, and Maneuvers of the Soldier, A Company, Line of Skirmishers, Battalion, Brigade or Corps D'Armee*, (Dayton, OH: Morningside, 1985); some Confederate units did use two colors in the war, but this was quite rare.

4. Greiss, *Ancient and Medieval Warfare*, 105–6, 108–15; Daniel D. McGarry, *Medieval History and Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 4–27; Terence Wise, Richard Hook, and William Walker, *Medieval Heraldry* (London: Osprey Books, 1980); Grant Uden, *A Dictionary of Chivalry* (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1968); Lieutenant Colonel Robert Gayre, *Heraldic Standards and Other Ensigns* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1959).

5. Major T. J. Edwards, *Standards and Colours of the Commonwealth Forces* (Aldershot, England: Gale & Polden Ltd., 1953), 98; Richard Brzezinski and Richard Hook, *The Army of Gustavus Adolphus, Vol. 1: Infantry* (London: Osprey Books, 1991), 3–16; Theodore Ayrault Dodge, *Gustavus Adolphus* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 48.

6. John Tincey and Gerry Embleton, *The British Army 1660–1704* (London: Osprey Books, 1994), 3, 40–44; David Chandler, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Marlborough* (New York: Sarpedon, 1990), 85–91; R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor Dupuy, *The Encyclopedia of Military History: From 3500 B. C. to the Present*, Chapters 14 and 15 (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 533; Edwards, *Standards*, 14–20, 24–26.

7. Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994), 262–64; Edward W. Richardson, *Standards and Colours of the American Revolution* (State College: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 37–38; George Washington took great interest in unit flags for the Continental Army throughout the Revolutionary War.

8. Richardson, *Standards*, 38–39; Philip Haythornthwaite and Bryan Fosten, *Frederick the Great's Army, Vol. 2: Infantry* (London: Osprey Books, 1991), 37–42.

9. Richardson, *Standards*, 39–41, 57; several chapters of this work are devoted to various Continental colors as well as attempts to make flags for the army.

10. Maurice Matloff, ed., *American Military History* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1969), 100; Dupuy and Dupuy, *The Encyclopedia of Military History*, 460; ancient Athens and other Greek city-states (except Sparta) also had “people’s armies,” but they fought for their city-state rather than a Greek nation; Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), 18–19, 25–27; in a throwback to the old Roman republic system, Italian military philosopher Nicolo Machiavelli believed that people’s armies of conscripts would fight harder for their government than the paid mercenaries of his day, a popular form of defense; he also felt that armies needed to have a “spiritual bond” or patriotic fervor to be successful.

11. Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1967), 90–92; Detmar Finke, “United States Army Colors and Standards, 1784–1808,” *Military Collector & Historian* XV, no. 3 (Fall 1963): 69–72; Richardson, *Standards*, 41, 241; I thank Howard Michael Madaus for the Finke citation; the 1st American Regiment flag is at The United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.

12. Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, 111–12; see also Edward C. Kuhn, “U.S. Army Colors and Standards of 1808,” *Military Affairs* V, no. 4 (Winter 1941): 263–67; I thank Howard Michael Madaus for this citation.

13. John S. D. Eisenhower, *Agent of Destiny: The Life and Times of General Winfield Scott* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 20–21, 105–10; Scott studied the French *Regiment*, Duane’s *Hand Book For Infantry* (1812), and Armstrong’s critique of British officers from 1748; see Eisenhower, 412, fn. 1; see also Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, 126–29, 186 for the French influence on military affairs and Matloff, *American Military History*, 149 for details about how Swiss theorist Antoine Jomini was studied at West Point, which distilled some of Napoleon’s concepts.

14. *General Regulations for the Army* (Washington, DC: Francis P. Blair, 1834); *General Regulations for the Army of the United States, Published by the Authority of the War Department* (Washington, DC: Globe Office, 1835); *General Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1841* (Washington, DC: J. & G. S. Gideon, 1841); the 1847 regulations mirrored those of 1841, but for the color guard, “it will be seen that of the two colors given to a regiment or battalion, but one is ever to be borne or displayed at the same time; on ordinary occasions, and on actual service, that color will generally be the regimental one.” See *General Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1847, by the Authority of the War Department* I, paragraph 851, “Infantry Tactics” (Washington, DC: J. & G. S. Gideon, 1847), 15; I thank Howard Michael Madaus for these manual citations; Scott’s 1830 manual was primarily for the militia; see *Abstract of Infantry Tactics, Including Exercises and Manoeuvres of Light Infantry and Riflemen for the Use of the Militia of the United States* (Boston: U.S. War Department, 1830).

15. General Winfield Scott, *Infantry Tactics or Rules for the Exercise and Maneuvers of the United States Army* (Franklin Square, NY: Harper & Brother, 1861); volume I, paragraphs 50–57 cover the color guard’s composition, along with guides; the 1861 edition is virtually the same as that issued

in 1835; if the eight-man guard was used, there was to be a sergeant between the two flag bearers on the color rank.

16. Scott, *Infantry Tactics* II, paragraphs 772–83 and 1277–1317; marker flags are mentioned in many paragraphs for movement and unit positioning, particularly in paragraphs 923–30.

17. Scott, *Infantry Tactics* II, paragraphs 826–31 and 1540–44; for details about colors in retreat, see paragraphs 1359–73; marker and guide flags were outside the scope of this essay, though important to regimental function; see Howard Michael Madaus, “Camp Colors, General Guide Flags and Flank Markers in the United States Army, 1861–1865, parts 1 & 2,” *Military Collector & Historian* XLVIII, no. 2 and 3 (1996) for a discussion of their importance.

18. Samuel Cooper, *A Concise System of Instructions and Regulations for the Militia and Volunteers of the United States* (Philadelphia: Charles DeSilver, 1861), 150–54; artillery guidons are covered in William Gilham, *Manual of Instructions for the Volunteers and Militia of the United States* (Philadelphia: Charles DeSilver, 1861), 49; Gilham’s manual also covers infantry and cavalry units.

19. Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, *Old Reliable: General William J. Hardee* (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot, 1987), 41–50; Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, 190; McWhiney and Jamieson, *Attack and Die*, 48–58; this book, with some debatable conclusions, covers the comparisons between Scott’s and Hardee’s manuals, as well as one written in 1862 by Silas Casey.

20. War Department, *Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1861*, Section 1438 (Philadelphia: J. G. L. Brown, 1861), 475.

21. War Department, *Revised Regulations*, Section 1437, 475 and Section 1440–41, 476; *O. R. III*, vol. 1, 803.

22. McWhiney and Jamieson, *Attack and Die*, 54; Silas Casey, *Infantry Tactics*; some Confederate units did use two colors in the war, but that was quite rare.

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## FOR PROMPT DELIVERY: GOVERNMENT ISSUE FLAGS

### *Howard Michael Madaus*

Essential to understanding the systems for supplying military equipage, including flags, during the American Civil War is realizing that the United States, by tradition, geography, and economics, was an extremely parochial society during the first half of the nineteenth century. This was especially true in the Southern states. The South, like the states carved out of the old Northwest Territory, was primarily agricultural. Majestic plantations graced the landscapes of some of the states in that region, but most of the population—free and slave—worked on small family farms. The political bias for the farm community was the county, and the town denominated its county seat.

A program of national internal improvements for uniting the West with the East, in exchange for protective tariffs for nascent New England industries, favored by Henry Clay and the Whig Party, did little to diminish the parochialism of the South. No national road connected the eastern seaboard states of Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia with the fertile agrarian Trans-Appalachia states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. The unbridged Mississippi River barred effective east-west land commerce between East Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee and West Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri.

The surge in railroad building during the 1840s and 1850s did much to break the barriers posed by wagon roads. But the rail lines that traversed both the Southeast and the Midwest in the 1850s, even when they crossed state boundaries, usually terminated and did not connect directly with other lines. The gauges of the tracks on the various rail lines, even when they shared a common terminal or intersecting town, were most often incapable of sharing the same equipment and rolling stock. Parochialism, therefore, reigned supreme.

The rivers also conspired to interrupt lines of travel that might have unified the regions. The waterways along the eastern seaboard generally flowed from the Appalachian slopes in the west to the Atlantic coast in the east. But the general flow of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers on the other side of those mountain ranges was from south to north, or from north to south in the case of the Mississippi and its tributaries.

It was in this general environment that the forces of the North and the South were raised to fight the great American conflict. And it was this environment that confronted the officers of the quartermaster and commissary departments, whose duty it was to supply and feed the great armies raised in 1861 and 1862.

### **The Presentation Flags**

The foundations of the great armies of the North and the South were the regiments raised by the respective states on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. The nerve system of each regiment was its field officers and their associated regimental staff, but the muscle was provided by the individual companies that composed the bulk of the fighting force of a unit. These companies were invariably raised on a county basis. And, as each company took form, the communities that furnished their manpower, as a matter of county pride, usually presented a special unit flag (Plate 78), along with the comforts that provided some relief from the tedium of soldiering.

The company flag was most frequently a variation of the Stars and Bars, or the first national flag of the Confederacy, which consisted of three horizontal bars—red, white, and red—with a blue canton in the upper staff corner, upon which were the number of stars representing the states in the Confederacy when the company was formed. Nicknames, fanciful mottoes, and other devices often decorated the folds of the flag, depending upon the sewing skills and economic abilities of the makers or donors. These flags were carried into the camps of instruction, where the separate companies were united into regiments, and continued to decorate the captain's tent. They were also frequently drafted into service of the regiment on a rotational basis, if it had not received a similar fanciful presentation color.

Most of the flags furnished to the companies and regiments in 1861 and early 1862 were presentation colors. Despite the claim that the Confederacy was fighting for states' rights, the states themselves did little to furnish their departing regiments with flags. South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana all adopted distinctive state flags in the first two months of 1861, but generally did not provide them as a military unit color, relying instead on individual donations and presentations to fill the void. Virginia and North Carolina also adopted official state flags. A few presentation flags that conformed to the design of state flags were made in 1861. But in September 1861, when General Joseph E. Johnston asked that distinctive state flags be used in lieu of the Stars and Bars, only Virginia and North Carolina responded. They contracted commercially to have uniform state flags made for most of the units raised within their boundaries. The actions of these two states made them precursors to the Confederate system of supplying its armies.

### **The Contract Flags**

In the summer of 1861, Confederate authorities in Virginia made their first efforts to provide uniform military colors to the two Confederate armies in that state. These armies had been formed as regional defense forces. The Confederate Army of the Potomac was located around Centreville, Virginia, and was formed to prevent federal incursions across the Potomac River. The Confederate Army of the Shenandoah was organized around Winchester, Virginia, to prevent federal advances down the Shenandoah Valley. In July 1861, these two armies joined at Manassas, Virginia, where they stopped a Union thrust from Washington, DC. The flags they carried into this action were of many designs and variations.

General P. G. T. Beauregard, commander of the Army of the Potomac, had ordered a quantity of bunting, found at the captured Gosport Navy Yard, be sent to Richmond to provide for a uniform set of Stars and Bars flags for his forces. Richmond dry goods and millenary dealer, George Ruskell, took on the task of making the flags. Between July 18 and August 7, 1861, the maker delivered a total of forty-three bunting flags to the Quartermaster's Department in Richmond. The exact pattern of these flags is uncertain, but it is thought that they were all basically six feet on the fly by four feet on the staff and had a circle or an ellipse of eleven white stars in their canton. Their term of service would be short-lived, however. Experience with the first national flag of the Confederacy at Manassas had convinced both General Beauregard and his counterpart, General Joseph E. Johnston, commander of the Army of the Shenandoah, that the Stars and Bars was unsuitable for combat service.

After a failed attempt to convince the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy to change the design of the nation's flag, Beauregard and Johnston met at Centreville and discussed another option—the adoption of a distinctive battle flag for field use by the two combined armies operating in northern Virginia. They modified a design proposed by South Carolina Representative William Porcher Miles for the national flag. Beauregard and Johnston thereby created the most famous of the Southern battle symbols—the battle flag of the Army of Northern Virginia. At the time of its adoption, this flag consisted of a square red field traversed by a dark blue St. Andrew's cross. The saltire was separated from the underlying red fabric by a narrow white edging and had twelve stars in honor of the states that had joined with the Southern cause or whose governments had been recognized by the Confederate Congress. The flag was then finished with a yellow or gold fringe or a border of similar colors.

The first flags of this new pattern were made in Richmond by a precursor of the Confederate depot production system. Army quartermaster, Captain Colin McRae Selph, was dispatched to purchase from the city's dry-goods dealers suitable silk to manufacture the flags. Selph substituted shades of pink, rose, and solferino silk, because red silk was not a readily available fabric used in the making of women's dresses. He then turned to several women's sewing circles in the Confederate capital, provided them a pattern, and supervised the production. Captain Selph either carried or sent the finished flags, which he said numbered 120, to Centreville. During impressive ceremonies that began on November 28, 1861 and extended for more than a week, these new battle flags were presented to the units then serving in northern Virginia. The Confederate War Department in Richmond provided neither approval nor logistical support

for this parochial matter. But Generals Beauregard and Johnston considered the production of these special battle flags strictly an army matter under their jurisdiction as commanders of the armies in northern Virginia.

Recognition of the confusion that could be caused by the similarity of the Confederate Stars and Bars and the United States Stars and Stripes flags, especially under battle conditions, was not confined to commanders in northern Virginia. Along the northern front of the Western theater, three Confederate forces had been formed for the defense of Tennessee and eventually Kentucky. A force of two divisions primarily from Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky had been formed around Bowling Green to ward off federal incursions that might strike via the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. During the winter of 1861–1862, General Simon Bolivar Buckner devised a simple substitute battle flag for these forces to carry in lieu of or in addition to their national colors. Buckner indicated that his wife purchased the cotton fabrics for these battle flags and sewed most of them. But it has also been documented that a local sewing circle operating at or near the headquarters of Commanding General Albert Sidney Johnston either assisted or worked independently on some of the flags.

The Buckner/Hardee battle flag was a simple design, consisting of a blue field about three feet on the staff by three and a half feet on the fly. A plain white ellipse was inset into the field that was about eighteen inches long and fifteen inches high. Units to which these flags were issued decorated them with unit designations depending upon their capabilities and the nearness of supplies for doing so (Plate 39). These flags initially did not have borders, but when new ones were made or old ones were repaired in early 1862, an approximately two-inch-wide, white cotton border was added to all four sides (Plate 71).

Until the autumn of 1863, the flags of the Hardee pattern—excepting this first group made near Bowling Green—were not provided through the Confederate Quartermaster's Department. Regimental tailors were assigned to fashion new flags of this design from whatever materials might be available. Accordingly, size and minor details of the design varied, with some of those made during the summer and autumn of 1862 having round central discs. Finally, in September 1863, Jacob Gall, an enlisted man in the 20th Louisiana Infantry, whose prewar profession had been a tailor, was sent to Demopolis, Alabama, where he assembled thirty-four battle flags from merino and cotton for the Hardee's Corps. Only a few of these flags made by Gall were apparently issued to units in General Hardee's former command. Most were provided to units of General Carter L. Stevenson's division, recently paroled and reformed at Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Two additional sets of Hardee-pattern battle flags were manufactured in 1864, specially made for the units of General Patrick Cleburne's division. They were made from a poor-quality and lightly-dyed shade of blue cotton flannel. Each measured about two and a half feet on the staff by two and three quarters feet on the fly, inclusive of their white cotton borders. The first set, made in March 1864, had a white cotton ellipse that was somewhat rectilinear in form and was twelve inches long and nine inches high (Plate 44). The second set, constructed as replacement flags in September 1864, had a white circular disc, about ten and a half inches in diameter. Forces in the field were responsible for adding unit designations and battle honors. The source of manufacture for these last two sets of Hardee/Cleburne battle flags has yet to be discovered, but

both were clearly made after a pattern and furnished through the Confederate Quartermaster's Department.

The center of the Confederate northern line in the Western theater, therefore, resolved the theoretical confusion between the Stars and Bars and the Stars and Stripes by improvising a simple battle flag that was far from uniform until 1864. The far-western flank of the Confederate northern line had already confronted the reality of the problem. Forces under the overall command of Confederate General Leonidas Polk had fought a brief, pitched battle with a Union Army sent across the river by General Ulysses S. Grant at Belmont, Missouri, in November 1861. Not much had been accomplished, but the fight encouraged General Polk to devise his own distinctive battle flag. His solution was to adopt a battle flag that consisted of a large, rectangular, blue silk, field quartered from side to side and from top to bottom by the four arms of a red silk St. George's cross. The saltire had thirteen white silk, five-pointed stars, three of which were staggered on each of the cross's four arms and one of which was at the center (Plate 82). These flags were evidently contracted through a Memphis maker, and at the end of January 1862, forty-five were sent to Polk's quartermaster from a supply officer in the West Tennessee city and valued at fifteen dollars each.

In turning to independent contractors for a distinctive battle flag, General Polk foretold the advent of major contracting for flags in the Western theater that would continue through 1864, particularly for the forces that fought in Mississippi, Alabama, and western Tennessee.

During the fall of 1861 and winter of 1861–1862, authorities at Richmond sought to unify the command structure in the Western theater by first sending General Albert Sidney Johnston to take command of Confederate Department No. 2, which eventually encompassed the forces between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River, as well as those in adjoining areas of Arkansas and Missouri. They followed this assignment with the appointment of General P. G. T. Beauregard as General Johnston's second in command. To present an effective force against two Union armies pressing southward along the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, Generals Johnston and Beauregard united four major forces, followed by a fifth from the Trans-Mississippi sector that arrived later, near Corinth, Mississippi, in March 1862. Johnston brought General Polk's mostly Tennessee units, then known as Polk's Grand Division, from the Mississippi River defenses. He then transferred the survivors of the Forts Henry and Donelson debacle from central Kentucky into a force under the command of General William J. Hardee, which was redesignated as Hardee's Division. The recently defeated survivors of the Battle of Mill Springs, which were added to the Kentuckians that had escaped from Donelson to form a "Reserve Division" under General John C. Breckenridge, were brought from the eastern end of the northern line. And the Grand Division or 2nd Corps of General Braxton Bragg were brought from the Gulf Coast defenses of Mobile, Alabama, and Pensacola, Florida.

Both Polk's and Hardee's commands already had distinctive battle flags; Bragg's and Breckenridge's did not. General Beauregard, the great organizer, sought to resolve this problem by equipping Bragg's regiments and battalions with a version of the same battle flag he had championed in Virginia. He ordered from General Mansfield Lovell, commanding the Southern Mississippi River defenses at New Orleans, a set of flags for Bragg's Corps. General Lovell turned to Henry Cassidy, a New Orleans sail maker, to make these colors. The maker

initially provided fifty battle flags in three sizes on February 28, 1862. They were distributed to Bragg's Corps in early March. On March 6, Cassidy provided another fifty-one battle flags, again in three sizes, so that Polk's Grand Division would have similar colors. The fall of New Orleans and the resulting confusion in shipments from that city resulted in most of Polk's forces not receiving their new flags prior to the Battle of Shiloh. Beauregard finally put in another order through General Lovell for an additional thirty-one Cassidy battle flags for Hardee's Corps, which were delivered on March 6. These flags also did not arrive in time for the Battle of Shiloh and both Polk and Hardee fought under their earlier-adopted battle flags.

The flags received by Bragg's Corps differed somewhat from those made for Northern Virginia forces that Beauregard had presented to the Army of the Potomac in November and December 1861. Silk was in limited supply, so Cassidy made the Bragg battle flags with a red woolen-cotton mixture. A white-edged, dark blue St. Andrew's cross of the same materials traversed the field. These flags, like their Virginia predecessors, had only twelve stars, made of white silk or polished cotton, but instead of being five-pointed, they each had six points. A yellow-serge border was sewn to three of the flag's sides, while a white cotton heading completed perimeter, usually having small eyelets for staff ties (Plate 83).

The flags made for Bragg's and Polk's corps were made in three sizes, with the infantry banners measuring four and a quarter feet on the staff by three and three-quarter feet on the fly. The set of thirty-one flags made for Hardee's Corps, which were never issued, were three and a half feet on the staff by six feet on the fly for reasons that are still unclear.

General Beauregard clearly intended to make the Army of Northern Virginia battle flag common throughout the Confederate Army of the Mississippi. But he departed on sick leave during the summer of 1862, and neither his temporary successor, General Hardee, nor his permanent replacement, General Bragg, thought enough of the concept to continue its army-wide usage. Instead, each corps continued to carry the flags that it had used at Shiloh. Cheatham's Division of Polk's Corps eventually discontinued use of the few Cassidy-made flags previously issued to it during the summer and in September 1862 received a new set of smaller bunting battle flags that conformed to the design that Polk had ordered from Memphis in January. They were decorated with only eleven stars and had a white cotton edge between the blue field and the red St. George's cross and were probably made in Chattanooga under the auspices of the Quartermaster's Department (Plate 26).

Similarly, General Earl Van Dorn's corps from the former Army of the West, which had been transferred to Corinth in April 1862, adopted its own distinctive battle flag. It consisted of a red field, bordered or fringed in yellow, upon which were scattered thirteen white, five-pointed stars and decorated with a white crescent in the upper staff corner. A few of these flags were made at Guntown, Mississippi, in June 1862 by a patriotic sewing circle. But most were made under Quartermaster's Department auspices and distributed in September 1862 to the Army of the West after the departure of Bragg's army for the invasion of Kentucky. The manufacturer of these flags has yet to be determined, but they are thought to have originated in Selma, Alabama. Many units of the old Army of the West were still carrying them during the Siege of Vicksburg, Mississippi.

On November 24, 1862, General Joseph E. Johnston, having recovered from a wound received at the Battle of Seven Pines, was reassigned to overall command of the Department of the West, a position that was essentially non-combatant. But when General John Pemberton's army was threatened on May 9, 1863, he took direct command of the forces that were assembling to assist in breaking the siege at Vicksburg.

General Johnston failed to prevent or break the siege but formed an army in Mississippi that he commanded until ordered to replace General Braxton Bragg at the head of the Confederate Army of Tennessee on December 18, 1863. As the commander of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana, General Johnston rekindled the movement toward the adoption of the design that he had co-championed with General Beauregard in Virginia during September 1861. His Quartermaster Department turned to longtime Mobile flag maker, Jackson O. Belknap to provide flags for units of his command that were not already carrying battle flags of the "Southern Cross" pattern.

Belknap, who was also represented in his flag-making business by his wife, Sarah, had provided several regimental flags to the Confederate Quartermaster's Department in the autumn of 1862. A year later, he also made a set of headquarters flags for General George Cantley and at least two presentation flags on behalf of General Dabney H. Maury at Mobile, Alabama. And on October 31, 1863, Belknap produced fourteen battle flags, eleven with battle honors, and ten guides for the Confederate Quartermaster's Department. These last flags appear to have been intended for General William Hicks Jackson's cavalry division, which provided General Joseph E. Johnston two of his victories in Tennessee during March and April 1863.

Over the next year, the Jacksons delivered no fewer than ninety-seven regimental colors. Their banners and those produced by James Cameron, also a Mobile flag maker, who made twenty-five flags in March 1864, followed the general design of the Army of Northern Virginia battle colors but differed in several details. The red bunting fields measured approximately three and a half feet on the staff by four and a half to four and three-quarter feet on the fly. Their rectangular fields were traversed by a dark blue bunting, St. Andrew's cross, edged with white cotton. The Mobile flags, like the Cassidy-contract colors made at New Orleans in February and March 1862, had only twelve white cotton stars, three on each arm of the saltire, but they were five-pointed. There were also borders on the Mobile flags, and a white canvas sleeve was occasionally added. Those that were not made with a canvas heading had the leading edge doubled over and sewn to form a sleeve for the staff. Battle honors, formed from separately cut and sewn letters, often decorated the red quadrants of the Mobile flags (Plate 132).

### **The Depot Flags**

General Joseph E. Johnston arrived at the headquarters of the Confederate Army of Tennessee at Dalton, Georgia, on December 27, 1863 and began an organized effort to reinvigorate its morale following the debacle at Missionary Ridge. The adoption of an army-wide uniform battle flag, to replace the various distinct corps colors that had come into use during General Bragg's unseemly command, was one of his principle actions. The design that General Johnston chose was the same as what he had co-championed in Virginia during 1861 and

in Alabama and Mississippi earlier in 1863—another modification of the battle flag of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The flags that General Johnston ordered for his new command, like those made in Mobile earlier, were rectangular and had no exterior borders. The colors for the infantry units in this army had red bunting fields measuring approximately three feet on the hoist by four and a quarter feet on the fly. An eight-inch-wide, dark blue bunting, St. Andrew's cross traversed the red field from corner to corner and was edged with a strip of white cotton two inches in width. Thirteen white cotton, five-pointed stars, each about four inches across its points, were sewn to the saltire. Four pairs of ties stitched to the heading permitted these flags to be attached to their staffs (Plate 90).

The new Army of Tennessee flags were produced under a new supply system that had gradually taken hold in the Confederate Quartermaster's Department. They were made at the Confederate Clothing Depot in Augusta, Georgia. Telegrams sent from or received at Atlanta in early February 1864 indicated that no fewer than eighty-five flags were in transit from Augusta to the Army of Tennessee at Dalton during the first two weeks of that month. Other documents confirmed issues of these new battle flags as early as mid-January and through March 1864.

Under the depot system, the bunting and cotton parts of flags were cut and bundled into sets ready for manufacture. The bundles were then distributed to local women who stitched the parts into flags and returned the finished product to the depot for inspection and payment. This same system of providing flags for the Quartermaster's Department had been previously instituted in Richmond in May 1862 to provide colors to the armies around the Confederate capital and at Charleston in February 1863 for the forces in the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

The depot system at Charleston, South Carolina was begun by General P. G. T. Beauregard, who had been reassigned to that city as overall commander in September 1862. Under his predecessor, General John C. Pemberton, flags had been produced under contract with the Charleston flag-making firm of Hayden & Whilden. They were of the Confederate first national pattern and continued to be made under the command of General Beauregard until February 1863, when he ordered the new pattern flag—a near copy of the Army of Northern Virginia battle flag.

The Charleston Depot battle flags were made in three separate sizes: four feet square for infantry and heavy artillery, three feet square for light artillery batteries, and two and a half feet square for cavalry commands. Their fields were made from red wool bunting, quadrsected by a dark blue bunting, St. Andrew's cross, edged with white bunting. Thirteen white, five-pointed stars were sewn to the arms and center of the saltire, and a white bunting border surrounded all four sides of the flags. To secure the flag to its staff, a sleeve was sewn to the side selected as the heading and was usually cut from dark blue bunting for infantry units, red bunting for artillery, and white or possibly faded-yellow bunting for cavalry flags. These flags were first issued in April 1863, and many would travel northward to Virginia in 1864 as General Robert E. Lee stripped the Charleston defenses for reinforcements to defend the beleaguered Confederate capital.

The units that arrived in Richmond from the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida easily recognized their compatriots in arms from Northern Virginia, as both carried the same basic battle flag. The Army of Northern

Virginia had been well supplied with the Southern Cross battle flags since the spring of 1862, all of which had been furnished under the depot system providing quartermaster supplies to the Army of Northern Virginia and the Confederate Department of North Carolina and Southeastern Virginia.

Union General George McClellan moved his army to the Virginia Peninsula, between the York and James Rivers, in March and April 1862. This forced General Joseph E. Johnston to gather reinforcements from whatever sector possible and move the Confederate Army of the Potomac to the support of General Bankhead Magruder's small Army of the Peninsula. Magruder's army had previously adopted its own distinctive battle flag, made under contract by Almedea Tompkins. It consisted of a rectangular bunting field, four and a quarter feet on the staff by four and three-quarter feet on the fly, divided diagonally, with one half being white and the other half being red. The other forces gathered were new to the area and without distinctive battle flags.

To furnish his new arrivals as well as replace some of the worn silk battle flags of the Army of the Potomac, General Johnston turned to the Richmond Clothing Depot. On October 16, 1861, the depot had received a shipment of 195 bolts of cloth, forty yards in length, from Captain Hutson Lee, probably via the blockade runner, Bermuda. Over the next year, that bunting was transformed into new battle flags. The fabric was cut into appropriate sections and bundled with cotton trimmings and stars at the depot and delivered to seamstresses in the Richmond area for construction. The ladies finished their bundles, the new flags were returned to the depot for inspection, and upon issuance of vouchers for inspected work, the ladies were paid.

The ladies of Richmond and the local clothing depot produced no fewer than 709 battle flags under this system between May 29 and December 16, 1862. The first group generally agreed with the dimensions of the silk patterns made in late autumn 1861. The infantry flags were four feet square, made of red wool bunting pieced together from three horizontally joined sections. An eight-inch-wide, dark blue bunting, St. Andrew's cross traversed the field and had a half-inch-wide white cotton outer edge. Thirteen white cotton, five-pointed stars, each three inches across their points, were sewn along the arms of the saltire at six-inch intervals from the center of the flag. Orange bunting left over from Beauregard's June 1861 attempt at distinctive wing badges was applied as a border on three sides of the flags. A white canvas heading was sewn to the side and had three buttonhole eyelets for ties (Plate 22).

The pattern of the Army of Northern Virginia flags was modified slightly, after approximately forty-four had been made and distributed, to conserve bunting. The cross was narrowed to five inches, and the stars were enlarged to three and a half inches across their points. Three exterior edges of the flag continued to be bordered with orange bunting. Around August 1862, the supply of orange bunting was depleted, and a third pattern appeared, which simply replaced the one-and-a-half-inch-wide orange borders with a two-inch-wide, white bunting border. This pattern would survive through the balance of the 1862 production and would become the most prolific of the patterns made at the Richmond Clothing Depot.

Beginning in April 1863, entire divisions of the Army of Northern Virginia were equipped with uniform battle flags, each having not only a unit and state designation around the center star, but also battle honors in parallel rows in each quadrant of the field (Plate 64). Units receiving these new flags included those in the divisions of Generals D. H. Hill, A. P. Hill, George Pickett, and Edward

Johnson. These flags were also used to replace those lost in combat, but with the exception of those for General Henry Heth's division, they had no battle honors.

Upon receiving a new shipment of bunting run through the blockade into Wilmington, North Carolina, in April 1864, the Richmond Clothing Depot again changed its pattern for the Southern Cross battle flag. The overall size was increased to four and a quarter feet square. Construction materials remained the same, but the size of the saltire was increased to seven inches, and the stars were enlarged to five and a half inches and set at eight-inch intervals. In September 1864, the pattern was again altered to conserve blue bunting. The cross was diminished to five and a half inches, and the stars were reduced to four and a half inches across their points. The stars were initially set at nine-inch intervals, but in December, this dimension was altered to eight inches. And in early 1865, the star spacing was again shortened to seven inches. The flags otherwise remained unchanged, though the overall size also seems to have varied, with four feet being more common than the larger size adopted in April 1864.

Another shipment of bunting had been run through the federal blockade into Wilmington during August or September 1863. The Richmond Clothing Depot had begun the manufacture of bunting flags of the new national design finally adopted by the Confederate Congress on May 1, 1863. Known as the "Stainless Banner," the second national flag of the Confederacy consisted of a white field, which by law was to be proportioned 1:2, hoist to fly, with a rendition of the Army of Northern Virginia battle flag in the upper staff corner, extending two-thirds the height of the heading (Plate 60). The flags made by the Richmond and Charleston Clothing Depots were proportioned 2:3, hoist to fly. They were produced in four basic sizes at the Richmond Clothing Depot. The largest was ten feet on the hoist by fifteen feet on the fly and was intended for use as a garrison flag. The next size was eight feet on the hoist by twelve feet on the fly and was evidently intended to be a storm flag. The third size was five and a quarter feet by eight feet and was to be used as a post banner. The smallest of the Second National banners was four feet by six feet and was used as headquarters flags for brigade and division commands and by a few units as a regimental or battalion colors.

There was obviously no one system of flag production that prevailed throughout the Confederacy at any given time during the Civil War. Each geographic or economic area instead utilized the system that worked best for it regardless of the methods that might be employed in another part of the Confederacy. The result was a diversity of military flags not duplicated on the North American continent.



PART TWO

Tennessee's Confederate Flags  
and Their Makers



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## A MOST PLEASING FORM: PATTERNS AND STYLES

*Howard Michael Madaus*

The Civil War terms “pattern” and “style” have been colored by twenty-first-century connotations of the same words. By modern standards, the word “style” applies mainly to a type of men’s or women’s fashion that is often temporarily “in vogue” or popular. A “pattern,” in modern terms, specifically refers not only to the elements of a certain style but more commonly a paper schematic by which to produce a copy of the pattern in a desired cloth and color.

To some degree, these terms were in their infancy at the beginning of the American Civil War. The women of America, prompted by *Godey’s Ladies Book*, were in the process of being made aware of what “styles” were fashionable in Europe, and which they were supposed to emulate. Paper patterns as currently known, however, were only beginning to come into circulation. A few found their way into Civil War period newspapers, primarily for patriotic sewing circles to knit socks and mittens for volunteer soldiers.

The public was only being introduced to patterns, but the United States Quartermaster’s Department had in fact been employing them at its Schuylkill Arsenal, near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to cut the cloth for enlisted men’s uniforms since the War of 1812. Complaints about the poor fit of these initial “one-size-fits-all patterns” had led to the adoption of five different-sized patterns by the beginning of the American Civil War.

These quartermaster patterns were used in a variation of the European “factory” system, for the mass production of clothing. Cloth was delivered to the “Arsenal” in bolts (then called a “piece”), forty yards in length and with specific widths. A supervisor of the “cutting room” would then carefully lay a master pattern on several layers of cloth, maximizing the use of the materials, and carefully outline the pattern on the top fabric. The master cutters would scissor through the several layers of cloth, following the outlines established by the superintendent. After cutting, the various parts of a garment would be transferred to the “trimming room,” where the appropriate trimmings, linings, buttons, and thread would be bundled with the right garment parts. The resulting packages would then be sublet to “outside contractors,” or seamstresses, who would take them to their homes, accompanied by a finished sample. There, they would assemble the various parts and trimmings into completed clothing parts. When they had completed the assembly of the parts within a bundle, the seamstresses would return to the “Arsenal” with the appropriate number of finished garments. The garments would then be examined by a government clothing inspector and stamped with his approving mark and the size. The seamstresses would then receive a voucher that would permit them to be paid a predetermined price for their work.

During the twenty years before the American Civil War, this system of clothing manufacture had spread to independent entrepreneurs, who established the same general practice in the men’s clothing trade. By the time of the Civil War, this practice was common both in the private clothing trade and in the various government clothing-contracting or manufacturing depots. The Confederacy

initially attempted to rely on production through a “home industry” arrangement known as the “commutation system” to satisfy the clothing needs of the soldiers, but by 1862, this had proven to be an utter failure. The Confederate Quartermaster’s Department then started relying on independent contractors from commercial establishments and as the war progressed, on their own regional clothing depots, especially those in Richmond, Virginia; Charleston, South Carolina; and Augusta, Atlanta, and Columbus, Georgia. The same held true for military flag production.

In the first months of the war, the Confederacy relied on the patriotic fervor of its citizenry to provide military flags needed for the state-raised units. Suitable materials and patriotic fervor soon dwindled, and the Quartermaster’s Department turned either to private contractors or to their own clothing depots to manufacture the needed military flags.

No paper patterns have survived from the Civil War to conclusively confirm their use for flag production in the South. Inductive research involving the many surviving flags of the Confederacy, however, has shown that those remaining quite often incorporate three common characteristics: the same overall and internal dimensions of the finished product and its design elements; the same materials for each of the elements of the finished banner; and the same general manner of piecing the elements together to produce the colors. The combination of these three key common characteristics in groups of flags that can be historically linked either to theater, army, or time has convinced most historians of the physical culture of the war, that patterns did indeed exist in the Confederacy, both at the commercial level and at several army clothing depots.

During the American Civil War, the Southern armies were served by no fewer than twenty different general “styles” of flags. Eight of these were state flags that were established by legislative action or long-term usage. They include those adopted or used by Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Missouri. Of these eight states, however, only those adopted by Virginia and North Carolina followed specific patterns. Virginia flags were made to a “pattern” by one commercial manufacturer and three contractors to the state government, while North Carolina flags were made to a “pattern” by one commercial contractor to the state and later at the state clothing depot in Raleigh and under contract to a specific seamstress group.

The Confederate Congress adopted three basic styles of flags: the first national flag, or “Stars and Bars,” on March 4, 1861; the second national flag, or

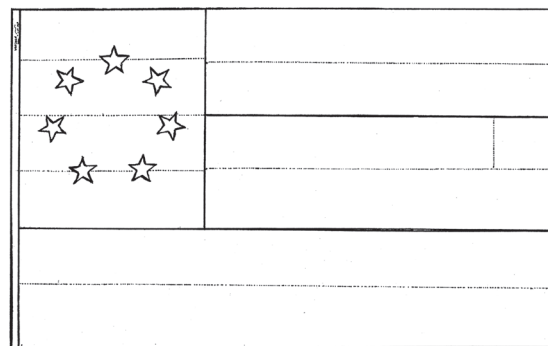


Fig. 4: Pattern drawing for a Confederate First National flag with seven stars, adopted March 4, 1861, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

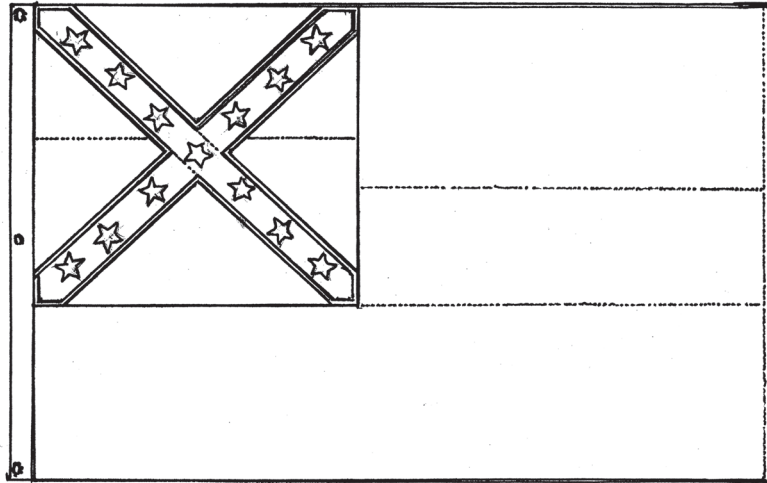


Fig. 5: Pattern drawing for a Confederate Second National flag, adopted May 1, 1863, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

“Stainless Banner,” on May 1, 1863; and the short-lived third national flag, or “final banner,” on March 4, 1865. Flags of the first national style generally were not made to a pattern. Only one commercial manufacturer in Virginia and another firm in South Carolina provided flags of the design like their own patterns. The second national flag, on the other hand, was seldom made privately. It generally was produced in at least three patterns at the Richmond, Staunton, and Charleston Clothing Depots for military usage. One Mobile contractor, and possibly a small independent contractor in Mississippi, who made flags for Loring’s Confederate division in December 1863, also produced second national colors. The third national flag was adopted so close to the end of the war in the Eastern theater that few were manufactured. There is evidence, nevertheless, that the Richmond Clothing Depot produced a few by modifying earlier second national flags in the closing month of the war.

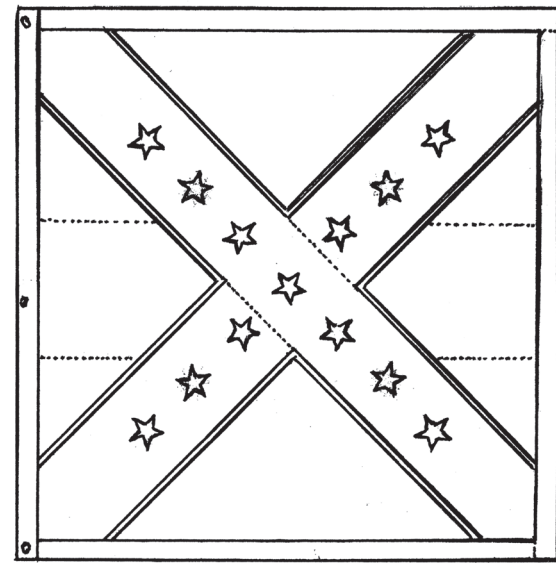


Fig. 7: Pattern drawing for an Army of Northern Virginia, First Bunting Issue battle flag, June 1862, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

State and national flags represented about half of the styles used by the Confederacy during the war, but an equal number of distinctive battle flags were made in nearly an equal number of designs and by far the largest number of patterns.

The best known of the Confederate battle-flag styles was the square “Southern Cross” banner used by the Army of Northern Virginia. No fewer than two silk, one cotton, and seven bunting patterns have been identified. They emanated from Richmond sewing circles or the Richmond Clothing Depot and conform to this general square design. The design was also followed, but with slightly different patterns, by the Staunton and Charleston Clothing Depots.

The army supply system in the Western theater relied on private contractors rather than the region’s clothing depots during 1862 and most of 1863. When General P. G. T. Beauregard brought the Southern Cross battle-flag design to

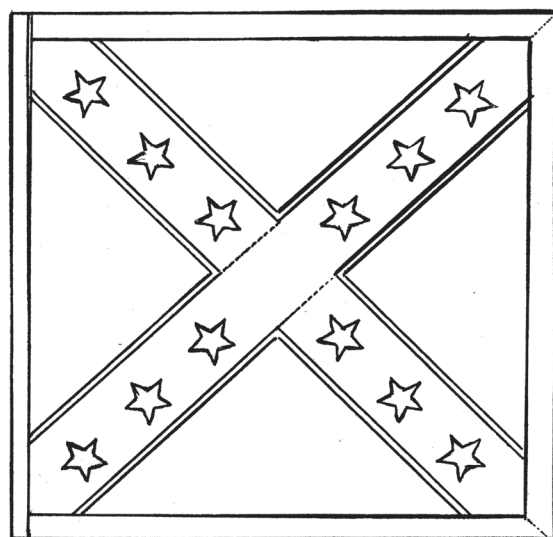


Fig. 6: Pattern drawing for an Army of Northern Virginia, silk issue (second type) battle flag, 1861, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

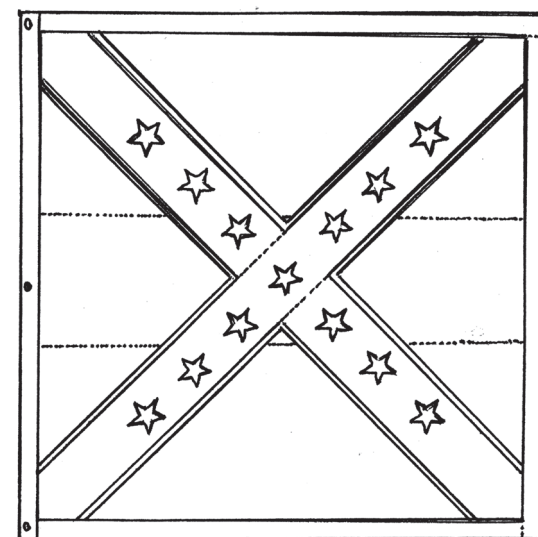


Fig. 8: Pattern drawing for an Army of Northern Virginia, Second Bunting Issue battle flag, 1862, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

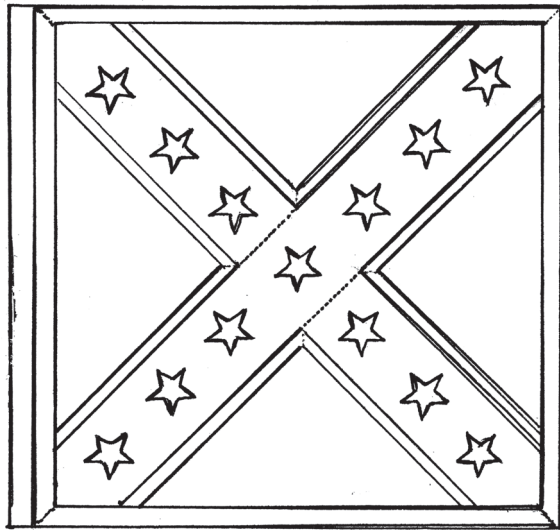


Fig. 9: Pattern drawing for an Army of Northern Virginia, Third Bunting Issue battle flag, July 1862, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

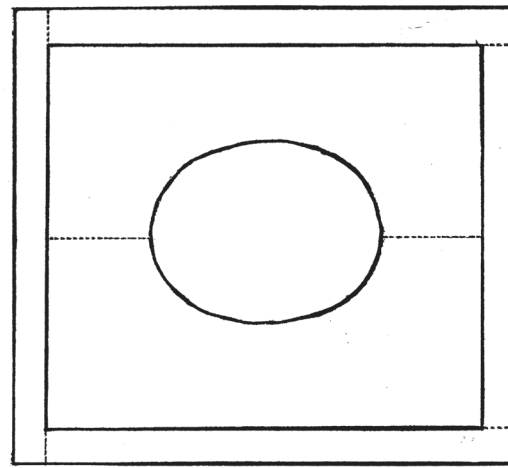


Fig. 12: Pattern drawing for a Hardee, Corps battle flag, Second Pattern, 1862, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

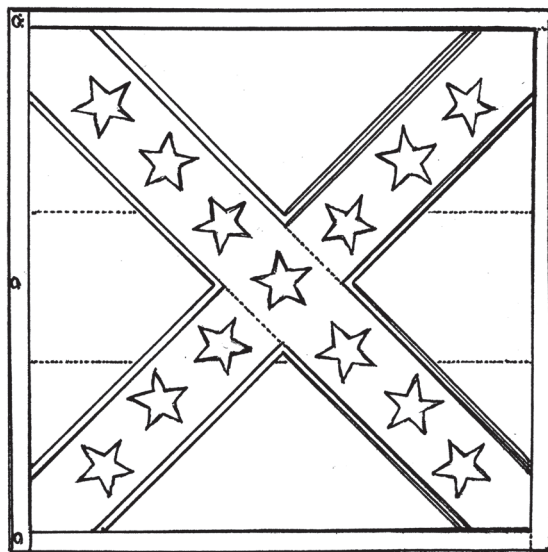


Fig. 10: Pattern drawing for an Army of Northern Virginia, Fourth Bunting Issue battle flag, 1864, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

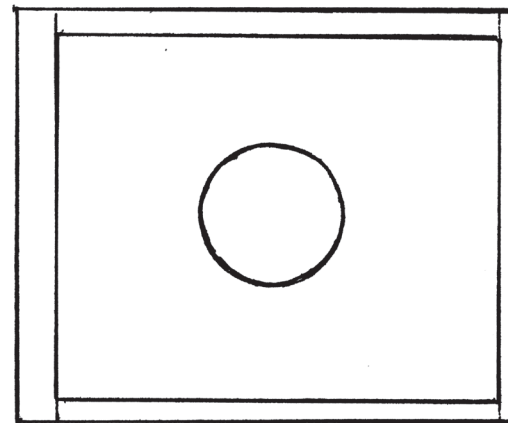


Fig. 13: Pattern drawing for a Hardee Corps battle flag, Third Pattern, 1863, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

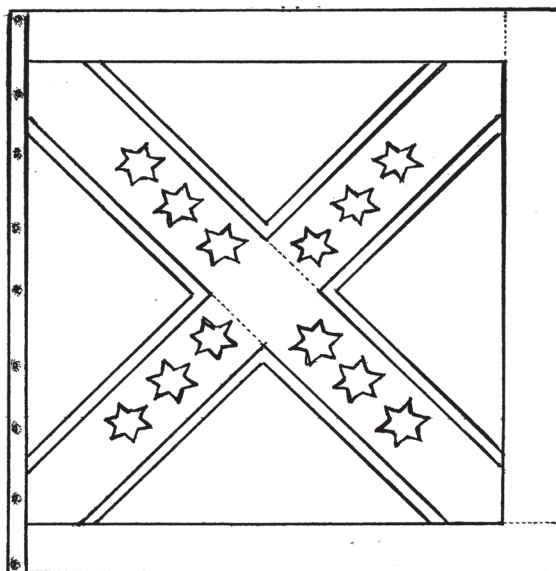


Fig. 11: Pattern drawing for a Bragg Corps, First Issue battle flag made by Henry Cassidy, 1862-1863, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

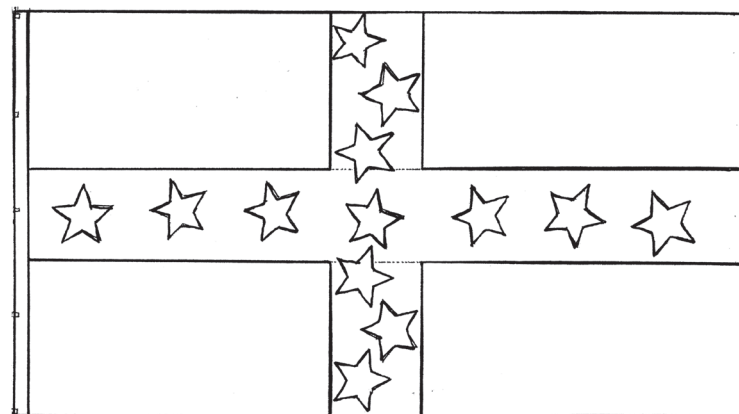


Fig. 14: Pattern drawing for a Polk Corps battle flag, First (silk) Issue, January 1862, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

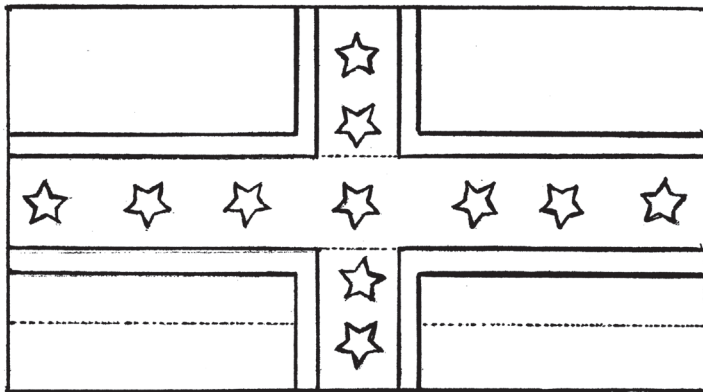


Fig. 15: Pattern drawing for a Polk Corps battle flag, Second (bunting) Issue, Summer 1862, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

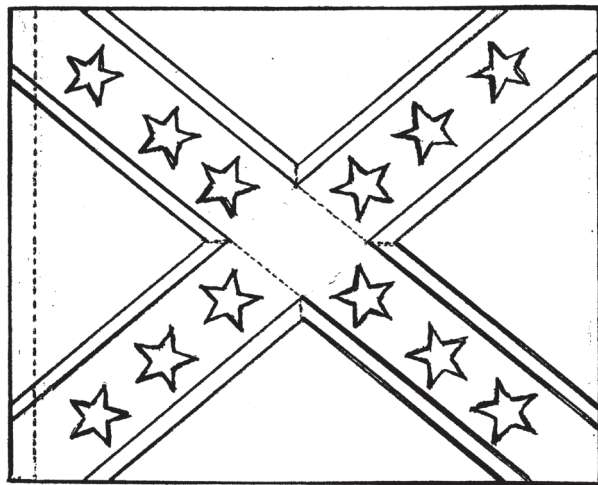


Fig. 16: Pattern drawing for a Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana battle flag, issued out of the Mobile Depot, 1863, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

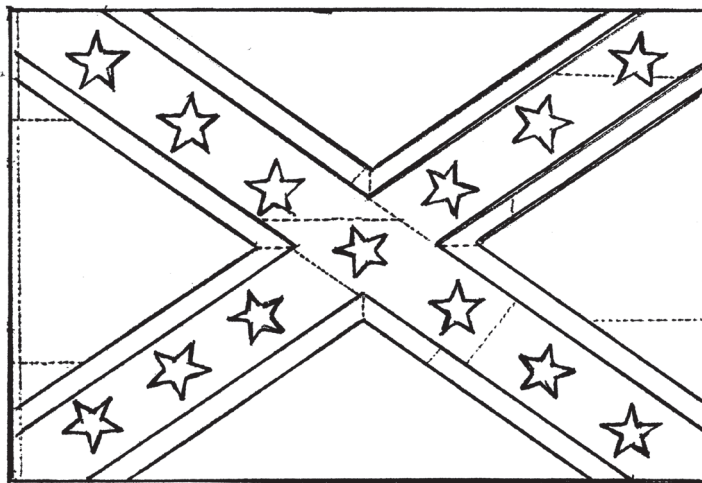


Fig. 17: Pattern drawing for an Army of Tennessee, Dalton Issue battle flag from the Spring of 1864, by Howard Michael Madaus. Tennessee State Museum.

the West in early 1862, he relied on a single New Orleans contractor for its production. This flag, which has become associated with General Braxton Bragg's corps, was nevertheless produced in two distinct patterns.

The blue "Hardee"-style battle flag was initially constructed by sewing circles or regimental tailors. In late 1863 and 1864, it was made in at least three patterns as replacement flags.

The blue battle flag with a red St. George's cross that was synonymous with forces in General Leonidas Polk's command in 1862 and early 1863 was made to two distinct patterns by separate contractors in 1862.

The crescent and star-spangled red banners identified with the Army of the West in 1862 were produced in accordance with at least two identifiable patterns. The same appears to have been the case for the 1862 blue flags with Latin crosses of Breckenridge's Reserve Corps and the blue flags with white Latin crosses of the Missouri brigades of the Confederacy, each made with a single common pattern.

The design of the Army of Northern Virginia "Southern Cross" battle flag was reintroduced to the western armies in the autumn of 1863 and the winter of 1863–1864 in a rectangular, borderless form. Two very prominent patterns guided their manufacture—one emanating from two contractors in Mobile, Alabama, and the other from the Augusta Clothing Depot.

No fewer than forty-five patterns, therefore, have been identified as having been in use during the four years of the Confederacy's existence. But only twenty styles of flags existed during the war. It is not surprising that the flags of this nation continue to generate such interest.

## CONFEDERATE DEPOTS AND MAJOR FLAG PATTERNS

### *Greg Biggs*

By mid-1862, the Southern quartermaster depot system had been ramped up sufficiently to take over the manufacturing of unit battle flags, and smaller firms and individuals mostly fell by the wayside. A few individuals would continue making flags occasionally, mostly for special or ceremonial purposes, but for the remainder of the war, the depots were prevalent. The quartermaster facilities at Richmond, Virginia, and Charleston, South Carolina, made flags using the old cottage industry system. Workers came to the depot and took home pre-cut kits for uniforms, shoes, and flags. By November 1862, Richmond Depot quartermaster, Major W. G. Ferguson, in a letter to the *Richmond Whig*, stated that "we have employed in the depot about sixty cutters and two thousand women, mostly wives and daughters of absent soldiers in the field and the poor of our city."<sup>1</sup>

Two other depots had colors produced for them under contracts issued to local flag makers. The depot at Augusta, Georgia, contracted with flag maker Jacob B. Platt. The quartermaster facility at Mobile, Alabama, worked with Jackson and Sarah Belknap. Both Platt and the Belknaps had been very prolific flag makers earlier in the war within their respective states.

Flags made through the depot system typically had a uniform construction. Both hand stitching and machine sewing were evident, and the amount of each depended on whether a worker had a sewing machine and could still obtain thread for it as the war progressed.

Another method for securing new flags was for individual quartermaster officers to deal directly with a maker. This was true when General Pierre G. T. Beauregard ordered battle flags for General Braxton Bragg's corps prior to the Battle of Shiloh. The former turned to New Orleans flag maker Henry Cassidy, who had produced sails and tents before the war. Cassidy's flags, which resembled the battle colors of the Army of Northern Virginia, were sent to Corinth, Mississippi. One shipment was lost, however, and another arrived as General Bragg's forces were marching toward the battlefield.

And a final way of obtaining unit colors was to acquire the bulk fabric and arrange for a soldier with tailoring skills to be detached and then make it into flags. Private Joseph Duffer of the 18th Tennessee Infantry and Private Jacob Gall of the 19th Louisiana Infantry were examples. Both flags made by these two soldier tailors were for General William J. Hardee's corps. It is also quite possible that all but the first forty of the second-issue flags for General Leonidas Polk's corps were made in this same manner during the late summer of 1862.

The following Confederate depots made Tennessee unit flags. Any conclusions made were based on inductive evidence of surviving flags and how armies and depots issued them after patterns were standardized.

## **Richmond Depot**

### *Battle flags for the Army of Northern*

#### *Virginia and District of North Carolina*

Surviving examples include three issued to Turney's 1st Tennessee (Plates 22, 23, 24) and four provided to the 14th Tennessee (Plates 62, 63, 64, 65), as well as colors flown by the 17th/23rd, 25th/44th, and 63rd Tennessee Infantry Regiments (Plates 73, 86, 103, 105). Missing flags include that which was received by the 7th Tennessee Infantry, which was depicted in a postwar newspaper drawing.

Since no Tennessee artillery batteries were attached to the Army of Northern Virginia, there were no flags issued to these units by the Richmond Depot.

## **Charleston Depot**

### *Battle flags for the Army of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida*

No Tennessee unit flags have been discovered that were made through this depot. Flags of this pattern did see service in Tennessee, however, during General John Bell Hood's campaign of late 1864. These flags were used by units of General States Rights Gist's brigade.

## **Augusta Depot**

### *Battle flags for the Army of Tennessee, issued in February and March 1864*

General Joseph E. Johnston arrived at Dalton, Georgia, to take command of the depleted Army of Tennessee following its collapse at Missionary Ridge in late November 1863. A former quartermaster officer in the prewar U.S. Army, Johnston had the experience necessary to rebuild his new command. New weapons, uniforms, food, and battle flags soon began to flow from depots across the Deep South.

Prior to General Johnston's arrival, the Army of Tennessee had marched and fought under nine different flags. The new flags sent to Dalton from the Augusta Depot, rather than being square, were rectangular and lacked the white exterior borders on the Army of Northern Virginia colors, after which they were patterned.

The quartermaster facility at Augusta, Georgia, was a subsidiary of the larger Atlanta Depot. General Johnston's orders for these new flags were probably sent to Augusta, because the city was known to have several flag makers of note. One of the city's makers, Jacob Platt, went so far as to submit a bid to the Confederate War Department in October 1863, offering to make flags for the army. He proposed making rectangular flags, and since the colors subsequently issued from the Augusta Depot were produced in that shape, it can be assumed that Platt was awarded the contract. The Army of Tennessee, therefore, had flags of a uniform pattern for the first time in its short existence. But some of the commands in this army continued to carry the similar Polk's Corps banners, and a few Army of Northern Virginia flags were used during the forthcoming Atlanta Campaign. General Patrick Cleburne's division was the only command in the Army of Tennessee that refused the new flags.

The first Army of Tennessee battle flags arrived in late January 1864 and were issued to the famous Kentucky "Orphan Brigade." Early in the following month, seventy more flags arrived, and the Augusta Depot continued providing new colors through March 1864.

General John Bell Hood ordered that the flags issued to his corps were to be marked with unit and state designations. Other units, like Brown's Tennessee Brigade, had battle honors added to them. Others were left totally unmarked.<sup>2</sup>

Surviving flags of this pattern were issued to Brown's 3rd and the 6th/9th, 11th, 18th/26th, 26th, 31st, 32nd, and 41st Tennessee Infantry Regiments (Plates 40, 45, 61, 77, 90, 94, 97). Tennessee infantry units that should have received these flags included the 1st/27th, 4th/5th, 8th, 12th/47th, 13th/154th, 15th/37th, 16th, 19th, 20th, 24th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 33rd, 38th, 45th/23rd, 50th, and 51st/52nd Regiments. The 4th Confederate Infantry Regiment, which contained some Tennessee companies, also should have received one the Army of Tennessee colors issued out of the Augusta Depot.

Tennessee cavalry units that should have received these flags included the Tennessee cavalry brigades of Colonel George Dibrell, containing McLemore's 4th and the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th Tennessee Cavalry Regiments, and Colonel Henry Ashby, containing Wheeler's 1st/6th and the 2nd, 5th, and 9th Tennessee Cavalry Regiments.

Tennessee artillery units that should have received these flags included Captain John Mebane's Battery and Captain Lucius Marshall's Battery. The horse artillery of Wheeler's Cavalry Corps included three Tennessee batteries—Huwald's Battery, Captain Almaria Huggins's Battery, and Captain Benjamin White's Battery—which also should have been issued this flag.

## **Mobile Depot**

### *Battle flags for the Army of Mississippi (later General Leonidas Polk's Corps); the Mobile garrison; Forrest's Cavalry Corps; and the troops in the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana*

In the aftermath of the Vicksburg Campaign, department commander General Joseph E. Johnston set out to rebuild his forces and standardize their battle flags. The Mobile Depot, being his main supply base, issued contracts for the making of new flags to Jackson and Sarah Belknap and James Cameron, who had left Memphis after its capture in June 1862. The flags produced were rectangular with a blue saltire and twelve stars instead of thirteen. No documents from the makers or from General Johnston have been found clarifying why only twelve stars were used. Instead of sewing stars to both sides of the flag, the reverse of the field was typically cut away, exposing the back of each star on the obverse.

The first of these flags were issued to General William Hicks "Red" Jackson's cavalry division in October 1863. They continued to be made in 1864, with the last issues provided to General Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry corps in July. Other units receiving these new colors included General Polk's Army of Mississippi; the Mobile garrison, which included the Tennessee Brigade of General William Quarles; and possibly the cavalry division of General Philip Roddey.<sup>3</sup>

Tennessee infantry units that should have received these flags included the 42nd, 46th/55th, 48th, 49th, and 53rd Tennessee Regiments of General William A. Quarles's brigade.

Surviving Tennessee cavalry flags of this pattern include that of Barteau's 22nd Cavalry and that of an unidentified unit, taken from another regiment of Bell's Brigade at Nashville, Tennessee, and subsequently assigned United States War Department inventory number WD210 (Plates 132, 133). Tennessee cavalry units that should have received these flags included Colonel Tyree Bell's Tennessee Cavalry Brigade, containing the 18th, 20th, 21st, and Nixon's Tennessee Cavalry; Colonel Edmund Rucker's brigade, including the 7th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 15th, and Forrest's Old Regiment Tennessee Cavalry; and Colonel Jacob Biffle's brigade, composed of the 4th, 11th, and 19th Tennessee Cavalry Regiments, all part of General Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry corps. Please note that the 10th and 11th Tennessee Cavalry regiments were transfers to Forrest's Corps and may have continued using their Augusta Depot flags.

Tennessee artillery batteries that should have received these flags included Captain John Morton's Battery and Captain T. W. Rice's Battery, both of Forrest's Cavalry Corps. One Tennessee foot battery of Polk's Corps, that of Captain Robert Barry, known as the Lookout Tennessee Battery, also should have received this flag.

## **Non-Depot-Made Battle Flags**

### *Hardee Pattern Battle Flags*

#### **ARMY OF CENTRAL KENTUCKY, HARDEE'S CORPS, AND CLEBURNE'S DIVISION**

The first flags of this pattern were said to have been designed by General Simon B. Buckner and issued to the Army of Central Kentucky in January 1862, while it was stationed at Bowling Green, Kentucky. They were made by a local sewing circle that included Mrs. Buckner and Mrs. Samuel Blackburn, whose home was rented as the headquarters for General Albert Sidney Johnston, commander of Department Number Two.

The Army of Central Kentucky, at its height, included three divisions under the command of General William J. Hardee, General Simon B. Buckner, and

General John R. Floyd. In early February 1862, General Buckner's division and two brigades from General Floyd's division were sent to reinforce the garrison at Fort Donelson, Tennessee. It was at the Battle of Fort Donelson that this battle flag was initially used. The remainder of the Army of Central Kentucky devolved into the Hardee Corps, the heart and soul of the future Army of the Mississippi and Army of Tennessee.

Flag historian Howard Madaus determined that there were six issues of the Hardee battle flag during the war. Each issue varied somewhat from the others as to whether they had white borders or not and in the shape of the "moon" at the center of the flag. The "moons," or centered disks, varied from being circles to horizontal or vertical ellipses, to rectilinear shapes, and finally returning to circles in late 1864.<sup>4</sup>

These issues, as determined by Madaus, occurred at the following times and locations:

#### **FIRST ISSUE: ARMY OF CENTRAL KENTUCKY, BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY, JANUARY 1862**

The first flags of this pattern featured circular or somewhat elliptical "moons." The borders on these flags were white, and the field was blue.

Only one example of what has become known as the Buckner-Hardee flag survived: that of Brown's 3rd Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Plate 39). Some postwar sources indicated that the 18th Tennessee and 32nd Tennessee Infantry Regiments also received these colors. The flag of the 24th Tennessee from this issue remained with descendants of the regiment's colonel until the 1960s. Tennessee infantry units that should have received these flags included the 23rd, 26th, 27th, 35th, 41st, and 44th Tennessee Regiments.<sup>5</sup>

The Army of Central Kentucky also contained three cavalry units and three artillery batteries, formed with men from Tennessee. Confederate cavalry units in the Western theater did not follow the same flag-standardization guidelines as those in the Army of Northern Virginia. The western mounted commands used a variety of flags until late 1863 or early 1864, when the Augusta and Mobile depot flags were issued. Confederate artillery batteries did not generally receive these flags until the issues to General Patrick Cleburne's division in 1864. But two blue-and-white marker flags in this pattern were captured in late-1863, making it possible that some of the artillery units in the Army of Tennessee had Hardee flags prior to that issue.<sup>6</sup>

#### **SECOND ISSUE: HARDEE'S CORPS, ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI, CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI, MAY 1862**

Following the Battle of Shiloh, the Army of the Mississippi fell back to Corinth, Mississippi, where it remained through much of May, when it was forced to retire by vastly superior Union forces. Hardee's Corps, at least before falling back to Tupelo, Mississippi, received new battle flags.

For the remainder of the war, flags flown by Hardee's Corps and Cleburne's Division were made by soldiers with tailoring skills, detached for the duty of making colors. This issue was made from bulk blue merino and bleached domestic cloth purchased from Corinth dry goods dealers Colyer F. and R. P. Sawyers.

Tennessee units that should have received these new flags included the 2nd,

17th, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 27th, 29th, 35th, 37th, 44th, and 48th Tennessee Infantry Regiments. It was quite possible that those regiments assigned to Bowling Green in early 1862 were still using their first-issue flags of the same pattern. There were several Tennessee artillery batteries serving in Hardee's Corps, but there are no surviving flags from these units. After being detached to reinforce the Army of Kentucky under General Edmund Kirby Smith for the Kentucky Campaign, Cleburne's Brigade brought their blue and white flags with them.

#### **THIRD ISSUE:**

##### **HARDEE'S CORPS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE, BELL BUCKLE OR WARTRACE, TENNESSEE, SPRING 1863**

After its withdrawal from Corinth to Tupelo, Mississippi, the Army of the Mississippi was reorganized under its new commander, General Braxton Bragg, and then moved to join two other Confederate columns in the invasion of Kentucky. But circumstances dictated a strategic retreat from the Bluegrass State, despite its outmaneuvering Union forces and securing a tactical victory at Perryville. Bragg's forces withdrew into Tennessee and regrouped at Murfreesboro, joining with General John Breckinridge's division, which had been ordered from Mississippi to hold the area in Middle Tennessee. Bragg's command, renamed the Army of Tennessee, due to a strategic change in its mission, then fought at the Battle of Stones River at the end of 1862 and beginning of 1863. It was defeated by the Union Army of the Cumberland at Murfreesboro, and General Bragg withdrew into southern Middle Tennessee, below the Highland Rim, and regrouped yet again.

British Lieutenant Colonel James Freemantle of the Coldstream Guards was visiting Bragg's army in Tennessee during May 1863 and noted these flags in his book, *Three Months in The Southern States*. He wrote that "each regiment carried a 'battle flag,' blue, with a white border, on which were inscribed the names, 'Belmont,' 'Shiloh,' 'Perryville,' 'Richmond, Kentucky,' and 'Murfreesboro.'"<sup>77</sup>

Between January and June 1863, Bragg's army was replenished, including new battle flags to replace those captured or badly damaged at Murfreesboro. A new issue of flags for Hardee's Corps arrived, bearing battle honors for Perryville and Murfreesboro. The famous Kentucky "Orphan Brigade" received these new colors in March 1863, adorned with battle honors for their service with Breckinridge's Division in Mississippi and Louisiana.

Bragg's army received reinforcements, but Hardee's Corps retained much of its same complement. The 17th Tennessee Infantry Regiment received its new flag during that time, with honors for Perryville and Murfreesboro (Plate 71).

Tennessee units that may have received new flags included the 2nd, 18th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, 26th, 28th, 32nd, 35th, 37th, 44th, and 45th Tennessee and the 5th Confederate Infantry Regiments. The 20th Tennessee Infantry Regiment also won a special presentation flag of a unique pattern.

It is doubtful that General John McCown's division, which contained some Tennessee commands and had been added to the corps prior to the Battle of Stones River, used Hardee battle flags. This command, as part of the old corps of General Edmund Kirby Smith, also called the Army of Kentucky, had its own distinctive battle flags that differed from those of Hardee's Corps.

#### **FOURTH ISSUE:**

##### **HARDEE'S OLD CORPS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE, NORTH GEORGIA, NEAR CHATTANOOGA, LATE SEPTEMBER 1863**

General Bragg again reorganized the Army of Tennessee prior to the Confederate victory at Chickamauga in September 1863. He received massive reinforcements from the Atlantic Coast, Mississippi, and the Army of Northern Virginia. General William J. Hardee had been detached to retrain and reorganize some of the troops captured and paroled at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on July 4, 1863. While Hardee was posted at Enterprise, Mississippi, and Demopolis, Alabama, reequipping thousands of men, Hardee's Corps was broken up and reassigned to the smaller corps created for the Chickamauga Campaign. Cleburne's and Breckinridge's divisions were reassigned to General Daniel H. Hill; Stewart's Division was transferred to General Simon B. Buckner's corps; and Liddell's Division was placed in General W. H. T. Walker's command. But it seems that these reorganizations were only for the immediate battle, rather than being permanent restructurings, because General Hardee was expected to return to the Army of Tennessee once his task with the Vicksburg parolees was completed.

By November 20, 1863, General Bragg had reorganized his corps again during the siege of Chattanooga. Several division and corps commanders were removed or left the army. Hardee's Corps was reconstituted, as the general had returned to the Army of Tennessee in late October. His command included the divisions of generals Benjamin F. Cheatham, Thomas C. Hindman, Simon B. Buckner, and W. H. T. Walker.

Private Jacob Gall of Company D, 19th Louisiana Infantry was detached from his regiment to serve as General Hardee's personal tailor and assigned to duty in Mississippi and Alabama. He was supplied with stocks of blue merino and white domestic, along with thread, in early September and assembled thirty-four battle flags for Hardee's Corps.

The massive reorganizations of the Army of Tennessee, coupled with the addition of Moore's and Pettus's Alabama brigades from the parole camps in Demopolis, Alabama, make it difficult to determine which units received Gall's flags. Accounts from these two Alabama brigades indicate they received new colors before departing to Tennessee, which is corroborated by the loss of some of these flags on Lookout Mountain. The 18th Alabama Infantry also received a new Hardee battle flag on September 30, 1863, as noted on a quartermaster form in the records of Captain John J. Winston, a regimental adjutant. This flag, which was captured at Missionary Ridge in late November and currently rests in the collections of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, has a vertically oriented ellipse and is marked with the unit and state designation. A surviving flag of the 38th Alabama Infantry, also taken at Missionary Ridge, had a similar "moon." This suggests that the flags made by Private Gall all had vertical ellipses, and some of them were decorated with unit and state designations.

The Tennessee brigades commanded by Bushrod Johnson, John C. Brown, and William B. Bate had been part of Hardee's Corps, both before and after General Bragg's reorganizations of the Army of Tennessee. These commands may have continued to use older Hardee battle flags. But the brigades of Otho Strahl, Marcus J. Wright, and John C. Vaughn had been part of General Polk's old corps and were reassigned to Hardee's Corps. These three brigades could have received new colors from those prepared by Private Gall, because Polk's forces had flown their own distinctive battle flags.

**FIFTH ISSUE:****GENERAL PATRICK CLEBURNE'S DIVISION, HARDEE'S CORPS,  
ARMY OF TENNESSEE, DALTON, GEORGIA, FEBRUARY-MARCH 1864**

The Confederate collapse at Missionary Ridge on November 25, 1863 shattered the Army of Tennessee. It fell back into northern Georgia, leaving General Patrick Cleburne's division as a rear guard. Two days later, at Ringgold Gap, Georgia, Cleburne was attacked and defeated by a Union corps under General Joseph Hooker. The division received the gratitude of the Confederate Congress, and Cleburne became known as the "Stonewall of the West" for his defensive action.

By late December 1863, General Joseph E. Johnston had replaced General Braxton Bragg in command of the Army of Tennessee. He did what was needed to rebuild his army, including finally standardizing its battle flags. But one division was steadfast in rejecting these new flags, seeking to retain the distinctive blue and white Hardee battle flags that some of the regiments had been using since January 1862. A soldier in General Hiram Granbury's Texas Brigade stated that "the Yanks was all afraid of the blue flag division."

Upon learning of the fighting prowess of this command, General Johnston allowed it to not only retain its battle flags but also to receive new issues that replaced shot and tattered Hardee colors. The fabric in these new flags was colored with a poorer-quality dye than earlier flags and soon faded to a blue-green color. The white cotton "moon" on each of these new flags was rectilinear. The soldier who made these new Hardee battle flags for Cleburne's Division has yet to be determined. The fabric was probably acquired from a dry goods store in one of the towns between Dalton and Atlanta, Georgia.

Period accounts indicate that twenty-two of these new Hardee battle flags were issued in February 1864. Based upon the eleven surviving flags from this issue, they were all marked with battle honors and unit and state designations.

The only Tennessee units receiving these flags were the 2nd and 35th/48th and the 5th Confederate Infantry Regiments (Plate 44).

**SIXTH ISSUE:****GENERAL PATRICK CLEBURNE'S DIVISION, GENERAL  
BENJAMIN F. CHEATHAM'S CORPS, ARMY OF  
TENNESSEE, PALMETTO, GEORGIA, OCTOBER 1864**

At least nine flags from General Patrick Cleburne's command were captured during the battles at Atlanta and Jonesboro, Georgia, including that of the 5th Confederate Infantry, a Tennessee regiment. Undoubtedly, others were badly damaged during the savage fighting around Atlanta.

General John Bell Hood had taken over command of the Army of Tennessee during the Atlanta Campaign, and before he could make his next movements, his army required reorganization and replenishment. During a reorganization on July 24, 1864, Cleburne's Division lost all of General Lucius Polk's brigade except for one regiment. It received a brigade of Georgia troops commanded by General Hugh Mercer from the dissolution of General W. H. T. Walker's division. Mercer's Brigade had arrived from Savannah for the Atlanta Campaign with flags made by the Charleston Depot. As part of Cleburne's command, they too needed new blue and white Hardee battle flags.

Issued in early October 1864, these new flags had the circular "moons" first used in early 1862. It is not currently known where the bulk cloth was purchased or who made these flags. Some were marked with unit and state designations;

others were not, based upon inductive evidence from surviving flags of this issue. It was under these new flags, along with those that remained from the spring 1864 issue, that Hood's Army of Tennessee marched off to the Volunteer State for the disastrous campaign of November and December 1864.

Six of the flags from the fall 1864 issue survive today in museums and private collections. These colors were made after the Atlanta Campaign, but the surviving flag of the 33rd Alabama Infantry Regiment indicates that replacement colors from this issue were also given to units after the later battles of Franklin and Nashville and the conclusion of the Tennessee Campaign.

The only Tennessee unit left in Cleburne's command after the reorganization of July 24, 1864, was the 5th Confederate Infantry. It can be presumed that a new flag was issued to this regiment, even though it has not yet been located. It is not known whether the other two Tennessee regiments transferred from Cleburne's Division retained their Cleburne-Hardee battle flags, issued in the spring of 1864, or were supplied with new colors from the Augusta Depot.

***Bragg Pattern Battle Flags*****GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG'S CORPS, ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI  
HENRY CASSIDY CONTRACT**

The Army of Central Kentucky retreated from the Bluegrass State due to the capture of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, and Nashville in early 1862. General Albert Sidney Johnston ordered a concentration of forces at Corinth, Mississippi, a vital railroad junction that would serve as a base for building a new command to retake Tennessee. Johnston reorganized his command, using disparate forces from General Leonidas Polk's Grand Division; the remains of General Felix Zollicoffer's forces defeated at Mill Springs, Kentucky; and the former Bowling Green-based Army of Central Kentucky, and called it the Army of the Mississippi. Seeing the importance of a Confederate offensive, President Jefferson Davis added a Louisiana brigade and troops from Mobile, Alabama, and Pensacola, Florida, the latter being under the command of General Braxton Bragg.

Having been transferred to the Western theater in January 1862, General Pierre G. T. Beauregard attempted to have the battle flag of the Army of Northern Virginia adopted as the colors of General Johnston's new army. But General Beauregard was only partially successful with his plan to standardize the flag of the Army of the Mississippi, as two of its four corps refused to adopt the eastern flag. He attempted to order General Polk to adopt this new flag for his corps, replacing the distinctive one his troops had received in January 1862. General Bragg's new corps was different, however, and contracts were sent to New Orleans, where sail maker Henry Cassidy manufactured 134 flags in February and March 1862. The Cassidy flags had twelve stars on a blue cross, each with six points instead of the typical five. They were bordered in pink or yellow silk and came in two shapes: square and a post-Shiloh issue that was rectangular.

Delays in getting these flags made before the Shiloh Campaign resulted in the shipment for Polk's Corps to go missing and not arrive until after the battle. General Polk had even written to the quartermaster at New Orleans asking for a replacement set of flags and hoping to get them in time for the battle. Those for Bragg's Corps arrived just in time and were distributed to his units, literally as they were marching out of Corinth toward the battlefield.<sup>8</sup>

Tennessee infantry units in Polk's Corps that received these flags included the 4th, 21st, and 27th Tennessee Regiments (Plates 43, 83). Only two Tennessee infantry regiments were assigned to Bragg's Corps and received these flags, the 38th and 52nd Tennessee (Plate 101).

#### *Polk Corps Battle Flags*

##### **GENERAL LEONIDAS POLK'S CORPS, ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND ARMY OF TENNESSEE**

Department Number Two of the Confederate Army was formed in West Tennessee during 1861 to defend the Mississippi River, initially thought to be the potential Union invasion route into the Deep South. General Leonidas Polk, former Episcopalian bishop of the Southwest and a West Point classmate of President Jefferson Davis, was assigned to command this army. Its defensive line extended from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River. Polk was soon superseded by General Albert Sidney Johnston as department commander and given responsibility over the area of Tennessee west of the Tennessee River and to the Mississippi River.

General Polk's command, later called the Grand Division, grew to the size of a corps, and he moved into Kentucky during September 1861, seizing the vital Mississippi River bluffs at Columbus. He blocked southern movement down the river at a crucial point, by emplacing heavy artillery. Polk's forces also held Island Number 10 and surrounding forts; Fort Pillow, Trenton, and Paris in Tennessee; and New Madrid, Missouri.

General Polk decided that his command needed a distinctive battle flag and looked to the heraldry of the Episcopal Church for a design. For most of the American diocese, this was the cross of St. George. The old Anglican Church of England withdrew its clergy from the United States after the Revolutionary War, and the Church of Scotland supplied clergy to the new nation. The Episcopal Church heraldry therefore reflects its English and Scottish heritage in the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, respectively.

General Polk's main supply base in 1861 was at Memphis, Tennessee, which had several known flag makers, including James Cameron. It is generally thought that Cameron made the first forty-five flags issued to Polk's forces in late January 1862. These were large silk banners, with a field that was a lighter shade of blue and a red St. George cross adorned by thirteen white stars. These flags were sent to Polk's Grand Division at Columbus, Kentucky, and would see use in the battles of Island Number 10 and Shiloh.

Assigned to the Western theater in January 1862, General P. G. T. Beauregard brought with him the battle flag of the Army of Northern Virginia. He saw an opportunity to force it on the disparate Confederate forces defending Department Number Two and ordered General Polk to adopt a design based on the Virginia flag. General Polk complied with this order and requisitioned new battle flags from Henry Cassidy of New Orleans that were identical to those to be shipped to General Bragg's corps. But they were lost in shipment and did not arrive until after the Battle of Shiloh and when the Army of the Mississippi had fallen back to Corinth, Mississippi.

The silk Polk Corps flags were retired, and the new flags were used until late summer 1862. General Beauregard took sick leave in June 1862, and General Braxton Bragg was promoted to command the Army of the Mississippi. General Polk then saw the opportunity to resurrect his old design, as General Bragg was

seemingly not interested in the issue of flag standardization. Marcus Wright noted in his diary that new Polk Corps flags arrived in August 1862. These new colors were made of wool bunting, had only eleven stars, and were smaller in size. It is assumed that these new flags were issued to the entire corps just as the Kentucky Campaign was beginning. But existing evidence suggests that it might have been only General Benjamin Cheatham's Division that received them. Preston Smith's brigade, detached from Polk's Corps, probably used these flags after being sent to reinforce the Army of Kentucky under General Edmund Kirby Smith for its part of the Kentucky Campaign.

Polk's distinctive battle flags were used through 1863. Even a few of the older silk banners were resurrected, as one was captured at Missionary Ridge in November 1863.<sup>9</sup>

Tennessee infantry units that received the Polk silk flags included Strahl's 4th and the 6th, 9th, and 21st Regiments (Plate 82). Units receiving the wool bunting issues included Maney's 1st and the 6th and 27th Tennessee Infantry Regiments (Plate 26).

#### *Army of Kentucky battle flags*

The Army of Kentucky was born in the summer of 1862 when General Edmund Kirby Smith took command of the Confederate forces holding East Tennessee. Smith and his predecessors, who had been under pressure from Union forces since April, when Union General Ormsby Mitchell's division threatened Chattanooga, continually begged for reinforcements. In response to these requests, General Braxton Bragg initially dispatched General John McCown's division to Chattanooga. General Smith then devised a plan to invade Kentucky and again appealed for reinforcements. He received Preston Smith's brigade from Polk's Corps and Patrick Cleburne's brigade from Hardee's Corps. These two brigades formed a division under General Cleburne's command. General Smith then had four infantry divisions under the command of Generals Carter Stevenson, Henry Heth, Thomas Churchill (formerly General McCown's division), and Patrick Cleburne, as well as three cavalry brigades. He advanced into Kentucky, where his forces won a crushing victory at Richmond, captured Lexington, and threatened Cincinnati, Ohio.

Only limited information has been found about the battle flags used by this army. They had a blue field with white exterior borders and a solid white St. Andrews cross in the center. They possibly were initially made for General John McCown's Division, because he was of Scottish lineage, and they were virtually identical to the flag of Scotland.<sup>10</sup>

Only two flags from the Army of Kentucky survive today: those of the 30th Arkansas and 39th North Carolina Infantry Regiments. The 30th Arkansas fought as part of McCown's-Churchill's Division, and the 39th North Carolina was assigned to Heth's Division, so it is likely that the entire Army of Kentucky was issued these battle flags. Tennessee units that may have used them in the Kentucky Campaign would have included Vaughn's-Lillard's 3rd and the 4th (34th), 11th, 31st, 43rd, and 59th Infantry Regiments.

The Army of Kentucky was merged into the renamed Army of Tennessee later in 1862. It was initially designated as the 3rd Corps, but was then absorbed into the other two corps prior to the Battle of Stones River, and one of its divisions was sent to Mississippi. The Army of Kentucky flag of the 30th Arkansas

Infantry Regiment was captured during action at Murfreesboro. These flags were probably replaced in early 1863, when new colors were made or sent to the Army of Tennessee, then in winter quarters.<sup>11</sup>

#### Notes

1. Article, *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, November 11, 1862, n.p.; for more information on the Confederate quartermaster depots and the making of flags, see the chapter on flags in Time-Life Editors, *Echoes of Glory: Arms and Equipment of the Confederacy* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1991).
2. Howard Michael Madaus and Robert D. Needham, *The Battle Flags of the Confederate Army of Tennessee* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1976), 63–72.
3. *Ibid.*, 73–89.
4. *Ibid.*, 49–53; 91–98.
5. *Ibid.*, 49.
6. Greg Biggs, “Battle Flags of the Confederate Cavalry in the Western Theater,” *Sons of Confederate Veterans Tennessee Division Reunion Program* (Nashville: Sons of Confederate Veterans, Tennessee Division, 2009), 18–29.
7. Lieutenant Colonel Arthur J. L. Freemantle, *Three Months in the Southern States: April–June 1863* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1991), 80.
8. Madaus and Needham, 32–36.
9. *Ibid.*, 23–27.
10. *Ibid.*, 28–30.
11. Christopher L. Kolakowski, *The Stones River and Tullahoma Campaigns: This Army Does Not Retreat* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011), 35; Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1971), 30–32.

## PRESENTED BY THE LADIES: FLAGS FROM THE HOME FRONT

Rebecca Ansell Rose

“Fold away your bright tinted dresses,  
Turn the key on your jewels to-day,  
And the wealth of your tendril-like tresses  
Braid back, in a serious way:  
No more delicate gloves, no more laces,  
No more trifling in boudoir and bower;  
But come with your souls in your faces—  
To meet the stern needs of the hour!”<sup>1</sup>

Sentiments expressed in this and similar poems and songs of the Civil War era reflect the challenge set forth for women to “meet the stern needs” of war. Among these challenges was supplying soldiers and units with flags. Thousands of women contributed their labor to the war effort in the form of sewing—sewing shirts, trousers, overcoats, sheets and pillow cases, tents, and flags, to name a few. This labor force from Southern women was an underpinning of patriotism that contributed to the political climate sustaining the war. Southern women knew the Northern resources were more abundant, and they felt it their duty at the outset of the war to equip Southern units with flags and uniforms and later to supply the armies with other necessities. Women formed sewing and knitting circles in homes and churches to meet the demand of supplying uniforms and clothing. These circles provided an efficient work force while offering a means of discussing social and political events.<sup>2</sup> With so many men away from home



Fig. 18: Print from a drawing, “The War-Making Havelocks for the Volunteers,” from the front cover of *Harper's Weekly*, June 29, 1861. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

during the war, women were often left alone to care for their homes, farms, and families. They were also responsible for boosting the morale of their soldier husbands, sons, and brothers.<sup>3</sup>

Early in the war, many Southern women supported secession, but with mixed emotions about sending their men to fight. Country came before husbands or sons in this crisis.<sup>4</sup> Lucy Bagby of Richmond, Virginia, indicated that “I became absorbed in the Convention which passed the ordinance of secession—I was heart and soul for states rights and secession—and went daily to hear speeches and discussions.”<sup>5</sup> Kate Carney of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, wrote in her diary on April 18, 1861, that “If she [Tennessee] will secede, I will no longer be ashamed of her.”<sup>6</sup> Savannah native Phoebe Yates Pember stated that women supported secession from the onset and “incited the men to struggle in support of their views, and whether right or wrong, sustained them nobly to the end.”<sup>7</sup>

Southern women were exposed to warfare literally in their front yards. They were forced into action to assist with mobilization of men and resources. Towns and counties sent troops off to war, and they provided their soldiers with flags. Thousands of women participated in the war by commissioning or making and



Fig. 19: Composite print from drawings, “Our Women and the War,” reproduced in *Harper’s Weekly*, September 1862. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

then presenting these flags to the soldiers. The experiences of southern women were certainly mirrored on the northern side.

Recognizing the importance of flags during the war helps us better understand the value of women’s roles in producing and presenting them. Fortunately, these activities were so notable during the war that correspondence, newspapers and records exist—as do many of the flags themselves—to remind us of the important roles of women during the war.

Most flags were produced and issued by military quartermaster depots, but many units, especially at the onset of the war, carried individual unit colors privately produced and financed. The women in Tennessee communities showed their patriotism by organizing in support of the forming military units. These ladies’ groups—whether formal aid societies, with leaders and bylaws, or informal sewing circles—were formed to make clothing, help with medical care, collect supplies needed by the armies, and produce and present flags. These organizations were neither unique nor unprecedented, and resembled associations formed by the female patriots of the American Revolution.<sup>8</sup> Women worked hard and spent a great deal of time with flag making, because the newly-formed Confederacy had few pre-existing military colors. Many community sewing circles used material from their dresses and trousseaus.

Early nineteenth-century women’s organizations were principally formed in cities like Richmond, Virginia, rather than in rural areas. They usually supported causes involved with the care of children, anti-slavery, and temperance, organized within churches and schools.<sup>9</sup> Thousands of ladies’ aid societies were formed throughout the South when the war broke out. Ninety-one of these associations were formed in Alabama alone during 1861. Ladies’ aid societies empowered women to be independent of men and allowed them to serve the military, while performing social and domestic roles.<sup>10</sup> They nurtured leadership,

strengthened organizational skills, and encouraged business skills that were then used in raising funds and commissioning professionally-manufactured flags.

The women of Caroline County and Bath County, Virginia, commissioned beautiful and expensive silk flags for the “Caroline Greys” in April 1861 from Mr. George Ruskell, 91 Main Street in Richmond.<sup>11</sup> The women of Caroline County paid more than \$100 for the silk flag presented to the “Caroline Greys,” which was produced by the Philadelphia firm, Horstmann Brothers and Company, possibly the largest military goods manufacturer in America.<sup>12</sup>

By May 1861, flags for Confederate units were no longer acquired in the North as reported in an article about the Bath Cavalry flag from Richmond’s *Daily Dispatch*. “The ladies of Bath County have gotten Mr. George Ruskell to make them a beautiful company flag . . . It is of blue silk and has on it a beautiful representation of the Virginia coat of arms, painted by a Richmond artist. Heretofore all the painting on flags ordered in this city has been done in Philadelphia—a practice now ended. Having seen the flag spoken of, we are prepared to certify to its merits.”<sup>13</sup>

Many of the women’s organizations were formed by and for elite white women like Sarah Childress Polk, widow of President James K. Polk, and Adelia Hayes Acklen, who supported the Ladies’ Soldiers’ Friend Society in Nashville, Tennessee. Money to support the organizations came from the women or their families. Funds were also obtained from member dues, door-to-door solicitations, donations of jewelry, raffles, concert or theatre performances, and fundraising bazaars. Less formal organizations had similar methods of fundraising. Bazaars or fairs served not only to make money but as social affairs and for “patriotic leaders to reinforce their collective commitment to wartime efforts.”<sup>14</sup> Many of these same women re-established fundraising

bazaars after the war by which they oversaw Confederate memorial organizations throughout the South.

Women produced flags even before the war. Just as Southern men mobilized to perceived threats, women were actively supportive. Their patriotic roles began with flag making and presentations to militia units before the outbreak of the Civil War.

The first public parade of the “Guilford Greys” took place May 5, 1860, at Edgeworth Female Seminary, Greensboro, North Carolina. The school’s May Queen and her court were crowned at the ceremony. Mary Morehead Harper then presented a flag to Ensign Henry Clay Gorrell, stating that “We have placed upon it the ‘oak,’ fit emblem of the firm heroic spirits over which it is to float.” Gorrell accepted the flag, with many references to the American Revolution and descriptions of battles fought in North Carolina and stated that “You are a daughter of a Revolutionary mother to whom you render all the honor due . . . and while we pay to their memories the grateful tribute of a sigh . . . we, the Guilford Grays, do here beneath its graceful folds pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, and swear for them to live, them to love and, if need be, for them to die. . . .”<sup>15</sup>



Fig. 20: Photograph of Hetty Cary, who with her cousins, Constance and Jennie Cary, produced the prototypes for the Army of Northern Virginia battle flag. Virginia Historical Society, Object Number 2010.1.27

The “Powhatan Troop” was organized in Powhatan County, Virginia, along with many other local militia units formed in 1860 for protection from future potential hostilities. In June 1860, General Phillip St. George Cocke accepted a gold-silk flag, bearing an oil-painted portrait of Pocahontas on one side and a Virginia coat of arms on the other. He indicated that “Virginia’s matrons and lady maidens of Powhatan . . . in the name of chivalry and country you present to us this standard and bid us to unfurl it at the call of duty, follow it in the hour of danger. . . . Troopers of Powhatan! Pledge to serve your State and your country, you cheerfully dedicate to the cause your lives, your fortunes and your sacred honors. And wherever duty calls and danger dares, there you will bear this banner and follow it to victory or death!”<sup>16</sup>

Honor and duty were central themes in the prewar flag presentations to the “Guilford Greys” and the “Powhatan Troop.”<sup>17</sup> Both flag presentations refer to the willingness of men to fight and die, if duty calls.

Women also made prototypes, later used for mass-produced flags for the Southern armies. In September 1861, Constance Cary and her cousins, Hetty and Jennie Cary, produced the first Army of Northern Virginia battle flags as prototypes for General P. G. T. Beauregard.<sup>18</sup> Constance Cary Harrison described these flags in her postwar memoirs, saying that “we set our best stitches upon them, edged them with gold fringes.”<sup>19</sup> In December 1861, these flags were presented to Generals Beauregard, Joseph E. Johnston, and Earl Van Dorn for use at their headquarters. General Van Dorn expressed sentiments of gratitude to Constance Cary after he received his flag. “Dear lady: The beautiful flag made by your hands and presented to me with the prayers that it should be borne by my side in the impending struggle for the existence of our country, is an appeal to me as a soldier as alluring as the promises of glory.”<sup>20</sup> He carried his flag until his death in 1863.

Silk was the fabric used to make most flags early in the war. It was usually supplied on the bolt and became a scarce commodity. Captain Colin Selph, a Confederate quartermaster out of the Richmond Depot, ordered silk to make 120 of the first government-issue Army of Northern Virginia battle flags in October 1861. Three Richmond sewing circles made these flags, using the entire supply of silk available in Richmond. Flags were then made primarily with cotton and wool for the remainder of the war.

The Jackson Guards was the first company organized for what would become the 1st Arkansas Regiment. It was formed and left the state before the Arkansas legislature had voted for secession.<sup>21</sup> The company was presented a flag<sup>22</sup> made from silk purchased in Memphis that “all of the ladies, young and old, worked on . . . for love of those who were to bear it in battle.” A local newspaper reported that in a formal ceremony on the courthouse steps, “The noble and patriotic ladies of Jacksonport, ever true and loyal to their own sunny south, wishing to do something toward equipping the Guards, bought and presented . . . a costly and most magnificent flag.”<sup>23</sup>

Not only were some flags made from personal effects, like wedding clothing, but women often embroidered or had patriotic sentiments and mottos painted on them. The women of Orange Lake produced a flag for the Marion Light Artillery of Florida, made from a “magnificent crimson India shawl” belonging to Mrs. J. J. Dickison.<sup>24</sup> The rings holding the flag to its staff and the staff ferrule were made from jewelry and brooches contributed by the ladies and a silver comb worn by Mrs. Dickison at her wedding.<sup>25</sup> The flag was inscribed with “God

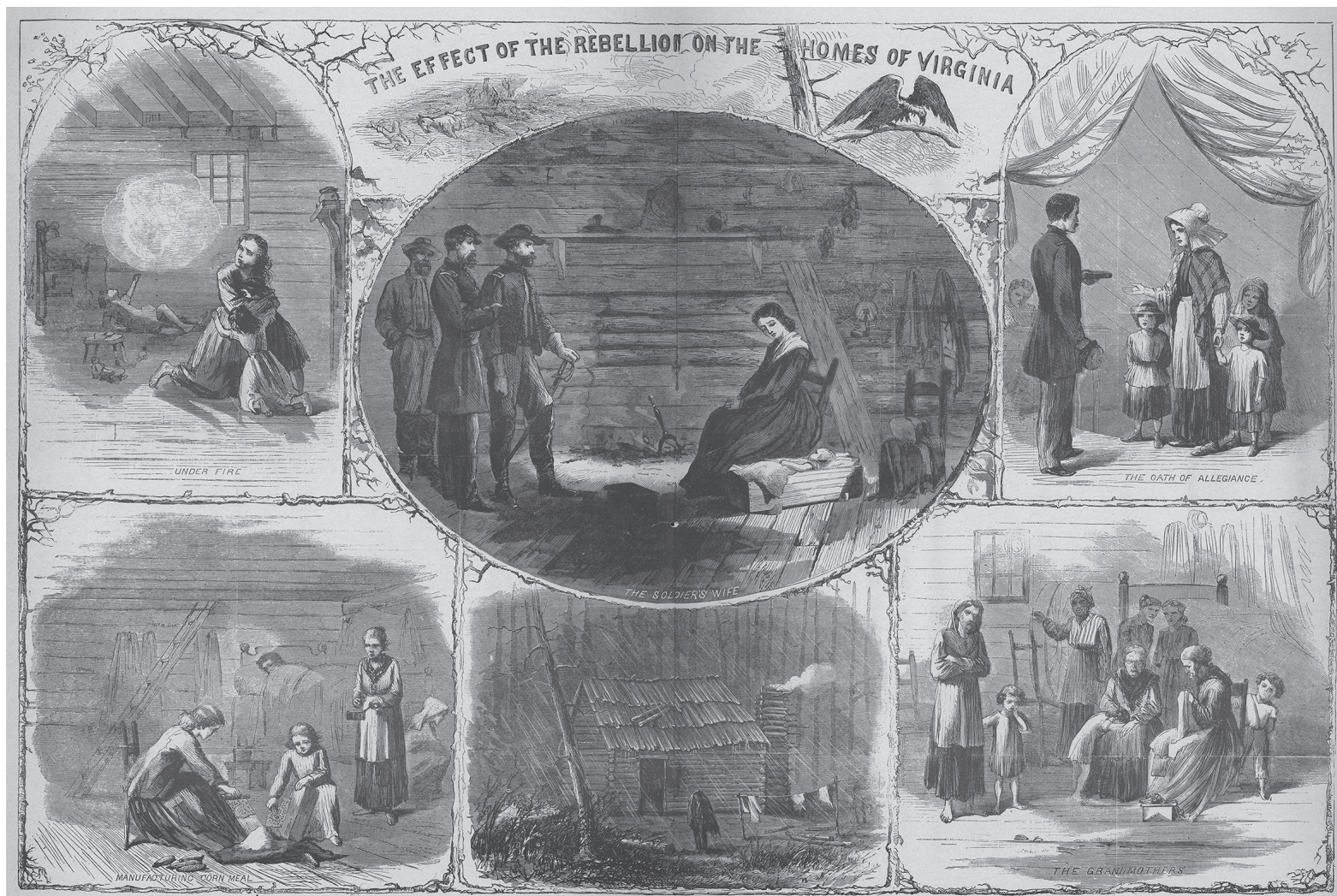


Fig. 21: Composite print from drawings, "The Effect of the Rebellion on the Homes of Virginia," reproduced in *Harper's Weekly*, December 1864. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

and Our Rights" in gold painted leather letters and had stars that formed a Latin cross. In 1881, this flag was returned to Mrs. Dickison with sentiments indicating that "we return unsullied and without a spot of shame, this consecrated banner, prouder than when you gave it."<sup>26</sup>

Mrs. Catherine Heth Morrison made the flag of the 15th Virginia Infantry from her wedding clothes and inscribed the word "HOME" on one side.<sup>27</sup> Flags such as this one were especially meaningful to the soldiers, because they represented the homes, families, and loved ones left behind.

Newspapers often included very detailed articles about flag ceremonies, including both presentation and acceptance speeches. These events usually involved social, military, and political figures of note and were some of the very few public gatherings at which women were invited to share "center stage." Not only did flag presentations by women show loyalty to the soldiers, the men were equally as devoted and proud to carry these precious "creations of fair hands" as mementos of the home front.

On November 28, 1861, the silk battle flags made in Richmond were presented to units assembled at Centreville, Virginia. Officers read from a general order issued by General P. G. T. Beauregard, indicating that "a new banner is intrusted [*sic*] today, as a battle flag. . . . Your mothers, your wives and your sisters have made it. Consecrated by their hands, it must lead you on to substantial victory."<sup>28</sup>

Although women were not present at Centreville, they were still the focus of the presentation sentiment.

Flag presentations were not just reserved for formal settings and grand speeches; they also took place in small and gracious ways as a mere gesture of dedication. Miss Kate Carney of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, expressed the depth of devotion to soldiers felt throughout the war. When the strawberries were harvested, she wrote, "I would give up my share any time, for our poor soldiers, nothing would be considered too great a sacrifice on my part for their good or comfort."<sup>29</sup> Carney and her sister also made muslin dresses for themselves and "quite a pretty flag, for Bro. Wilson to wave at the company. . . ." Proud of their flag, they showed it off to neighbors.<sup>30</sup>

In the summer of 1863, fourteen-year-old Mary P. Lanza and her brother, Gaetano, of Charlottesville, Virginia, made flags of scrap fabrics to wave at soldiers who passed their house.<sup>31</sup> In March 1864, Mary also waved her flag when Rosser's Laurel Brigade passed near her home. The 11th Virginia Cavalry had no colors, and two soldiers then asked young Mary for her flag. She gave it on the condition that they return it to her when it was no longer needed. The flag was carried in a half dozen engagements before it was returned, along with a poem with these sentiments: "The credit upon it bestowed is your own . . . and we'll rally with hearts to its memories true, and save it or die for your flag and for you!"<sup>32</sup>

The Union blockades on the Confederacy led to chronic shortages of needed supplies ranging from food to medical supplies to cloth. To compensate for the unavailability of silk, women occasionally used material from dresses and wedding accessories to make flags. In September 1861, Mrs. A. P. Hill made a battle flag for the 13th Virginia Infantry. A member of the unit noted that “the flag is a beautiful silk banner, the handiwork of the accomplished lady of our colonel, and will be prized and defended as the gift of our fair daughter of unhappy Kentucky, bidding us a hearty ‘Godspeed’ in fighting the battles of the South.”<sup>33</sup>

Getting necessary materials became increasingly difficult as the war progressed. Sarah Rousseau Espey of Cherokee County, Alabama, wrote in her diary on October 14, 1861, “[We] commenced making dresses of domestic gingham; it is getting quite fashionable, since we receive no goods from the north, people are put to their own resource.”<sup>34</sup> Newspapers documented the shortage of supplies and reported how inventive and patriotic women resolved their lack of needed materials. In 1864 the *Mobile Register* reported that “One Young lady, at the expense of several fine dress patterns, devoted to the purpose, in order to secure all the colors, presented the . . . [Tennessee] regiment . . . with a beautiful flag.”<sup>35</sup> In April 1864, a Charleston firm, Edgerton, Richards & Co., in need of flag-making materials, placed a want ad for blue silk in the *Charleston Mercury*. “We have been requested to ask that some lady who may possess a silk dress of suitable hue, will devote it to the patriotic purpose of supplying the material for the future standard of Steven’s Brigade.”<sup>36</sup>

Scarcity of supplies became worse as the war raged on. Newspapers reported that those enthusiastic about the war in 1861 had become weary and ready for it to end. “By 1864 and 1865, however, many women began to question their own patriotism and their society’s priorities.”<sup>37</sup>

In July 1864 a lady wrote to the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, “The Aid Societies have died away: they are name and nothing more. . . .”<sup>38</sup> By the end of the war, the need for women to make and supply flags diminished, and the supplies once furnished in great numbers by the various aid societies were equally less important. Constance Cary, the earliest and best known of the Southern Belle flag makers, while no less patriotic, was wearied by war. She wrote in her postwar memoirs about searching a battlefield for a wounded cousin, but she found men “in every stage of mutilation” and declared herself “permanently convinced that nothing is worth war.”<sup>39</sup>

Women were the key to flag making and flag presentations during the Civil War. They saw the Confederacy crumble, but their strong devotion and patriotic spirit, reinvigorated after the war, led to numerous postwar flag presentations to museums and historical institutions throughout the South. Veterans’ heartfelt emotions about their flag were still evident at the fiftieth reunion of the 15th Virginia Infantry in 1911. They recounted, “Mrs. Morrison, one of your patriotic ladies on the campus of old William and Mary presented us with the first flag that ever floated over our heads. It was made from her wedding gowns. . . . It is our privilege and our pride to assure the ladies of Williamsburg that this flag was never captured. . . .”<sup>40</sup>

In 1897, the “Powhatan Troop” flag was donated to the Confederate Memorial Literary Society (formerly The Museum of the Confederacy and now The American Civil War Museum) at Richmond, Virginia. The presentation took place on the south portico of the White House of the Confederacy. The

presenter announced that “it was a sacred trust that was confided to those for whom this flag was wrought. . . . Take then this banner! . . . Cherish it among your most precious relics . . . may the daughters still point the way and prove an inspiration to every noble and generous deed”<sup>41</sup>

When the war began, the Confederate States had very few flags and women embraced the job of supplying them. Clearly, they were the driving force behind flag making and presentations during the war. Their efforts to produce flags continued throughout the war. Flag making and flag presentations blended the boundaries between social, domestic, military, and political roles for women. They were rewarded for their hard work by the appreciation and gratitude offered by soldiers and the legacy of flags and presentation ceremonies long after the war.

#### Notes

1. Special thanks to Juanita Leisch for preliminary research and John Coski for support and editing; Anonymous, “Woman’s War Mission,” in *Bugle Echoes: A Collection of Poems of the Civil War—Northern and Southern*, ed. Francis F. Browne (New York: White, Stokes & Allen, 1886), 255.
2. Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention* (Chapel Hill: Vintage, 1996), 3–52, 80–113.
3. Marilyn Mayer Culpepper, *Trials and Triumphs: The Women of the American Civil War* (East Lansing: Michigan State Univ. Press, 1991), 243–313.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Lucy Bagby, *Reminiscences of Lucy Bagby*, Bagby Family Papers, Archives Division (Virginia Historical Society, Richmond).
6. Diary of Kate S. Carney, May 7, 1862, Southern Historical Collection (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina).
7. Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman’s Story* (New York: G. W. Charleton & Co., 1879), 13.
8. Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1980), 39–41, 99–113, cited by Edna Susan Barber, “Sisters of the Capitol: White Women in Richmond, Virginia, 1860–1880,” PhD dissertation (College Park: Univ. of Maryland, 1997), 81.
9. Barber, “Sisters of the Capitol,” 189.
10. Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 24.
11. The flags of the “Caroline Greys” and “Bath Cavalry” are preserved in The American Civil War Museum (formerly The Museum of the Confederacy) at Richmond.
12. Richard A. Sauers, *Advance the Colors! Pennsylvania Civil War Battleflags* (Harrisburg, PA: Capitol Preservation Society, 1987), 14.
13. Article, *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond), May 22, 1861, as quoted in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. XVII (1890), 280.
14. Amy E. Murrell, “Two Armies: Women’s Activism in Civil War Richmond” (BA honors thesis, Duke Univ., 1993), 80.
15. John A. Sloan, *Reminiscences of the Guilford Grays, Co. B, 27th N.C. Regiment* (Washington, DC: R. O. Polkinhorn, Printers, 1883), 7–9.
16. Article, *Evening Leader* (Richmond–Manchester, Virginia), October 22, 1897, n.p.
17. The flags of the “Guilford Greys” and “Powhatan Troop” are preserved in The American Civil War Museum (formerly The Museum of the Confederacy) at Richmond.
18. The flags made by Constance and Hetty Cary are preserved in The American Civil War Museum (formerly The Museum of the Confederacy) at Richmond; the flag made by Jennie Cary is preserved in the Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, Louisiana.
19. Mrs. Burton [Constance Cary] Harrison, “Virginia Scenes in ‘61,” in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War I*, ed. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel (New York: The Century Co., 1887), 165–66.
20. Mrs. Burton [Constance Cary] Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 62–63.
21. W. E. Bevins, *Reminiscences of a Private, Company G, First Arkansas Regiment Infantry* (Newport, AR: 1917), 5–9; The American Civil War Museum (formerly The Museum of the Confederacy), Accession Number 0985.1.63.
22. The Jackson Guards flag is preserved in The American Civil War Museum (formerly The Museum of the Confederacy) at Richmond.

23. Article, *Herald* (Jacksonport, AR), May 1861, n.p.
24. The Marion Light Artillery flag is preserved in The American Civil War Museum (formerly The Museum of the Confederacy) at Richmond.
25. Lucy Worthington Blackman, *The Women of Florida I* (Jacksonville, FL: Southern Historical Publishing Associates, 1940), 103–4.
26. Mary Elizabeth Dickison, *Dickison and His Men* (Louisville, KY: Courier-Journal Job Print Co., 1890), 26.
27. The 15th Virginia Infantry flag is preserved in The American Civil War Museum (formerly The Museum of the Confederacy) at Richmond.
28. Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard in the War Between the States 1861 to 1865 I* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1884), 481.
29. Diary, Kate S. Carney, May 7, 1862.
30. Ibid.
31. The flags made by Mary and Gaetano Lanza are preserved in The American Civil War Museum (formerly The Museum of the Confederacy) at Richmond.
32. Lieutenant Colonel Mottrom Dulany Ball, poem, Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library (The American Civil War Museum, Richmond, formerly The Museum of the Confederacy, Accession Number 0985.13.1870).
33. James I. Robertson, Jr., *General A. P. Hill: The Story of a Confederate Warrior* (New York: Random House, 1987), 45.
34. Kym S. Rice and Edward D. C. Campbell, “Voices from the Tempest: Southern Women’s Wartime Experiences,” in *A Woman’s War: Southern Women, Civil War and the Confederate Legacy*, ed. Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. and Kym S. Rice (Richmond: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 75.
35. Article, *Register and Advertiser* (Mobile, AL), March 20, 1864, n.p.
36. Article, *Charleston Mercury* (Charleston, SC), April 28, 1864, n.p.
37. Faust, Glymph, and Raible, “A Woman’s War,” 12–13.
38. Ibid.
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40. J. Staunton Moore, *An Address delivered by J. Staunton Moore at the 50th reunion of the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment at Williamsburg, Virginia, May 24, 1911* (Williamsburg, VA: s.n., 1911), 11.
41. James Keith, *Addresses on Several Occasions* (Richmond: 1917), 55.

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## TENNESSEE’S CONFEDERATE FLAG MAKERS

*Greg Biggs*

Many women and men contributed to the making of flags for Tennessee’s Confederate military units during the war. Most of the flags made at the time of secession and during the first year of the war were assembled by individuals or groups of women in communities across the state, where Confederate companies and regiments were initially formed.

Flags created within a community were often decorated with unit designations, slogans, and presentation information. They were most often decorated using embroidery, which of course could be quite ornate but extremely time consuming. The flags were usually made from silk, and embroidered stitches would tear from the cloth over time. But those who made the flag could also send it to a professional painter for the application of the decorative elements. These specialized artists usually had been sign or ornamental painters in the prewar years, who diversified their business models to provide patriotic support to the organizing Confederate military effort.

Individuals and small businesses, some specializing in the making of fabric products before the war, then took on the production of flags as the demand grew in Tennessee. In instances where colors could not be readily made for a military group, groups of women or local community leaders would raise the

necessary funds to pay a professional flag maker. These flag makers would often partner with painters, who would add the needed decorative elements.

Some of the professional flag makers remained in business throughout the war, even with the establishment of Confederate supply depots in Georgia and Alabama. Colors were made under contracts issued by the Confederate Quartermaster General’s Department.

The existence of flag-making services within Tennessee during the war was documented from a study of city directories, newspapers articles and advertisements, and extant Quartermaster’s Department contracts. Most of these individuals and firms worked out of Memphis and Nashville, but often provided their services both across and outside the state’s borders.

### Memphis Confederate Flag Makers and Related Firms

#### *Armstrong, Lindsay & Company*

This firm, located at 40 Monroe Street in Memphis, was recorded in the 1859 city directory as being “Sign and Ornamental Painters.” Other listed services included the staining of glass and the making of “Signs, Banners, Transparencies, Flags, etc.” The principals of the firm were painters Robert E. Armstrong, Alfred D. Lindsay, and Martin T. Ryder.<sup>1</sup>

No flags have been connected to this firm, but it was probably used by local militia companies raised in the late 1850s.

#### *Armstrong & Ryder*

By 1860, the firm of Armstrong, Lindsay & Company had evolved into Armstrong & Ryder, consisting of Ohio-born Robert E. Armstrong and Scotsman Martin T. Ryder. The business was still located at 40 Monroe Street. The 1860 city directory listed the firm as “Sign and Ornamental Painters and manufacturers of Stained and Enameled Glass.” Advertisements also indicated that the firm was a source for “Banners, Transparencies and Flags.”<sup>2</sup>

No flags have been linked to this firm, but like its predecessor, it probably executed flags for local militia units.

#### *James Cameron*

Cameron was born in Scotland and later emigrated to the United States, arriving before the Civil War. After settling in Memphis, he opened a business at 342 Main Street as an “importer and dealer in paper hangings and upholstery,” along with “curtain goods.”<sup>3</sup> The 1860 census listed him as a thirty-year-old wallpaper dealer.<sup>4</sup> Cameron’s background as a dealer in fabric goods made for an easy transition to the making of flags during the Civil War.

The first notice for one of Cameron’s flags was included in the April 9, 1861, issue of *The Memphis Daily Appeal*. Reported was the presentation of a flag to the 9th Mississippi Infantry, stationed in Pensacola, Florida. The regiment was commanded by Colonel James Chalmers, later a division commander under General Nathan Bedford Forrest. Payment for the flag was through the Memphis firm of Speed, Donoho & Strange. The article stated that “the maker of this triumph of excellent workmanship is Mr. J. A. Cameron of this city.” The banner was made from drop-shot brocade silk and had seven white stars and the inscription, “Mississippi Volunteers 1861.” The accompanying flag staff had a silver plate with the inscription, “Presented to the Mississippi Volunteers

MEM                      182                      MEM

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ROBERT E. ARMSTRONG,                      MARTIN T. RYDER.

**ARMSTRONG & RYDER,**  
SIGN AND

**ORNAMENTAL PAINTERS**

And manufacturers of

**Stained and Enameled Glass,**  
For Churches, Private Dwellings, Steamboats, &c.,  
40 MONROE ST., - - - - - MEMPHIS, TENN.

---

We are prepared to fill all orders in our line of business in a manner superior to any  
in the city, and equal to any in the Union.

**SIGNS, BANNERS, TRANSPARENCIES,**  
Flags, &c., executed at short notice and warranted to give satisfaction.

---

Emblematical, Ornamental or

**FANCY SIGNS**

On Glass, in Embossed Gilding or Enameling.

---

**Colored and Figured Enameled Glass,**  
Constantly on hand and for sale at New York Prices.  
Persons at a distance wishing Stained Glass, either plain or Ornamental, by dropping  
us a few lines stating the size, shape and what for, will be furnished with a  
design suitable, free of charge.

---

**ENCOURAGE HOME MANUFACTURE.**  
We are practical workmen and attend to all work personally. All orders thankfully  
received and promptly attended to.

**ARMSTRONG & RYDER,**  
40 MONROE ST., MEMPHIS.

Fig. 22: Advertisement for Armstrong & Ryder, 40 Monroe Street, Memphis, Tennessee, from *Williams' Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror*, 1860. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

by Speed, Donoho & Strange.<sup>5</sup> A dealer in dry goods and bulk cloth, Speed, Donoho & Strange probably supplied the silk to Cameron for the making of this flag.

In May, Cameron reportedly made a flag for a cavalry company from Raleigh, North Carolina. *The Memphis Daily Appeal* indicated that the unit's supporters could not find the proper materials for making the flag in their city and telegraphed Memphis for one. The flag was "promptly prepared by our townsman Cameron, and forwarded gratis by the patriotic Borden, of the Adams Southern Express . . . to the capital of the Old North State." Students and faculty of St. Mary's School in Raleigh raised the eighty dollars required to make this flag.<sup>6</sup> Research has shown that it was probably made for the Ellis Flying Artillery of North Carolina.<sup>7</sup>

The First National flag made for Charles W. Orne of Memphis was probably the most unusual one Cameron made. Orne was a businessman from the city, living and working in China, who had returned home to visit his family. He asked Cameron to supply him with a flag that was then made of "the very finest materials." *The Memphis Daily Appeal* noted, "This will probably be the first Confederate flag the Celestials will have an opportunity of seeing."<sup>8</sup>

Cameron probably made other flags not mentioned by the newspapers. He most likely was the maker of the first forty-five banners issued to and synonymous with the forces of General Leonidas Polk, posted at Columbus, Kentucky, in January 1862. These were large, silk flags, each with thirteen stars on a St. George's cross (Plate 82).<sup>9</sup>

The firm of McKenzie & Cameron was formed before the fall of Memphis in June 1862 and manufactured tarpaulins, canteen straps, and other military-related goods for the Memphis Ordnance Department. Cameron then left Memphis for Jackson, Mississippi, where he remained in business, making tarps, wagon covers, shirts, and undershorts. By August 1863, he had moved to Demopolis, Alabama, and he had set up shop in Mobile by 1864.<sup>10</sup>

In March 1864, Cameron was contracted to make twenty-five battle flags for the Mobile Depot. They were assembled from wool bunting and had only twelve stars positioned in a rectangular shape on a blue saltire. He charged twelve dollars for each flag, plus an additional two dollars for battle honors on each of seven banners. He also made twenty-four guidons, probably for cavalry units.<sup>11</sup>

Cameron remained in Mobile through 1866, where he was listed in the city directory as a commission merchant.<sup>12</sup> He probably moved back to Memphis between 1870 and 1880, as he was only recorded in the federal census during the latter year.<sup>13</sup> Cameron remained there until his death on March 13, 1913 and is buried in Elmwood Cemetery.<sup>14</sup>

*Edward D. Crandall*

Edward D. Crandall was listed in the 1860 Memphis city directory as a coach painter in a shop next to D. Hightower's.<sup>15</sup> On January 26, 1862, he wrote to

**E. D. CRANDALL'S**

**TENT AND C. S. ARMY CLOTHING**

**MANUFACTORY,**

**374 Main Street,**

Gayoso Block.....Memphis, Tenn.

---

**Large Quantity of Hand-Made  
Heavy Duck Tent  
CONSTANTLY ON HAND.**

---

I AM prepared to furnish TENTS of every descrip-  
tion and in any quantity, on short notice. Also, to  
manufacture

**ARMY CLOTHING!**

In the best style and of the best quality, to any ex-  
tent.  
All orders executed promptly.  
1873-4m                      E. D. CRANDALL.

Fig. 23: Advertisement for E. D. Crandall's Manufactory, 374 Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee, from *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, October 17, 1861. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.



### W. B. Miller & Company

Dry goods dealers played important roles in the making of flags. Some expanded into the making of flags, while others sold silk, wool bunting, or wool merino fabrics and thread needed to assemble colors.

One such Memphis dealer was W. B. Miller & Company. The 1860 city directory located the firm at 197 Main Street, in the Clay Building. Wilie Miller's partners were George Dashiell and John H. Taylor.<sup>34</sup>

In an advertisement from *The Memphis Daily Avalanche* in mid-April 1861, the company offered "flag silks."<sup>35</sup> Another advertisement declared that the firm had "Material for Flags" and "Military Cloth."<sup>36</sup> A few days later, another advertisement in *The Memphis Daily Appeal* stated that W. B. Miller & Company "have on hand and Offer Genuine Anchor Bolting Cloth; also Materials for Flags." This advertisement also expressed the clear sentiments of the firm when it went on to state that this cloth could be used for "Acquiring the Independence of the South."<sup>37</sup>

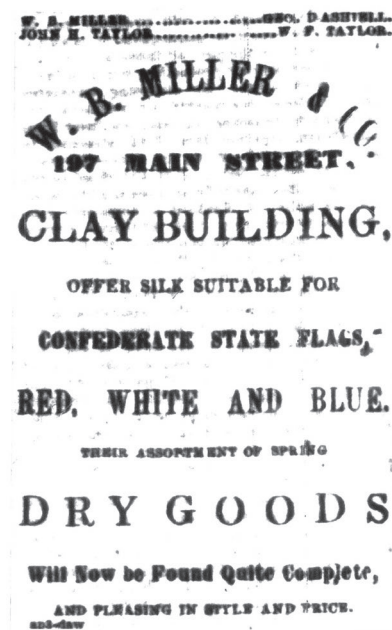


Fig. 26: Advertisement for W. B. Miller & Co., 197 Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee, from the *Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 11, 1861. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

This firm not only sold cloth to local flag makers, it also provided fabric items to the Confederate ordnance, quartermaster, and medical departments in Memphis. In August 1861, it sold blankets to the medical department; in November, forty yards of bleached domestic were purchased by the Quartermaster's Department; and in May 1862, pants, undershorts, shirts, and buttons were provided to the quartermaster. But in April 1862, the firm sold bulk merino, flannel, delaine (a sheer wool or wool muslin), and thread to the ordnance department.<sup>38</sup>

W. B. Miller & Company was not listed in the 1866 city directory for Memphis.

### Moore, Halstead & Company

Another component of the flag-making process was the lumber yards and carpenters who made flagstaves. Moore, Halstead & Company is one of few flagstaff firms found to date. The partners in this firm were C. B. Moore, John Halstead, and Robert Banks. The 1860 city directory indicated that the company worked



Fig. 27: Advertisement for Moore, Halstead & Co., Second Street, south of Union, Memphis, Tennessee, from *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 25, 1861. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

from a Second Street location, between Union and Gayoso. It was listed as a "planing mill, door, sash and blind factory, and lumber yard."<sup>39</sup>

In April 1861, the firm advertised in the *Memphis Weekly Bulletin* as being a "planing mill and lumber yard" that also offered doors, blinds, mouldings, flooring, and other items made from wood.<sup>40</sup> The following month, in *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, Moore, Halstead & Company began advertising another aspect of the firm, offering flagstaves, tent poles, and other military items.<sup>41</sup> The firm also provided lumber, wooden packing boxes, gun boxes, boxes for artillery shells, wooden sabots for artillery shells, and fuse plugs to the Confederate ordnance department in Memphis.<sup>42</sup>

By 1866, the company name had been altered to John Halstead & Company, with John Halstead and J. M. McKnight as principals, and it was located at 358 and 360 Second Street. It had become cotton ginners, apparently abandoning the lumber trade.<sup>43</sup>

### W. H. Passmore

William H. Passmore was recorded as a thirty-three-year-old native of England in the 1860 federal census.<sup>44</sup> An advertisement in the July 14, 1858, issue of *The Memphis Daily Avalanche* showed him to have an occupation of "House, Sign and Decorative Painting." Passmore thanked his customers for their patronage in the same advertisement and announced that he had hired from New York City a "Mr. Roberts, one of the best practical painters in the country" to help him meet the demand.<sup>45</sup> He was then listed as a painter and paper hanger in the 1859 city directory and was located at 342 Main Street. In the 1860 directory, Passmore had added "Fresco Painting and General Decorating" to his trade.<sup>46</sup>

Only one known flag has been attributed to Passmore, and it was not for a Tennessee unit. Because of its geographic location, Memphis had become a supply center for units from Missouri and Arkansas, as well as a transit point for units from west of the Mississippi River to the Eastern theater. One such unit was the Arkansas Travelers, which became Company A in the 3rd Arkansas Infantry Regiment. It was assigned to General John Bell Hood's Texas Brigade in the Army of Northern Virginia. The Arkansas Travelers hired Passmore to paint a flag for them while they were in Memphis awaiting movement to the east. An article in the May 30, 1861, issue of *The Memphis Daily Avalanche* indicated that the flag was "the usual Confederate States flag, with the exception that upon the white bar the words are painted—'War to the—' and then is displayed a huge and well-proportioned Bowie knife, which points toward the stars. The

flag was displayed at Passmore's store." The newspaper also credited Passmore with "workmanlike taste and skill."<sup>47</sup>

William H. Passmore was also involved in the local military. The July 14, 1860, edition of *The Memphis Daily Appeal* showed him as being elected First Lieutenant of the Highland Guards, a company in the 3rd Memphis City Regiment.<sup>48</sup> In May 1861, Passmore offered his store as a recruiting depot for the Sumter Guards of the 38th Tennessee Infantry Regiment.<sup>49</sup> By July 1861, he was under consideration for colonel of the Memphis City Regiment.<sup>50</sup>

Evidently all was not well with Passmore remaining in Memphis. He was not listed in the 1866 city directory.

#### **Russell & Brother**

Neither William C. Russell nor his brother John S. Russell were listed in the 1860 federal census, and the firm was not found in the 1860 Memphis directory. But in April 1861, Russell & Brother advertised in the *Memphis Weekly Bulletin* principally as ornamental, decorative, and fresco painters, but also offering banner and flag painting. Its shop was at the corner of Madison Street and Bank Avenue.<sup>51</sup>

By 1866, William Russell was working on his own as a painter from an establishment on Market Street.<sup>52</sup>

#### **Martin T. Ryder**

Martin T. Ryder was recorded in the 1860 federal census as having been born in Scotland.<sup>53</sup> A year earlier, he was listed in the city directory as being a glass dealer associated with the painting firm of Armstrong, Lindsay & Company.<sup>54</sup> In 1860, that company had evolved into Armstrong & Ryder.<sup>55</sup>

On January 5, 1861, the *Memphis Daily Argus* included an advertisement for Ryder as a painter. He offered his services, not only for house, steamboat, and sign painting, but also as a "flag and banner painter" from his shop at 40 Monroe Street.<sup>56</sup> Oddly enough, a June 27, 1862 advertisement in *The Memphis Daily Avalanche* still offered these services<sup>57</sup> after the city had fallen to the Union three weeks earlier.

Ryder remained in Memphis during the war. He joined the Union Memphis Enrolled Militia, reaching the rank of captain.<sup>58</sup> The 1866 city directory showed him as being part of the new firm of Ryder & Pope, with Frank Pope as his partner. Their house and sign painting business operated out of 46 Monroe Street.<sup>59</sup>

#### **Smith & McClure**

The 1860 city directory included a listing for the carpentry firm of Smith & Laine, located at Second Street, between Union and Gayoso.<sup>60</sup> The firm consisted of John M. Smith and Jesse B. L. Laine. In late 1860 or early 1861, the firm evolved into Smith & McClure, as Smith, a native Tennessean, had partnered with Wade McClure. McClure was not listed in the 1860 federal census for Memphis or Shelby County, Tennessee.<sup>61</sup>

On October 16, 1861, the company billed the Confederate ordnance office in Memphis for "Making one flag staff." The price was twelve dollars. The flag-staff was destined for Major W. R. Hunt, commander of the Brierfield Arsenal,<sup>62</sup> which cast cannons in Columbus, Mississippi, and later moved to Selma, Alabama.

#### **Speed, Donoho, & Strange**

In the 1860 city directory, this firm was listed as an operator of a wholesale and retail dry-goods store, also offering carpeting, rags, and more. Its partners were John H. Speed, William B. Donoho, and John P. Strange, and the firm was located at 314 Main Street.<sup>63</sup>

On January 7, 1861, Speed, Donoho & Strange placed an advertisement in the *Memphis Daily Argus*, offering Christmas items, infants' caps, robes, and shawls, along with their assortment of dry goods and bulk cloth.<sup>64</sup> On April 9, an advertisement that listed other items for sale also declared that "Prices show that Somebody is Hurt, Lincoln to the Contrary."<sup>65</sup> That same month, the firm paid for the flag of the 9th Mississippi Infantry Regiment, commanded by Colonel James Chalmers, later one of General Nathan Bedford Forrest's best subordinates. Speed, Donoho & Strange had the flag made by James Cameron, and a newspaper described it as "The Flag of the Free." It was displayed at their store before being sent to Pensacola, Florida, where the regiment was posted at the time.<sup>66</sup> Colonel Chalmers responded to Speed, Donoho & Strange in a letter published in *The Memphis Daily Appeal* later that month.<sup>67</sup>

APRIL 12, 1861.

Receiving Every Day  
AT  
**SPEED, DONOHO & STRANGE**  
314 MAIN STREET, MEMPHIS,  
**New Spring Goods,**  
**At Lowest Prices.**

Fine Fancy Silks,  
Fans,  
Fine Lace Wrappings,  
Parasols,  
Fine Silk Wrappings,  
Laces,  
Broche Silk Poppins,  
Linen,  
Sueil Tuck Combs,  
Lawn,  
Fine French Corsets,  
Frouncings,  
Real Lace Vells,  
Chailtea,  
Extra Table Linens,  
Carpets,  
Velvet Hearth Rugs,  
Curtains,  
India Straw Mattings,  
Hosiery,  
Swisses and Jaconets,  
Gloves,  
Nain:ooks and Muffs,  
Mitts,  
Tartletaus and Grapes,  
Poppins,  
Organd's and Berages,  
Grenadines,  
Fine Lace Sets,  
skirts,  
Osnaburgs and Twill,  
Shirtsings,  
Domestic and sheetings,  
Napies,  
Fine Marseilles Quilts.

**SPEED, DONOHO & STRANGE.**  
ap12-d1waw-31p 314 Main Street.

Fig. 28: Advertisement for Speed, Donoho & Strange, 314 Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee, from *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 23, 1861. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

While not a flag maker, this firm certainly sold the cloth to others in the city for assembling them.<sup>68</sup> Speed, Donoho & Strange then started making tents and camp mattresses, as well as providing oil cloth and other camp articles for military use.<sup>69</sup> In an August 1861 article about the firm, the *Memphis Tri-Weekly Appeal* stated that “Speed, Donoho & Strange, who rank among the most prominent and the earliest of Memphis secessionists, are now manufacturing in this city oil cloth of a splendid quality.”<sup>70</sup> This cloth was mostly used for lining tents and military raincoats, and as covers for furled flags. By the fall of 1861, the company added camp rugs, uniform and staff buttons, cloaks, and thread to its inventory of items available to the military.<sup>71</sup>

Speed, Donoho & Strange also sold merino, thread, plaids, and other bulk fabrics to the Confederate ordnance department. To the Confederate Quartermaster’s Department, it sold tents, axes, hatchets, mess pans, kettles, and other camp items. A large supply of infantry buttons was sold to General Lloyd Tilghman’s forces, which were part of the famous Orphan Brigade of Kentucky. This order was received in January 1862 at Hopkinsville, Kentucky.<sup>72</sup>

This firm remained active even after the Union occupation of Memphis in June 1862. By February 1863, it was known as the Southern Palace and was still selling dry goods, cloth, and related items.<sup>73</sup> They apparently then closed for a time, but by May 1863, they were back open for business.<sup>74</sup>

In 1866, the firm’s partners changed once again. The city directory listed it as Speed, Donoho, Foute & Company, cotton and tobacco factors at 42 Madison Street.<sup>75</sup>

#### *Whitmore & Brother*

The 1860 city directory indicated that this firm was operated by William A. and Edwin Whitmore on Madison Street.<sup>76</sup> Notices in the Memphis press also showed it as the Appeal Job Office. The 1860 federal census recorded a William Whitmore, age twenty-one, with the trade of either painter or printer.<sup>77</sup>

A short notice in the April 18, 1861, issue of *The Memphis Daily Appeal* indicated that Whitmore & Brother had started making flags. It read: “Southern Flags. Messrs. Whitmore & Bros., of the Appeal job office, have issued a beautiful flag of the Confederate States, about three feet long and in graceful proportions, printed on muslin, which they will furnish in any quantity at \$1.50 singly, or at reductions if taken in large numbers.”<sup>78</sup> These were not military-grade flags; rather, they were patriotic flags for civilians. Printed flags were popular during the Civil War, with thousands being made and sold for rallies, parades, and other functions.

Whitmore & Brother also produced receipt books, invoices, regimental reports, and other printed forms used by the Confederate military in Memphis. Armies of the era consumed massive amounts of paper, and printers responded by supplying them.<sup>79</sup>

Whitmore & Brother probably remained in Memphis during the Union occupation. In 1866, the firm was listed as a printer for books and other jobs.<sup>80</sup>

#### *Charles Woolmer & Company*

Charles Woolmer could not be found in the 1860 Memphis directory, the 1860 federal census for Shelby County, or the 1866 city directory. But the city’s newspapers provided much about the contributions of this firm to the Confederate military. Charles Woolmer’s firm was located at 203 Main Street. Starting in

**WHITMORE & BRO.,**  
**S T E A M**  
**JOB PRINTERS,**  
**APPEAL BUILDING,**  
**Cor. Union street & Front alley.**

---

HAVING JUST REFITTED OUR OFFICE WITH  
ENTIRELY  
**New Material,**  
WE NOW HAVE THE  
**LARGEST AND MOST COMPLETE**  
**JOB PRINTING HOUSE**  
**IN THE SOUTH-WEST.**  
And are now prepared to execute every description of  
**Plain and Ornamental Printing,**  
IN THE BEST STYLE KNOWN TO THE ART, and at  
prices LOWER than any other Printing House in the  
State.  
**GIVE US A TRIAL.**  
**WHITMORE & BRO.**

Fig. 29 Advertisement for Whitmore & Brother, corner of Union and Front Alley, Memphis, Tennessee, from *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 25, 1861. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

mid-April 1861, he began advertising his flag business. An advertisement in *The Memphis Daily Appeal* noted that he was “manufacturing flags of the Southern Confederacy of all sizes, styles and materials.”<sup>81</sup> Another advertisement declared that Woolmer had “Flags of the Southern Confederacy, of all sizes, styles and materials.”<sup>82</sup> In mid-May, the newspaper stated that “he can also supply spears and staffs of every variety, and in any quantities.”<sup>83</sup> The firm may have worked with one of the Memphis lumber yards in the making these staffs and a metal worker for the spear finials. Woolmer then provided his advertisements to *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, which stated that “his supply of cloth, spear heads, & c., is extensive.”<sup>84</sup> Another advertisement in *The Memphis Daily Appeal* then included “Flags for military companies . . . spears and staffs in great variety.”<sup>85</sup>

By May 1862, Woolmer’s flag-making business had expanded so rapidly that he began advertising for help. A notice in the *Memphis Daily Argus* stated, “Ladies are wanted immediately to make war flags. Apply this afternoon at C. Woolmer’s. . . .”<sup>86</sup> Thousands of women went to work during the war for small firms like Woolmer’s, as well as the large arsenals and depots.

#### **Nashville Confederate Flag Makers and Related Firms**

##### *William Barnes*

In 1859, William Barnes was a painter, working for W. H. Horn & Son, a “painting shop” located at 15 South College Street in Nashville.<sup>87</sup> A year later, he was

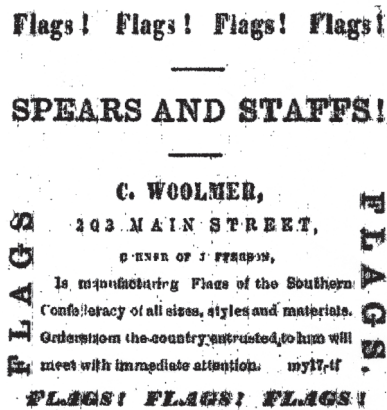


Fig. 30: Advertisement for C. Woolmer, 203 Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee, from *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 19, 1861. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

operating independently but at the same address. Barnes was also associated with the painting firm of Hearn & Barnes.<sup>88</sup>

Only one flag has been associated with William Barnes (Plate 41). The *Daily Nashville Patriot* described the silk flag of the Bigby Greys, which would become Company D of Brown's 3rd Tennessee Infantry. It also reported that "the painting, which is artistically executed, was done by Mr. Barnes, of this city."<sup>89</sup> The flag was more than likely made by someone else and then taken to Barnes's shop for the painting of its slogan and devices.

#### Beck & Myers

The firm of Beck & Myers was mentioned in a short article included in the April 23, 1861, edition of *The Daily Gazette*. The newspaper reported that "To Beck & Myers, plain and ornamental painters, Broad Street, near Summer, we are indebted for a beautiful representation of the banner of the Confederate States. They get them up in good style rapidly, and at moderate prices."<sup>90</sup>

Beck & Myers was not listed in the 1859, 1860, or 1865 city directory. This could indicate that the partners in the firm arrived in Nashville after the 1860 directory was completed and then moved to another city after Union occupation of the Tennessee capital in early 1862.

#### C. D. Benson & Company

C. D. Benson & Company made and sold musical instruments. Its sole proprietor was Charles D. Benson, who had moved to Tennessee from his native Vermont.<sup>91</sup> An advertisement in the 1859 city directory listed the business as being a "New Music Store." Customers could also purchase "Fashionable and Standard Music" and "Melodeons, Organs, Piano Fortes" from Benson's store at 44 Union Street.<sup>92</sup> A year later, C. D. Benson & Company was doing well enough to occupy space next door.<sup>93</sup>

On April 23, 1861, *The Daily Gazette* indicated that "flags of the Confederate States of America can be had in large or small quantity at C. D. Benson & Co.'s Music Store, No. 20 Union Street."<sup>94</sup> These were probably not military colors but rather mass-produced patriotic flags that were popular at the time.

[Plate 3]

Confederate flags were sometimes used as cover illustrations on period sheet music. An advertisement for C. D. Benson & Company featured one song, "Flag of the South," which included an image of a First National banner.<sup>95</sup>

Benson's was listed as being located at 34 Union Street in the 1865 Nashville directory and was still selling music and related items.<sup>96</sup>

#### Mary Bradford

On July 26, 1861, Nashville's *Republican Banner* reported on the presentation of a flag to the 11th Tennessee Infantry Regiment on the public square. The reporter attending the ceremony stated that "the Banner, executed with a rare degree of elegance, by a number of patriotic ladies of our city—prominent among whom we take the privilege of mentioning Miss Mary E. Bradford, to whom much of its choice handiwork is due. . . ."<sup>97</sup> The flag featured an embroidered patriotic slogan, "God And Our Country," which Miss Bradford probably embroidered.

Two women by the names of "Mary Bradford" or "M. Bradford" appeared in the 1860 federal census for Nashville and Davidson County. One could be eliminated because she was married. The remaining Mary Bradford resided in the 11th District of Davidson County and was a twenty-three-year-old lady living in the home of her father, Edward Bradford, who was a farmer.<sup>98</sup>

The 11th Tennessee Infantry contained Middle Tennessee companies, three of which were raised from Davidson County. The regiment was organized at Nashville and then departed for Camp Cheatham in Robertson County for training.<sup>99</sup>

#### Robert T. Fleming

Robert T. Fleming, a native of Scotland, was listed in the Nashville city directory for 1859 as a painter working out of a shop at 62 Union Street.<sup>100</sup> The 1860 city directory showed him as being a "house, sign and ornamental painter."<sup>101</sup> The 1860 federal census recorded him as a painter.<sup>102</sup>

Fleming began advertising in the *Nashville Union and American* during September 1860, offering "Flags and Banners" from his shop at 62 Union Street.<sup>103</sup> A similar advertisement ran in Nashville's *Republican Banner* for "Flags, Banners, Mottoes, Transparencies & C., for Military and political purposes." He was not just happy to get work from the city's military, but also promised "orders from the country promptly attended to."<sup>104</sup> By 1861, his advertisements had reverted to his sign and ornamental painting trade, but he also added house painting to his business model.<sup>105</sup> Fleming even started advertising in Bowling Green, Kentucky.<sup>106</sup>



Fig. 31: Advertisement for Robert T. Fleming, 62 Union Street, Nashville, Tennessee, from the *Nashville Union and American*, October 3, 1860. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

On September 26, 1860, the Breckinridge Old Guard, a new military company from Murfreesboro, received a flag made by Fleming. Citing the *Nashville Union*, the *Murfreesboro News* reported seeing it on display at Fleming's store, describing it as a "magnificent flag."<sup>107</sup>

In 1861, newspapers reported two other flags made by Robert T. Fleming. In early May, the *Daily Nashville Patriot* reported on a silk flag made for the Spring Hill Volunteers, which would become Company F/E of Brown's 3rd Tennessee Infantry, made by the ladies of Spring Hill but painted by Fleming. The article declared that "the painting was done in Mr. Fleming's best style."<sup>108</sup> In early June, Fleming made a flag for the 11th District Home Guards, which was presented to the unit on behalf of his wife by his daughter, Jane Fleming. The *Nashville Daily Patriot* described the flag as "splendid."<sup>109</sup>

By 1865, Robert T. Fleming was still in Nashville but had closed his store and was working out of his home at 22 North Spruce Street.<sup>110</sup>

### **William Fry**

William Fry was probably born in Ohio and later moved south before the Civil War. He was included in *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America* for winning first prize for painting in 1856 at the Ohio State Fair in Columbus, Ohio. The entry also stated that he was from Cincinnati.<sup>111</sup>

William Fry first moved to Huntsville, Alabama, and set up a trade of portrait and landscape painting.<sup>112</sup> He was not listed in either the 1859 or the 1860 Nashville city directory. But by April 1861, Fry was advertising in Nashville's *The Daily Gazette*, using a poem to announce his new trade: "The Flags of Tennessee—Unfurl our Banner to the breeze, And let all traitors see, 'Midst those that float for Southern Rights, The Flag of Tennessee. Fry paints them *cheap* at the Bridge end, But dear to a foe will be, The foremost in the battle's van, The Flag of Tennessee."<sup>113</sup>

In May, an advertisement offered his services as a "Silk and Satin Flags and Banners" painter in his store "at the bridge."<sup>114</sup> Later that month, Fry presented a flag to the Edgefield Home Guards, which would become the Edgefield Rifles and Company G of the 18th Tennessee Infantry Regiment. In his speech, Fry stated that he was prevented from becoming a member of the unit due to an injury but wanted to contribute to their patriotism by giving them a flag. It was described in *The Daily Gazette* as "the flag of Tennessee," and Fry expressed the hope that it would wave alongside the "Confederate Flag." This indicated that the flag may have been the state flag proposed but never adopted by the Tennessee legislature.<sup>115</sup>

Perhaps the most famous flag that William Fry painted was that of the Sons of Erin, which would become Company D, H, and F of the 10th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Plates 57, 58). One of two Irish Tennessee regiments, the symbolism of the Emerald Isle was apparent in the artist's work. One side of the flag was a Confederate First National banner with fifteen stars; the other was green with the Harp of Erin and a wreath of shamrocks. The artist signed a shamrock on its lower side (Plate 59), and the *Nashville Union and American* described it as "most beautifully executed by Mr. Fry, our obliging artist."<sup>116</sup>

In July 1861, Fry also painted a flag for the 16th Tennessee Infantry, which was presented to the regiment at Camp Trousdale in elaborate ceremonies. The *Daily Nashville Patriot* described it as having the state coat of arms on both

sides in the canton and a patriotic slogan on the white bar and stated that "the painting and lettering was done in Fry's best style."<sup>117</sup>

By October, Fry was advertising his services as a bugler who would train soldiers in cavalry and infantry companies using the "General Calls" in Hardee's tactics manual. An advertisement in Nashville's *Republican Banner* stated that he would do so "gratuitously."<sup>118</sup>

### **Hearn & Barnes**

The firm of William Hearn and William Barnes advertised in *The Daily Gazette* offering "ornamental sign painting and grain work."<sup>119</sup> The firm was not listed in either the 1859 or the 1860 city directory, but the two partners were listed separately in the latter publication.<sup>120</sup> The firm's advertisements appeared between July and November 1860.<sup>121</sup>

It is not currently known whether the firm painted any flags for units raised in 1860, but both men did provide their services separately.

### **W. B. Hearn**

The 1860 city directory listed William Hearn (misspelled as Heard) as a sign painter at 62 Union Street.<sup>122</sup> He had formerly been a partner in the firm of Hearn & Barnes, but he made a name for himself in 1861 by painting unit colors. The 1865 Nashville city directory listed Hearn as a painter at 39 North Market Street.<sup>123</sup>

In late July 1861, Hearn painted one of the more beautiful Tennessee regimental flags—that of Brown's 3rd Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Plate 38). It was described in *The Daily Gazette* as being "a magnificent and costly flag, [that] reflects the highest credit on Mr. H. as a painter."<sup>124</sup> The flag was presented to the 3rd Tennessee in ceremonies at Camp Cheatham and was described by the *Daily Nashville Patriot* as being of "the finest silk, and the devices and mottoes were painted by Mr. Hearn . . . in a superb manner. We have seen no flag anywhere equal to it, and it is probably the finest that will go from the State." The article implied that the flag was made by the ladies of Giles and Maury counties and sent to Hearn for decorative painting.<sup>125</sup>

In late August another set of flags, made by local maker Anna Lord and painted by Hearn, was presented to the 23rd and 24th Tennessee Infantry Regiments in ceremonies at Camp Trousdale. *The Daily Gazette* stated that "Mr. Hearn, the painter, on Market Street, is highly complimented for the taste and beauty in the painting and gilt lettering of the flags. He is a workman who needeth not to be ashamed."<sup>126</sup> Neither of these flags survive today.

### **Joseph T. and Anna Lord**

Joseph Lord and his wife Anna moved to Tennessee from Massachusetts before the Civil War.<sup>127</sup> In 1860, Joseph Lord was an agent for I. M. Singer Company, located at 45 College Street.<sup>128</sup> There were several sewing-machine makers in America at that time, and competition between them was fierce. Each maker established agents in major cities and some smaller towns.

The 1859 and 1860 city directories both listed Joseph T. Lord as associated with Singer. Beginning in April 1861, however, Lord was advertising his own business in a Nashville newspaper as a source for "Southern Flags made to order."<sup>129</sup> A month later, the *Daily Nashville Patriot* included an article about Lord's flag-making business, noting "a large number of flags for the Confederate States are being made by fair hands at the Sewing Machine Depot of Mr. Lord on

College Street.<sup>130</sup> The mention of Confederate flags in both of these newspaper articles occurred before Tennessee's secession from the federal union in June 1861. Lord also expanded his business to the military in 1861. "Mr. Lord's rooms are thronged with ladies making, besides these beautiful flags, large numbers of tents, knapsacks, & c., for the soldiers."<sup>131</sup>

As often happened, these firms had to hire extra help when expanding their businesses to meet the demand and fulfill military contracts. Women by the thousands throughout the Confederacy flocked to work for companies large and small and for the depot system, which was begun in 1862. Joseph Lord's business was no exception. Having an abundance of sewing machines probably made it easier to mass-manufacture items.

One of the women working in the firm was Lord's wife Anna. She partnered with artist William Hearn in making silk First National flags for the 23rd and 24th Tennessee Infantry Regiments, utilizing a mode of flag manufacture that was typical—a lady sewing the flag and then passing it on to a painter.

Joseph Lord also made haversacks, knapsacks, carpet blankets, and tents for Tennessee troops.<sup>132</sup> His work for the Confederate military probably got him into trouble with federal occupation forces that arrived at Nashville in February 1862. Joseph and Anna Lord were not listed in the 1865 Nashville city directory and probably were either forced out of the city or left on their own.

### John Luck

John Luck's first listing in Nashville's city directory was in 1860, where his business was described as a music and toy dealer at 45 Union Street.<sup>133</sup> His advertisements in Nashville's newspapers featured a variety of items in addition to his regular trade. Some of them even played off his last name with witty slogans. An article in *The Daily Gazette* reported that Luck was "ornamenting his store with decorations and devices for the 4th of July" in 1860<sup>134</sup> and then exhorted others to follow his example. An advertisement in the same issue was headlined, "Bad Luck in Good Luck and John Luck."<sup>135</sup>

For the first time in February 1861, Luck offered "flags of all sizes. The election is upon us and it is time to display the stars and stripes." Luck's Unionist sympathies were on display,<sup>136</sup> and advertisements for these flags continued into March.<sup>137</sup>

Luck was a shrewd businessman who recognized which way the political winds were blowing. In April 1861, the first Tennessee Confederate companies

were being raised and equipped with Confederate flags. In May, he advertised "Secession flag badges."<sup>138</sup>

By August 1861, Nashville's newspapers included advertisements indicating that Luck was offering silk and wool bunting flags of any size.<sup>139</sup> *The Daily Gazette* included an article about a flag for the 3rd Tennessee Cavalry Battalion that their reporter had seen being prepared at Luck's store. The article described the flag as "the finest material that could be procured."<sup>140</sup>

Luck continued in the business of making Confederate flags through the end of 1861. In May 1861, he made a recruiting flag for Dr. J. C. Nicholson for which he charged \$2.00. In October, he made "one Garrison flag," which cost Quartermaster G. W. Cunningham \$40.00. And in January 1862, Luck billed Cunningham a total of \$215.00 for "1 Confederate Garrison flag" at \$50.00 and "6 battle flags" at \$27.50 each.<sup>141</sup> Historians have not been able to determine which units received these flags. New distinctive battle flag patterns were being adopted at that time in the west, including those for General Leonidas Polk's corps and for the Army of Central Kentucky. These flags made by John Luck could have been of either design, but with the Army of Central Kentucky being based in Bowling Green, Kentucky, they may well have been the blue and white colors utilized by that command.

Luck remained in Nashville and in business when the city fell to Union forces in February 1862. A few months later, he began advertising Union flags for the citizens of Nashville and probably for the military as well. He also expanded his line of goods to include military items like swords and weapons.<sup>142</sup> John Luck was again listed in the city directory for 1865 as a "music dealer."<sup>143</sup>

### Slager's Sewing Machine Office

In April 1861, the *Nashville Union and American* ran an advertisement offering "Southern Flags. Made to order at Slager's Sewing Machine Office," located at 45 College Street.<sup>144</sup> The timing of this advertisement corresponded well with the initial raising of Tennessee companies, most of which were receiving Confederate First National flags. Unfortunately, no listings could be found for Slager in the 1860 federal census or the 1860 city directory.

## Other Tennessee Confederate Flag Makers

### Private Joseph Duffer

#### Murfreesboro and the 18th Tennessee Infantry Regiment

At times, soldiers could be detached from their units to take on chores where special skills could be better utilized. Such was the case with Private Joseph F. Duffer of Company C, 18th Tennessee Infantry Regiment.

The Duffer family moved from Virginia to Sumner County, Tennessee, around 1820. Joseph and his brother, Peter, opened a tailor shop in Hartsville during the 1850s. The brothers then moved to Murfreesboro and opened a new tailoring business on the town square, adding brother William as a partner. By 1860, W. C. Duffer & Brothers was thriving.<sup>145</sup>

Joseph Duffer enlisted in the 18th Tennessee Infantry Regiment on November 2, 1862, at Lavergne, Tennessee. His tailoring skills were noticed by superior officers, and in March 1863, he was detached to be a brigade tailor by General Braxton Bragg's orders.<sup>146</sup>

After Stones River, the Confederate Army of Tennessee withdrew to the Tullahoma-Shelbyville area to re-equip or rest, and replaced or repaired its

Fig. 32: Advertisement for John Luck, 45 Union Street, Nashville, Tennessee, from the *Nashville Union and American*, August 2, 1860. Courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives.

battle flags. On March 26, 1863, Duffer was paid \$3.75 for “one and a half yards fine domestic at \$2.50 per yard. This article was purchased to repair the battle flags of Cleburne’s Division.”<sup>147</sup> These blue and white battle flags would have been easily repaired by someone with Duffer’s skills.

On January 4, 1864, Duffer was detached to work in the Atlanta Quartermaster Depot as Chief Cloth Cutter, on orders from General William J. Hardee.<sup>148</sup> This depot was the major supply center for the Army of Tennessee, as well as a distributor for items transferred from other Confederate quartermaster facilities. Duffer’s skills saved him from the savage combat of 1863 and most of 1864.

Joseph Duffer returned to his tailoring business in Murfreesboro after the war and became a city alderman in 1877. He died on April 8, 1898.<sup>149</sup>

### William McGhee

#### Shelbyville

*The Expositor*, a newspaper issued in Shelbyville, Tennessee, ran an advertisement in mid-April 1861 for William McGhee, “House, Sign and Carriage and Ornamental Painter” on Pike Street. The advertisement also mentioned that McGhee made “Masonic and Odd Fellows Regalies” and “Political, Society, and other flags and banners, & c., done in the best style.”<sup>150</sup>

To date, no flags have been found and attributed to William McGhee. But he certainly would have been readily available to add decorative elements to flags presented to the many Confederate companies organized in the Shelbyville area.

#### Notes

1. *Memphis City Directory for 1859; Being a Complete General and Business Directory of the Entire City; Embracing a Complete List of All the Manufacturers, Merchants, Traders, and Heads of Families* (Memphis: Hutton & Clark, Publishers, 1859), 44, 212.
2. *John L. Mitchell’s Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1860–61*, no. 1 (Nashville: John L. Mitchell, Publisher, 1860), 132, 349; *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (Memphis: Cleaves & Vaden Booksellers & Stationers, 1860), 55, 293; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Tennessee, Shelby County*, Microform M653 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
3. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 68, 111.
4. *Eighth Census of the United States 1860, Tennessee, Shelby County*.
5. Notice, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 9, 1861, n.p.; article, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 10, 1861, n.p.
6. Article, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, May 26, 1861, n.p.
7. Tom Belton, North Carolina Museum of History, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, September 27, 2005 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).
8. “A Beautiful Flag,” *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, August 10, 1861, 2.
9. “Ash, Captain S. M.,” *Compiled Services Records of General and Staff Officers and Non-Regimental Enlisted Men*, Record Group 109, Microcopy M331, Roll 0010 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
10. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*, Record Group 109, Microcopy M346, Roll 0136 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, 1961), 634.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Henry Farrow, *Mobile City Directory* (Mobile, AL: Farrow & Dennett, 1866), 11.
13. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Tennessee, Shelby County* (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
14. *Funeral Home Records, Memphis, Tennessee, 1866–1915 IX* (Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville).
15. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 136.
16. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
17. “Regiment of Lancers!” *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, February 18, 1862, 2.
18. *TICWI*, 27–28.

19. *Ibid.*, 91–92.
20. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
21. *Paschall & Riggs First Annual Memphis City Directory and General Business Advertiser for 1856–1857* (Memphis: Eagle and Enquirer Steam Printing House, 1856), 166.
22. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 145.
23. *Ibid.*, 202.
24. Advertisement, *Nashville Union and American*, April 26, 1861, 3; advertisement, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 25, 1861, 3.
25. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
26. *Memphis City Directory 1866* (Memphis: Bingham, Williams & Co., 1866), 123, 130.
27. *Memphis City Directory for 1859*, 125, 212.
28. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Tennessee, Shelby County*.
29. *Memphis City Directory for 1859*, 125, 212.
30. Advertisement, Miller & Pimm, *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, July 15, 1858, n.p.
31. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 250, 275; *John L. Mitchell’s Tennessee State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1860–61*, 166, 349.
32. Advertisement, Miller & Primm, *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, April 22, 1859, n.p.
33. *Memphis City Directory 1866*, 64.
34. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 251.
35. Advertisement, W. B. Miller & Co., *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, April 21, 1861, n.p.
36. Advertisement, W. B. Miller & Co., *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, April 23, 1861, n.p.
37. Advertisement, W. B. Miller & Co., *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 26, 1861, n.p.
38. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
39. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 63, 183, 253, 254.
40. Advertisement, Moore, Halstead & Co., *Memphis Weekly Bulletin*, April 18, 1861, n.p.
41. Advertisement, Moore, Halstead & Co., *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, May 1, 1861, n.p.
42. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
43. *Memphis City Directory 1866*, 122.
44. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Tennessee, Shelby County*.
45. Advertisement, W. H. Passmore, *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, July 14, 1858, n.p.
46. *Memphis City Directory for 1859*, 136, 212.
47. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 74, 271.
48. Article, *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, May 30, 1861, n.p.
49. Article, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, July 14, 1860, n.p.
50. Article, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, May 25, 1861, n.p.
51. Advertisement, Russell & Brother, *Memphis Weekly Bulletin*, April 18, 1861, n.p.
52. *Memphis City Directory 1866*, 122.
53. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Tennessee, Shelby County*.
54. *Memphis City Directory for 1859*, 148.
55. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 293.
56. Advertisement, Martin T. Ryder, *Memphis Daily Argus*, January 5, 1861, n.p.
57. Advertisement, Martin T. Ryder, *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, June 27, 1862, n.p.
58. Article, *Memphis Weekly Bulletin*, December 10, 1863, n.p.
59. *Memphis City Directory 1866*, 171.
60. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 307.
61. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Tennessee, Shelby County*.
62. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
63. *Williams’ Memphis Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror* (1860), 307.
64. Advertisement, Speed, Donoho & Strange, *Memphis Daily Argus*, January 7, 1861, n.p.
65. Advertisement, Speed, Donoho & Strange, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 9, 1861, n.p.
66. Article, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 10, 1861, n.p.
67. Article, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 21, 1861, n.p.
68. Advertisement, Speed, Donoho & Strange, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, May 11, 1861, n.p.
69. Advertisement, Speed, Donoho & Strange, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, May 27, 1861, n.p.
70. Article, *Memphis Tri-Weekly Appeal*, August 9, 1861, n.p.
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105. Advertisement, R. T. Fleming, *Daily Nashville Patriot*, July 7, 1861, n.p.

106. Advertisement, R. T. Fleming, *The Louisville Daily Courier* (Bowling Green, KY), December 11, 1861, n.p.

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125. "Interesting Ceremonies at Camp Cheatham," *Daily Nashville Patriot*, June 25, 1861, n.p.

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130. Article, *Daily Nashville Patriot*, May 13, 1861, n.p.

131. Article, *The Daily Gazette* (Nashville), August 25, 1861, n.p.

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133. *Nashville City and Business Directory* (1860), 216, 223.

134. Article, *The Daily Gazette* (Nashville), July 3, 1860, n.p.

135. Advertisement, John Luck, *The Daily Gazette* (Nashville), July 3, 1860, n.p.

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143. King, *Singleton's Nashville Business Directory for 1865*, 209.

144. Advertisement, Slager's Sewing Machine Office, *Nashville Union and American*, April 23, 1861, n.p.

145. John T. Heath, direct descendant of Joseph Duffer, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, July 5, 2010 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).

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## FLAG MAKERS IN OTHER STATES WHO MADE TENNESSEE CONFEDERATE FLAGS

### Greg Biggs

Many Confederate unit colors and larger garrison flags flown over Tennesseans were made outside of the state. These flags were often assembled by individuals and firms who had prewar experience in working with fabrics. Some were made by individuals through direct arrangements with those who would be using the flags. Others were assembled under contracts issued by regional Confederate quartermaster depots. The following are those makers known to have made Tennessee Confederate flags:

### Jackson Belknap Mobile, Alabama

Mobile native Jackson Ogden Belknap was one of the more prolific flag makers for the Confederacy. In addition to making colors for many of the Alabama regiments, Belknap reached out beyond the borders of his home state to produce flags for other Confederate military units, especially through contracts with the Mobile Depot. The 1860 United States Census recorded him simply as a painter.<sup>1</sup> The 1861 Mobile city directory listed him as a "sign painter" located at 28 Dauphin Street.<sup>2</sup>

Jackson Belknap established a sign-painting business and became known for his political campaign banners. One Mobile historian wrote: “Does anyone recall the pictures of candidates. . . Well if the banner was done here and was a true likeness, it was safe to say that Mr. Belknap did it.”<sup>3</sup>

With the coming of war in 1860, Belknap’s state began raising the Alabama Volunteer Corps. After mustering into service, many of the local military companies sought Belknap to make their flags. In a short article about his flag trade, the *Montgomery Daily Mail* wrote that “Belknap, Mobile, advertises that he can supply every description of flag (except one that would indicate submission) and we advise our friends to send on their orders. Volunteer companies will do well to embrace this opportunity.” Listed were several Alabama companies for which Belknap had already produced flags, and it was stated that he could supply “staves, spears and sockets . . . gold and silver trimming.”<sup>4</sup>

Between 1861 and early 1864, Belknap made many company and regimental colors, as well as flagstaves and spear finials. In October 1863, General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding what would become the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana, began to standardize battle flags for his units. Jackson Belknap received the contract through the Mobile Depot to produce the rectangular battle flags with twelve stars that were unique to this department. Some of the first issues went to General William Hicks Jackson’s division, which at the time included the 9th Tennessee Cavalry Battalion.<sup>5</sup> Other commands received these flags, including those defending Mobile, Alabama, among which were some of Tennessee’s heavy artillery units.<sup>6</sup> He also did some work for Confederate naval forces based at Mobile.

In February 1864, Jackson Belknap made ten regimental flags that were probably for units in the District of the Gulf at Mobile.<sup>7</sup> The 42nd, 46th, 48th, and 53rd Tennessee Infantry Regiments of General William A. Quarles’s brigade may have been among the recipients of these colors.

On April 30, 1863, Jackson Belknap was appointed Clerk of the Military Court for the District of the Gulf. He served in this capacity through 1864.<sup>8</sup> This new responsibility gradually forced him to relinquish most of his flag-making business to his wife, Sarah Belknap.

After the war, Jackson Belknap again began painting signs<sup>9</sup> but soon moved into advertising and inventing. He also did scenic paintings and wrote articles for local publications about the history of Mobile. Belknap died in February 1917 at age 92, after falling on stairs at his home.<sup>10</sup> One local obituary stated: “Sorrowing that this kindly hearted gentleman is no more, we pay our tribute of praise to his memory.”<sup>11</sup> Jackson Belknap was buried in Magnolia Cemetery at Mobile, Alabama.<sup>12</sup>

### **Sarah Belknap Mobile, Alabama**

Sarah Josephine Weir married Jackson Belknap in April 1851.<sup>13</sup> She took over the business operated by her husband when he was appointed Clerk of the Military Court for the District of the Gulf in 1863 and continued making flags for the Mobile Depot.

Sarah Belknap’s first invoice was for “Making 5 flags—\$90.00,” for “Lettering 4 flags—\$48.00,” and for “Lettering 1 flag for \$10.00.” The invoice was dated December 26, 1863. Some of these Mobile Depot flags included battle honors,

while others did not. In late January 1864, Sarah Belknap then made “thirty regimental flags” at fifteen dollars each, along with two garrison banners and two other small colors.<sup>14</sup> These regimental flags were probably for General Leonidas Polk’s Army of Mississippi, consisting of two infantry divisions, neither of which included Tennessee troops.<sup>15</sup>

In late June 1864, Sarah Belknap made twenty flags at twelve dollars each. No mention was made of battle honors on the invoice she submitted.<sup>16</sup> These flags were probably for the cavalry corps commanded by General Nathan Bedford Forrest, which included several Tennessee regiments (Plate 132). General Forrest received flags later in July and first used them the following month during his raid on Memphis, Tennessee. None of the flags from the issue to Forrest, based upon surviving examples, had state or unit designations.

Sarah Belknap made an additional thirteen flags in September 1864.<sup>17</sup> These flags were either for new units in the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana or were replacement colors for regiments in the corps commanded by General Leonidas Polk and then General Alexander P. Stewart that had been lost during the Atlanta Campaign. They were also possibly the new headquarter flags for Stewart’s Corps.<sup>18</sup>

Sarah J. Belknap died in September 1917<sup>19</sup> and was buried next to her husband.<sup>20</sup>

### **Mrs. Samuel (Elizabeth) Blackburn Bowling Green, Kentucky**

The Army of Central Kentucky became one of the components of the Confederate Army of the Mississippi, later the Army of Tennessee, the largest combat unit in the Western theater. It came into existence in September 1861, when troops from training camps around Clarksville, Camp Cheatham, and Camp Trousdale in Tennessee were ordered to Bowling Green, Kentucky, and after the violation of the Bluegrass State’s declared neutrality. These forces helped stabilize the long defensive line extending from the Cumberland Gap in the east to Columbus, Kentucky, in the west. Albert Sidney Johnston, the commanding general of Confederate Department Number Two, arrived in Bowling Green during October 1861 to direct the defensive actions of his army.<sup>21</sup>

The Army of Central Kentucky, commanded by General William J. Hardee, grew to three divisions by late January 1862. One of these divisions was commanded by Kentuckian Simon Bolivar Buckner.<sup>22</sup> After the war, former general Buckner told the *Nashville Banner* about the creation of what would become the Hardee battle flag. He said that while

riding with Gen. Johnston at Bowling Green, soon after he had assumed command there, he said he wanted a battle flag so distinctive in character that could not be mistaken for the flags of either nation, and asked me to think it over and suggest something to him, and that he would think about it. After thinking over it, I went to him and said, “Gen. Johnston, I suggest to you a flag which has no artistic taste about it, but which is perfectly distinctive and could not be mistaken for either of the flags; it is a blue field with a white oval centre; it cannot be mistaken; there is no red in it at all.” He adopted the suggestion and my wife made a flag for each regiment there at Bowling Green with her

own hands and under Gen. Johnston's orders they were distributed to the regiments with the directions that they be unfurled only in action. The first time the battle flag was used was at Fort Donelson, by that portion of my division that went with me.<sup>23</sup>

Mrs. Buckner had some help in making these flags. Elizabeth Blackburn, wife of a prominent Bowling Green attorney,<sup>24</sup> and her sewing circle also contributed to finishing the colors. An account published in 1903 stated, "There is a mournful interest in the story told by her daughter of how Mrs. (Samuel) Blackburn and her daughters made the battle flags, many of them—under the personal supervision of General Johnston, with his usual thoughtfulness of others took care that not a scrap was left in the house to tell the tale when the enemy should come."<sup>25</sup>

This battle flag arguably became the most famous in the Western theater. Tennessee units receiving these colors included the 3rd (Plate 39), 18th, and 32nd Infantry Regiments of Colonel John C. Brown's brigade; the 26th and 41st Infantry Regiments of Colonel W. E. Baldwin's brigade; and the 23rd, 24th, and 35th Infantry Regiments of Colonel Patrick Cleburne's brigade. It was probably also issued to the 44th Tennessee Infantry of S. A. M. Wood's brigade and the Tennessee artillery batteries commanded by Eldridge, Miller, and Green.<sup>26</sup>

### **Henry Cassidy New Orleans, Louisiana**

Henry Cassidy emigrated to the United States around 1852 and settled in New Orleans, Louisiana, where he became a sail maker.<sup>27</sup> His business was established initially at 37 Tchoupitoulas Street and later at No. 10 and No. 15 Old Levee Street. He advertised his sail making, tents, and flags as far away as Texas.<sup>28</sup>

Cassidy sold his sails, tarpaulins, tents, camp stools, and awnings in Louisiana and to the Mississippi State Army,<sup>29</sup> through its quartermaster and future general, William Barksdale.<sup>30</sup> He soon expanded his business to include the making of flags. One advertisement stated that there was "particular attention paid to getting up in a superior style every description of plain or embroidered Silk Flags or Banners for military and other companies. Flags of all nations, Jack Pennants, etc. Flags neatly repaired."<sup>31</sup>

Henry Cassidy made a significant number of Louisiana state and First National flags in February 1861.<sup>32</sup> He then provided storm and garrison banners for use at fortifications in Mobile, Alabama, the following month.<sup>33</sup> Later in 1861, banners were made for the Confederate Naval Squadron based at New Orleans.<sup>34</sup> These flags were apparently quite large, but could have been easily made by someone experienced in the making of sails.

Cassidy established his reputation as a flag maker for the Confederate Army, however, in February and March 1862. Disparate forces from across the Middle South gathered at Corinth, Mississippi, to form the Army of the Mississippi, and new battle flags of a standard pattern became a primary concern for General P. G. T. Beauregard. He was the second in command of Department Number Two and one of the principal advocates for using the saltire battle flags of the Army of Northern Virginia. General Beauregard attempted to force the use of this flag on all the western commands, but only two of the four corps ac-

quiesced—General Leonidas Polk's and General Braxton Bragg's 1st and 2nd Corps, respectively.<sup>35</sup>

These flags were ordered from Henry Cassidy through the New Orleans Depot and may have been patterned after either General Beauregard's personal flag from Virginia or the colors of the Washington Artillery, an old New Orleans militia command. They had twelve rather than thirteen stars, each with six instead of five points that was common on American-made colors. The flags also had a blue St. Andrew's saltire, set against a red field, and outer borders of either pink or yellow silk.<sup>36</sup>

An invoice submitted by Cassidy on March 29, 1862, indicated that several sets of these flags were made in at least two versions of three sizes each for infantry, cavalry, and artillery units. A previous invoice, dated February 25, listed fifty flags, also in the three sizes, which were to have been provided to General Leonidas Polk's corps at Columbus, Kentucky.<sup>37</sup> General Polk's new flags were lost in shipment, however, and did not reach his forces until after the Battle of Shiloh.<sup>38</sup> A second set of thirty-one colors, invoiced on the same date, was received by General Bragg's corps just as it was departing from Corinth for the battle.<sup>39</sup>

Tennessee units serving in both General Polk's and General Bragg's corps received these flags made by Henry Cassidy. Only two survive from the fifteen Tennessee infantry regiments and two artillery batteries that were serving mostly in General Polk's corps.

One final set of fifty-one flags made by Cassidy were invoiced on March 6, 1861. These colors were also produced in three sizes but were more expensive, because they were larger and rectangular battle flags. They may have been made as replacements for the lost Polk Corps banners but were eventually issued later in the spring and summer of 1862.<sup>40</sup>

New Orleans fell to Union naval forces under the command of David Farragut in April 1862. Henry Cassidy then moved his business to Jackson, Mississippi, where he continued making tents. In 1863, he joined with Samuel Pool to form the company of Cassidy and Pool,<sup>41</sup> specialized in the making of tents for the Confederate Army and its hospitals.<sup>42</sup>

Henry Cassidy returned to New Orleans after the war and resumed his trade as a sail maker. He was listed in the 1870 city directory as being part of the firm of Cassidy & Miller at 100 Camp Street.<sup>43</sup>

### **John D. Clarke Rome, Georgia**

General Joseph E. Johnston was assigned command of the Army of Tennessee following its shattering defeat at Missionary Ridge in late November 1863. The army had withdrawn to Dalton, Georgia, for the winter, where it would rebuild for the 1864 campaign. One of the first actions by General Johnston was to standardize the Army of Tennessee's battle flags. New, rectangular, thirteen-star colors made in Augusta, Georgia, were shipped to Dalton beginning in January 1864. They arrived unmarked with unit and state designations or battle honors.<sup>44</sup>

In mid-April, orders were issued by corps commanders General John Bell Hood and General William J. Hardee for these flags to be "plainly marked with their numbers and the State to which they belong."<sup>45</sup> These orders were not uniformly enforced, however, because many of the flags from the 1864 Augusta

Depot issue that survive are not marked with state and unit designations or battle honors. Flag historian Howard Michael Madaus believed that the final decision to implement General Orders, No. 54 was left up to individual regimental commanders.<sup>46</sup>

General John C. Brown's brigade decided to have its flags marked not only with state and unit designations but also with battle honors. The town of Dalton did not have a local painter, so the flags were sent further south to Rome, Georgia. John D. Clarke invoiced for payment of fifteen dollars for "Lettering Battle Flags for Regiments of Brown's Brigade."<sup>47</sup> The brigade contained the 3rd, 18th, 26th, 32nd, and 45th Tennessee Infantry Regiments (Plates 40, 77, 90, 94). The battle honors for Fort Donelson, Raymond, Chickamauga, Chickasaw Bayou, Jackson, and Missionary Ridge (Right Wing) were applied to these regimental colors, except for the 45th Tennessee, which was not present at Fort Donelson and could not display this recognition.

The most treasured honor was for the fight on Missionary Ridge. Brown's Brigade, along with General Alfred Cumming's Georgians, supported General Patrick Cleburne's division in defending the northern end of the ridge. This force was attacked by General William T. Sherman's corps. It not only stopped the Union advance but also counter-attacked and drove the opposing forces from the ridge. But the center of the Confederate line was blown wide open by the Union Army of the Cumberland, forcing Cleburne's forces to withdraw from their portion of the ridge. The stand on the northern end of Missionary Ridge was commemorated by authorizing the units that had participated to have not only the battle honor on their flags but also the special designation "Right Wing" following it. The flags with this special honor were limited to only those units that had fought valiantly on the northern end of Missionary Ridge and were a source of great pride for the regiments in Brown's Brigade.<sup>48</sup>

### **Private Jacob Gall 19th Louisiana Infantry Regiment**

Jacob Gall was listed in the 1860 United States Census as a native of Prussia and employed as a peddler in Claiborne Parish, Louisiana.<sup>49</sup> He enlisted for three years of service in December 1861 at Camp Moore, Louisiana,<sup>50</sup> and was a member of Company D, Claiborne Greys, 19th Louisiana Infantry Regiment.<sup>51</sup>

Gall must have had tailoring skills, because he was detached from his regiment to be the personal tailor for General William J. Hardee on May 6, 1863. By special order, he was then sent to the quartermaster depot at Demopolis, Alabama, on September 5. General Hardee had been detached from the Army of Tennessee and sent to this location to take charge of paroled troops from the Vicksburg prisoner exchange. Considered to be the best trainer of troops in the Western theater, Hardee took Gall with him.<sup>52</sup>

On September 11, Gall invoiced the Confederate quartermaster depot at Enterprise, Mississippi, "For (38) Thirty-Eight yards Merino @ \$18.50 per yard—\$703.00. For (30) Thirty yards domestic @ \$8 per yard—\$240.00. For (8) Eight Spools thread @ \$1—\$8.00." As recorded on the invoice, these materials were needed for the making of "34 Battle Flags for Lieut. Genl. Hardee's Command." On September 30, 1863, Gall again invoiced for "cutting and making 34 flags for Lieut. Genl. Hardee's Corps at \$2.88 each." Also in-

cluded was a requested payment for transportation to and from Demopolis, Alabama.<sup>53</sup>

Flag historian Howard Michael Madaus believed that these Hardee battle flags were sent to Chattanooga to re-equip the units of Hardee's Corps participating in the Army of Tennessee's siege of the city.<sup>54</sup> Further research by Alabama flag historian Robert B. Bradley indicated that some of the units being reorganized by General Hardee at Demopolis also received the flags made by Private Gall before departing for Chattanooga. These colors each had a blue field with a centered white ellipse. Based upon surviving examples, the unit and state designations were applied to the ellipse.<sup>55</sup> General Hardee returned to the Army of Tennessee in late October 1863, replacing General Leonidas Polk and taking command of the latter's corps.<sup>56</sup>

The Army of Tennessee underwent several re-organizations prior to the Chickamauga-Chattanooga Campaign. Identifying which units received the flags made by Private Gall is therefore difficult. The number of these flags captured in late November 1863 at Missionary Ridge is indicative of their having been issued primarily to units in General Hardee's original command, as well as those in his "new" corps, formerly led by General Leonidas Polk. Tennessee regiments served in both corps and were very likely recipients of Gall's flags.<sup>57</sup>

Private Gall's service records indicated that he was "in LA without leave since Nov. 10, 1863, since joined another command. Dropped."<sup>58</sup> He returned to Shreveport, Louisiana, after the war, opened a business, and joined the local chapter of the United Confederate Veterans. Gall was buried in the Jewish cemetery at Shreveport.<sup>59</sup>

### **Lewis L. Montague Richmond, Virginia**

Lewis L. Montague was a longtime Richmond resident and artist who specialized in sign and fancy painting. He was listed in the 1845 city directory as a house, sign, and ornamental painter.<sup>60</sup> The 1860 United States Census indicated that his age was fifty-seven and his trade was painting.<sup>61</sup> The 1860 city directory showed him to be a "house and sign painter."<sup>62</sup>

Montague advertised for the military trade as early as April 1861 in Richmond's *Daily Dispatch*, where he offered the painting of knapsacks and the marking of guns.<sup>63</sup> A year later, he and William Montague, who may have been his son, formed the firm of L. L. and W. L. Montague. This business sold oil cloth, used for flag covers and rain ponchos, as well as tarpaulins, painted wagon covers, knapsacks, and more.

By 1863, Lewis Montague was again on his own, offering much of the same services.<sup>64</sup> On August 15, he submitted an invoice in the amount of three hundred dollars to the State of Virginia for painting the coat of arms on a large flag to be flown over the capitol building in Richmond.<sup>65</sup> Several other invoices indicated that Montague received a contract for painting battle honors on flags issued by the Richmond Depot to the Army of Northern Virginia. One dated October 15 was submitted to Captain O. F. Weisiger in the amount of seventy dollars for "Inscribing 9 battle flags." This invoice also indicated that the colors belonged to the 40th, 47th, and 55th Virginia; the 13th Alabama; the 26th and 47th North Carolina; and the 1st, 7th, and 14th Tennessee Infantry Regiments (Plate 65).<sup>66</sup>

The three Tennessee regimental banners noted on that invoice replaced those of the 1st and 14th Infantry captured at the Battle of Gettysburg and the flag of the 7th Infantry, which was almost shot to shreds during the same engagement. These new flags would each have a battle honor for Gettysburg at the bottom of the lower quadrant. Only one of these flags survived.<sup>67</sup>

In 1864, Montague apparently continued painting his dark blue honors on battle flags issued through the Richmond Depot. Sadly, most of his invoices from later in the war seem to be missing, but enough survive to indicate his continuing work as an active flag painter.

By April 1865, Richmond had fallen to Union forces and the war was coming to an end. Lewis L. Montague was working out of a painting firm operated by John W. Lee and S. Y. Landrum on Grace Street.<sup>68</sup> But nine years later, he was recorded in the files of the 46th Virginia Infantry Regiment as having painted a flag for the Richmond Light Blues.<sup>69</sup>

### **Charles A. Platt & Company Augusta, Georgia**

Charles A. Platt, a native of Connecticut, was one of the more interesting flag makers for the Confederacy. He had moved with his brother Jacob to Augusta, Georgia, around 1848 and soon was operating a furniture store.<sup>70</sup> Charles Platt also sold carpets, curtains and curtain materials, oil cloth, and other related items.<sup>71</sup> He was recorded as being a cabinet maker in the 1860 United States Census<sup>72</sup> and advertised his trades in the local newspapers.<sup>73</sup> Platt then moved quickly into the making of flags when the war began.

To date, only two flags have been identified as having been made by Charles Platt. He made colors in August 1861 for Cobb's Legion, one of the more noteworthy Georgia units.<sup>74</sup> Colonel Thomas R. R. Cobb's battalion lost this Charles Platt flag at the Battle of Crampton's Gap, Maryland, on September 14, 1862.<sup>75</sup> And a Savannah, Georgia, newspaper, issued May 24, 1864, noted that a beautiful silk Second National flag made by Mrs. C. A. Platt was presented to the 29th Tennessee Infantry Regiment (Plate 91). It was inscribed, "Presented by the Ladies of Savannah to the 29th Tennessee Regiment" in gilt lettering and had seven battle honors for Rock Castle, Fishing Creek, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Missionary Ridge on its white field. A local newspaper reported that it was "very neatly done—as all of the flags made by Mrs. Platt are."<sup>76</sup>

Charles Platt was also an experienced soldier. Before the war, he had been captain of the Clinch Rifles, one of the older and more elite companies in the Georgia Militia.<sup>77</sup> That company was absorbed into the 5th Georgia Infantry Regiment after the state seceded, and Platt remained its captain. He was, however, subsequently detached on regimental business and evidently discharged.<sup>78</sup> Platt remained in a local military unit, becoming a lieutenant colonel in the 18th Battalion, Georgia State Guards, which was tasked with protecting Augusta.<sup>79</sup>

Charles Platt continued selling other military items to the Confederacy, including wooden boxes, writing desks, and coffins, as well as ammunition and artillery sabots for the Augusta Arsenal. He also offered camp cots for the troops and bunks for local hospitals.<sup>80</sup>

Charles Platt moved into the funeral business after the war.<sup>81</sup> Platt's Funeral Home is still in business at Augusta but no longer connected with the Platt family.

### **Jacob B. Platt Augusta, Georgia**

Jacob B. Platt was the brother of Charles A. Platt. He was born in New York City and moved with his brother to Augusta, Georgia, around 1848, where they established a furniture and cabinet-making business. Jacob Platt was recorded as being a cabinet maker in the 1860 United States Census<sup>82</sup> and worked in the firm owned by his older brother.

Jacob Platt was more interested and prolific in the making of flags than his brother. In February 1861, he submitted a design to the congressional Committee on Flag and Seal for consideration as the national flag of the newly formed Confederate States of America. One newspaper article stated, "We doubt if any will be presented for the consideration of Congress, more beautiful than the one just completed by our esteemed friend, Jacob B. Platt, of the firm C. A. Platt & Co., of this city."<sup>83</sup> Jacob Platt's design was rejected, but he began making flags after the adoption of the Confederate First National pattern on March 4, 1861.

Jacob Platt first made a flag for the Clinch Rifles, commanded by his brother.<sup>84</sup> Then in early April 1861, he made a twenty-by-thirty-six-foot banner for the Augusta Arsenal<sup>85</sup> and placed an advertisement in the *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, offering "Confederacy Flags of all sizes, made to order by J. B. Platt."<sup>86</sup> On June 11, the same newspaper included a short article about the raising of "a Southern Confederacy flag" over "the engine house of Clinch Steam Fire Engine Company, No. 2. . . ." The article reported, "The size of the flag is nine by fourteen feet, and is made of bunting, manufactured by Mr. J. B. Platt, of this city."<sup>87</sup>

In the summer of 1861, one newspaper reported, "Mr. J. B. Platt, we are happy to learn, is receiving a large number of orders for the beautiful Confederate flags of his manufacture, daily. In fact, he has now more orders ahead than he can fill, and his time and that of his assistants is assiduously devoted to work. Fine specimens of his handiwork are gaily waiving in different parts of the city."<sup>88</sup>

On July 25, 1861, Jacob Platt placed another advertisement in the *Augusta Daily Chronicle & Sentinel* that read: "Flags! Flags! Having just received a supply of fine French material, I am prepared to furnish at short notice, Confederate flags of all sizes, such as are used by Military Companies, as well as house tops and poles, Also, Streamers, Revenue Flags, Pennants, State Flags, Signals, Confederate Jacks, and Flags of All Nations. J. B. Platt, 214 Broad street, Augusta, Ga."<sup>89</sup>

Jacob Platt made some of the first examples of the Confederate Second National flag seen in Augusta, Georgia, after its adoption in May 1863. In early October, he wrote to the Confederate War Department offering to furnish Second National regimental flags in a four-by-six-foot size for one hundred dollars each and "the Battle flag known as the Beauregard flag three by five feet at \$55 each or any other design used not requiring as much labor to make as the Beauregard, for \$40 each."<sup>90</sup>

Beginning in late January 1864, new battle flags were issued by the Augusta Depot to the Army of Tennessee, then encamped at Dalton, Georgia. These flags were laid out in a rectangular format and had the blue saltire and thirteen white stars (Plate 45). It was very likely that because of his letter to the War Department, Jacob Platt received the contract to make these flags through the Augusta Depot. The dimensions for "the Beauregard flag" mentioned in his October 9, 1863 letter are very close to those of the flags received by the Army

of Tennessee. Many Tennessee regiments that fought in the Atlanta Campaign received these flags from the Augusta Depot in February and March 1864.

### **Colyer F. & R. P. Sawyers Corinth, Mississippi**

Colyer F. and Reese P. Sawyers, both born in Tennessee, moved to Corinth, Mississippi, in the late 1850s. Corinth was founded in 1855 at the intersection of two railroads—the Mobile and Ohio, and the Memphis and Charleston. The Sawyers brothers were both listed in the 1860 United States Census as twenty-seven-year-old merchants.<sup>91</sup>

After its failed attempt to crush the Union Army under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant at Shiloh, the Confederate Army of the Mississippi withdrew to Corinth. During May and June 1862, a massive Union Army under General Henry Halleck moved toward the city and laid siege to it. While holding Corinth, the Confederate forces re-equipped themselves with new weapons and battle flags, among other items.<sup>92</sup>

As owners of a dry goods store, the Sawyers brothers supplied bulk cloth for the making of the new flags. On May 7, 1862, they invoiced an army quartermaster for “(41½) Forty-one and a half yards of blue merino at \$1.00 per yard—\$41.50. (10) Ten yards bleached domestic at 50 cts. per yard—\$5.00.” Their invoice also indicated that these fabrics were “bought for battle flags for the use of Gen. Hardee’s Corps army Miss.”<sup>93</sup>

The flags made from the cloth purchased at the Sawyers brothers’ store replaced many colors from Hardee’s Corps damaged at Shiloh and were also given to new units. As of May 26, 1862, Hardee’s Corps contained the brigades of Colonel R. G. Shaver, General Patrick Cleburne, General S. A. M. Wood, and Colonel J. S. Marmaduke. All four of these brigades included Tennessee regiments and batteries.<sup>94</sup>

This was the first large issue of flags received by Hardee’s Corps following its departure from Bowling Green, Kentucky, in February 1862. These flags were also the first to have a white border on the entire perimeter. But it is not currently known who made these flags from the fabrics supplied by the Sawyers.

In 1870, Colyer Sawyers was living in Alcorn County, Mississippi, selling insurance. Reese Sawyers was not listed in the United States Census for Mississippi, indicating that he may have moved from the state.<sup>95</sup>

### **Henry Vaughn Mobile, Alabama**

Henry Vaughn, an Irish immigrant, was a sail maker residing in Mobile, Alabama, by 1860.<sup>96</sup> The Mobile city directory for 1861 indicated that he was working for Vaughn & Newton, sail makers at 18 Commerce Street.<sup>97</sup>

In March 1861, Vaughn made one storm flag and one hospital banner for the State of Alabama.<sup>98</sup> By June, his advertisements in the *Mobile Register and Advertiser* promoted his “Sail, Tarpaulin and Flag Loft.” He also sold tents, wagon covers, and other items.<sup>99</sup>

Only one invoice, submitted by Henry Vaughn in January 1863 for tarpaulins, has been found to date.<sup>100</sup> But several large flags survive that have his maker’s mark. One of these is the First National flag captured in October 1862 after the

Battle of LaVergne, Tennessee. It is marked “Vaughn/Maker” and “18 Commerce St.” on the upper left of the heading.<sup>101</sup>

Henry Vaughn was still working as a sail maker at the same business location in 1866. He continued making flags, awnings, tarpaulins, and tents.<sup>102</sup>

### **Silk Battle Flags for the Army of the Potomac— Army of Northern Virginia and Their Makers**

Most of the units raised throughout Tennessee fought in the Western theater. But there were some that were very active participants in the many hard-fought battles in the Eastern theater. Units like Turney’s 1st Tennessee, the 7th Tennessee, and the 14th Tennessee Infantry Regiments, which became known as the Tennessee Brigade, fought throughout the war under the colors of the Army of Northern Virginia.

Had Richmond not been the capital of the Confederacy, it still would have been a military target because of its woolen and flour mills and its being a transportation center. The most famous army of the Confederacy, therefore, centered its attention on northern Virginia to protect its capital and supply lines.

Richmond also became a major base for the Confederate Navy and was the location of a major quartermaster depot. Virtually all the flags issued to and flown by units in the Army of Northern Virginia were made through the Richmond Depot.<sup>103</sup>

The three prototypes of a flag designed by William Porcher Miles and approved by Generals P. G. T. Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston were made by the Cary ladies of Richmond and Baltimore. These flags were given to Generals Beauregard, Johnston, and Earl Van Dorn in the fall of 1861. Major William L. Cabell, chief quartermaster of the Confederate Army in Virginia, was then assigned the task of acquiring bulk dress silk to have flags made. He gave this mission to Captain Colin McRae Selph, who went to several Richmond businesses specializing in dry goods and bought enough red, yellow, white, pink, and blue silk to make 120 flags.<sup>104</sup> Selph’s efforts, as he later recalled, “exhausted the supply of silk in Richmond” and “the ladies will have to do without silk dresses, as I have bought all the material.”<sup>105</sup>

Documentation has been found indicating that Captain Selph went to three Richmond dry goods businesses to acquire the silk needed to make the required 120 flags. These were:

#### ***Samuel M. Price & Company Richmond, Virginia***

Samuel M. Price was listed in the 1860 United States Census as being a merchant.<sup>106</sup> He specialized in Paris dress goods, silks, cloaks, and shawls.

Four invoices from Samuel Price to the Richmond Depot have survived. The first, dated October 16, 1861, was for 31 yards of yellow silk, 18¾ yards of pink silk, four yards of white silk, and 4 ⅙yards of spool silk. Six days later, Price sold 6 pieces of white ribbon, 2 yards of red silk, 9 yards of yellow silk, and more ribbon. Forty-five yards of white silk, 7 yards of pink silk, and 16 yards of yellow silk were purchased on October 26. And Price’s last invoice, dated October 28, was for 8½ yards of yellow silk. Each of the four invoices was signed by Colin McRae Selph and marked as “Army Contingencies.”<sup>107</sup>

### *Thomas D. Price & Company*

#### *Richmond, Virginia*

The 1860 United States Census listed Thomas Price as being a merchant.<sup>108</sup> He specialized in “Staple and Fancy Dry Goods.”<sup>109</sup>

Thomas Price sold 78½ yards of blue silk to the Richmond Depot on October 16, 1861, and then 11 days later invoiced for 35 yards of yellow silk and 25 pieces of ribbon. Both invoices were again signed by Captain Colin McRae Selph.<sup>110</sup>

### *Watkins & Ficklin*

#### *Richmond, Virginia*

Joel B. Watkins and James Ficklin were both listed in the 1860 United States Census as being merchants.<sup>111</sup> The firm specialized in civilian silks and other fabrics, along with items for the military, such as cadet gray cloth, and was located at 159 Main Street.<sup>112</sup>

Watkins & Ficklin sold the first fabric to Captain Selph on October 10, 1861. The invoice included a 16-foot bolt of blue silk that was 36 inches in width; 93 feet of 72-inch-wide blue silk; 8½ feet of 36-inch-wide white silk; another 23 and 5/8 feet of 36-inch-wide white silk; and 8 feet of 36-inch-wide red silk. On October 18, the firm invoiced for 111 feet of “rich pink” silk on a bolt that was 72 inches wide. Five days later it sold 11 yards of ribbon, and on October 29, it invoiced for 18 more yards of blue silk. On its last invoice, dated November 4, 1861, Watkins & Ficklin sold 93 1/3 yards of blue silk. These invoices were signed by Captain Colin McRae Selph.<sup>113</sup>

Flag historian Howard Michael Madaus believed that the silk acquired from Watkins & Ficklin was enough to make eighty-two battle flags, four-feet square, the size chosen for infantry colors.<sup>114</sup> And this firm also made a few colors on its own, because it invoiced for nine flags on August 1, 1861.<sup>115</sup>

After acquiring enough silk, Captain Selph provided it to at least three Richmond sewing circles for assembling of the flags. A drawing to be used as a guide was given to each of the ladies’ groups.<sup>116</sup> Surviving examples from this issue indicate that perhaps one group created flags with yellow borders while a second made them with borders from white silk. The third sewing circle seemed to have used silk fringe around the perimeter of each banner. These variances may have resulted from either artistic taste of the group making a set of flags or the materials available to them. Silk ribbon was used for the fimbriation dividing the blue cross from the red field.<sup>117</sup>

The first completed flags were issued on November 28, 1861. These presentations continued into early December and included Turney’s 1st Tennessee Infantry Regiment.<sup>118</sup> The 7th and 14th Tennessee Infantry Regiments, not being in the area around Richmond, probably did not receive their Army of Northern Virginia colors until after the initial issue.<sup>119</sup>

#### Notes

1. *Eighth Census of the United States: Alabama, Mobile*, Microform M653 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).

2. *Directory for the City of Mobile, for 1861* (Mobile, AL: Farrow & Dennett, 1861), 5.

3. Erwin Craighead, *Mobile: Fact and Tradition, Noteworthy People and Events* (Mobile, AL: Powers Printing, 1930), 346–47.

4. Article, *Montgomery Daily Mail*, November 17, 1860, n.p.

5. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*, Record Group 109, Microform M346, Roll 0055 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, 1961) includes an invoice from Jackson Belknap, dated October 31, 1863, for fourteen flags with battle honors,

three pennons, and ten guidons. Flag historian Howard Michael Madaus believed that this invoice pertained to flags produced by Belknap for General William Hicks Jackson’s cavalry division.

6. Howard Michael Madaus and Robert D. Needham, *The Battle Flags of the Confederate Army of Tennessee* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1976), 73–83.

7. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms* includes an invoice from Jackson Belknap for these flags, dated February 1, 1864.

8. Howard Michael Madaus, flag historian, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, May 23, 1999 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).

9. *Directory of the City of Mobile* (Mobile, AL: Farrow & Dennett, 1866), 5.

10. Article, *Mobile Daily Register* (Mobile, AL), February 10, 1917, n.p.

11. Newspaper clipping, Jackson Belknap obituary, February 1917, n.p.

12. Helen A. Thompson, ed., *Magnolia Cemetery 1828–1971* (New Orleans: Polyanthas, 1974), 121.

13. Clinton P. King and Meriem A. Barlow, eds., *Marriages of Mobile County, Alabama, 1813–1855* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1985), 10.

14. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.

15. William R. Scaife, *The Campaign for Atlanta* (Saline, MI: McNaughton & Gunn, Inc., 1993), 181–83.

16. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.

17. Ibid.

18. Madaus, email correspondence to Biggs, May 23, 1999.

19. Obituary for Sarah Belknap, *Mobile Daily Register* (Mobile, AL), September 7, 1917, n.p.

20. Thompson, *Magnolia Cemetery 1828–1971*, 121.

21. Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Army of the Heartland: The Army of Tennessee, 1861–1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1967), 59–71.

22. *O. R. I*, vol. VII (1882), 852–53.

23. M. B. Morton, “General Simon Bolivar Buckner Tells the Story of the Fall of Fort Donelson,” *Nashville Banner*, December 11, 1909, n.p.

24. *Eighth Census of the United States: Kentucky, Warren County*, Microform M653 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).

25. *Green and The Gold I*, no. 2 (April 1903), 8.

26. *O. R. I*, vol. VII (1882), 852–53.

27. *Eighth Census of the United States: Louisiana, Orleans Parish*, Microform M653 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC); *Hellier’s New Orleans Business Directory for 1860 and ’61* (New Orleans: Hellier & Company, 1860), 45; Charles Gardner, compiler, *Gardner’s New Orleans Directory for 1861* (New Orleans: Charles Gardner, 1861), 95, 488.

28. Advertisement, *Galveston News* (Galveston, TX), August 27, 1852, n.p.

29. Advertisement, *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, MS), April 18, 1860, n.p.

30. “Barksdale, William,” *Compiled Service Records of Confederate General and Staff Officers and Non-Regimental Enlisted Men*, Record Group 109, Microform M331, Roll 0015 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC); *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.

31. Advertisement, *The Daily True Delta* (New Orleans, LA), April 30, 1862, n.p.

32. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.

33. Robert B. Bradley, transcriber, *Alabama Governor Papers* (Montgomery: Alabama Department of Archives and History).

34. “Section D, Communications and Flags,” *Confederate Navy*, Microform M1091 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).

35. Madaus and Needham, *The Battle Flags of the Confederate Army of Tennessee*, 32–36.

36. Ibid.

37. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.

38. Captain Edward Powell shipped the flags made for General Leonidas Polk’s corps to Columbus, Kentucky. They arrived at their destination, however, as that post was being evacuated by General Polk. See “Powell, Captain Edward,” *Compiled Services Records of Confederate General and Staff Officers and Non-Regimental Enlisted Men*, Record Group 109, Microform M331, Roll 0201 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).

39. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.

40. Ibid.

41. Advertisement, *The Memphis Daily Appeal* (Jackson, MS), April 9, 1863, n.p.

42. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.

43. *Gardner’s 1870 New Orleans City Directory* (New Orleans, LA: C. Gardner, 1870), 123, 740.

44. Madaus and Needham, *The Battle Flags of the Confederate Army of Tennessee*, 63–72.

45. *O. R. I*, vol. XXXII (1891), part 3, 801.

46. Madaus and Needham, *The Battle Flags of the Confederate Army of Tennessee*, 63.
47. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
48. Peter Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga* (Champaign: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1998), 211–243; see the following catalogue entries for the 1864 Augusta Depot flags issued to the 3rd, 18th, 26th, and 32nd Tennessee Infantry Regiments for examples of this battle honor.
49. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Louisiana, Claiborne Parish*, Microform 653 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
50. Richard Holloway, Archivist, Louisiana National Guard, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, April 12, 2011 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).
51. “Gall, Jacob,” *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Louisiana*, Record Group 109, Microform M320, Roll 0303 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, 1861).
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. Howard Michael Madaus, flag historian, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, June 11, 2000 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).
55. Robert Bradley, flag historian, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, June 8, 2000 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville); Robert Bradley, flag historian, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, July 26, 2007 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).
56. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1959), 124–25.
57. For additional information on the reorganizations of the Army of Tennessee, see Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1971).
58. “Gall, Jacob,” *CSR*.
59. Holloway, email correspondence to Biggs, April 12, 2011.
60. Bruce Bazelon, military goods historian, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, May 29, 2002 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).
61. *Eighth Census of the United States: Virginia, Henrico County*, Microform M653 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
62. *Second Annual Directory for the City of Richmond* (Richmond: W. Eugene Ferslew, 1860), 165.
63. Advertisement, *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond), April 23, 1861, n.p.
64. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
65. Invoice, Governor John Letcher Papers, August 15, 1863 (Virginia State Library, Richmond).
66. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
67. See the following catalogue entries for the flags of Turney’s 1st, the 7th, and the 14th Tennessee Infantry Regiments for further information.
68. Advertisement, *The Richmond Times*, April 21, 1865, n.p.
69. Kenneth Legendre, flag historian, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, July 1, 2007 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).
70. Article, *Augusta Chronicle* (Augusta, GA), February 24, 1895, n.p.
71. *Directory for the city of Augusta, and business advertiser for 1859* (Augusta, GA: R. A. Watkins, 1859), 52.
72. *Eighth Census of the United States: Georgia, Richmond County*, Microform M653 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
73. Advertisement, *The Central Georgian* (Sandersville, GA), November 28, 1860, n.p.; advertisement, *Weekly Southern Republic* (Augusta, GA), February 5, 1861, n.p.
74. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
75. O. R. I, vol. XIX (1887), part 1, 393–96; in the “Report of Col. Henry L. Cake, Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania Infantry, of the battles of Crampton’s Pass and Antietam,” written from “Camp near Williamsport, Md., September 23, 1862,” the capture of the flag made by Charles Platt for the 16th Georgia Infantry is mentioned (394).
76. “The 29th Tennessee,” *Savannah Weekly Republican* (Savannah, GA), May 24, 1864, 2.
77. *Directory for the city of Augusta, and business advertiser for 1859* (Augusta, GA: R. A. Watkins, 1859), 161.
78. “Platt, Charles,” *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Georgia*, Record Group 109, Microform M266, Roll 0198 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
79. “Platt, Charles, 18th Georgia Battalion State Guards,” *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Georgia*, Record Group 109, Microform M266, Roll 0319 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
80. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*; advertisement, *Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta, GA), June 26, 1861, n.p.; advertisement, *Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta, GA), July 18, 1861, n.p.
81. *Ninth Census of the United States: Georgia, Richmond County*, Microform M593 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
82. *Eighth Census of the United States: Georgia, Richmond County*, Microform M653 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
83. “The National Flag,” *Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta, GA), February 21, 1861, n.p.
84. “Cinch Rifles—Flag Presentation,” *Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta, GA), March 10, 1861, 3.
85. “Home Made Flags,” *Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta, GA), April 6, 1861, 3.
86. Advertisement, *Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta, GA), April 20, 1861, n.p.
87. “Flag Raising,” *Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta, GA), June 11, 1861, 3.
88. “Flag Manufactory,” *Daily Chronicle & Sentinel* (Augusta, GA), July 13, 1861, 3.
89. “Flags! Flags!” *Daily Chronicle & Sentinel* (Augusta, GA), July 25, 1861, 2.
90. Jacob Platt, letter to the Confederate War Department, October 9, 1863, Eleanor S. Brock-enbrough Library (The American Civil War Museum, Richmond, formerly The Museum of the Confederacy).
91. *Eighth Census of the United States: Mississippi, Tishomingo County*, Microform M653 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
92. Peter Cozzens, *The Darkest Days of the War: The Battles of Iuka and Corinth* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1997), 31–37.
93. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
94. For the Confederate order of battle at Corinth, Mississippi, see O. R. I, vol. X (1884), part 2, 548–52.
95. Bruce Bazelon, military goods historian, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, February 10, 2009 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).
96. *Eighth Census of the United States: Alabama, Mobile County*.
97. *Directory for the City of Mobile, for 1861*, 71.
98. Bradley, *Alabama Governor Papers*.
99. Advertisement, *Mobile Register and Advertiser*, June 8, 1861, n.p.
100. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
101. The flag captured at LaVergne, Tennessee, is in the collections of the Illinois National Guard at Springfield, Illinois.
102. *Directory for the City of Mobile* (Mobile, AL: Farrow & Dennett, 1866), 73.
103. Time-Life Editors, *Echoes of Glory: Arms and Equipment of the Confederacy* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1996), 242–43, 246–49, 252–53.
104. “Vivid History of Our Battle Flag,” *Confederate Veteran* VIII, no. 5 (May 1900): 238–39.
105. Colin M. Selph, letter to J. A. Chalaron, July 25, 1905, Special Collections, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University.
106. *Eighth Census of the United States: Virginia, Henrico County*.
107. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
108. *Eighth Census of the United States: Virginia, Henrico County*.
109. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Eighth Census of the United States: Virginia, Henrico County*.
112. *Second Annual Directory for the City of Richmond* (Richmond: W. Eugene Ferslew, 1860), 166, 96, 224; advertisement, *Daily Richmond Whig*, May 2, 1861, n.p.; advertisement, *Daily Richmond Whig*, May 23, 1861, n.p.; advertisement, *Daily Richmond Whig*, June 26, 1861, n.p.; advertisement, *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), July 29, 1861, n.p.
113. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
114. Howard Michael Madaus, flag historian, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, January 30, 2003 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).
115. *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens and Business Firms*.
116. Selph, letter to Chalaron, July 25, 1905.
117. Howard Michael Madaus, flag historian, email correspondence to Greg Biggs, flag historian, August 25, 2005 (Tennessee State Museum, Nashville).
118. Article, *Daily Sun*, (Columbus, GA), December 5, 1861, n.p.; article, *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond), December 2, 1861, n.p.; article, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, December 24, 1861, n.p.
119. For information on where the 7th and 14th Tennessee Infantry Regiments were operating at the time of the first issue of the Army of Northern Virginia flags, see Stewart Sifakis, *Compendium of the Confederate Armies: Tennessee* (New York: Facts on File, 1992), 102–3, 112–13.

PART THREE

Tennessee's Union Flags  
and Their Makers



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## A DIVIDED STATE: THE UNION FLAG IN TENNESSEE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

*Stephen D. Cox and Greg Biggs*

On the issue of secession, the state of Tennessee was divided. It had given its electoral votes to favorite son John C. Bell in the presidential election of 1860, while the states in the Deep South had voted for Kentuckian John J. Crittenden.<sup>1</sup> But a Nashville newspaper article issued prior to the election reported on the “Visit of John J. Crittenden to the Home of John Bell!” and a public reception by “The People for the Constitution and the Union Forever!” This same article, appearing on September 25, 1860, began by saying that “the public reception of Kentucky’s noble and patriotic son, the Hon. John J. Crittenden, by the Union party of this city yesterday, was the most splendid and imposing demonstration of the kind that has been witnessed in Tennessee for a quarter of a century. Almost the entire city seemed to have turned out *en masse* with shouts, with music and with banners to pay a tribute of love, of reverence and of admiration to one of the wisest and greatest Statesmen of the time.”<sup>2</sup> United States flags were visible throughout Nashville during the visit of Senator Crittenden, later the author of a series of ill-fated constitutional amendments, known as the Crittenden Compromise, that would have guaranteed the permanence of slavery in the South and averted the secession crisis.<sup>3</sup>

The western counties in the state of Tennessee were decidedly pro-secession, while the eastern counties were pro-Union, both with isolated pockets of opposition. In Middle Tennessee, the counties in the Central Basin leaned toward secession, while those on the rim of the basin were much more undecided.<sup>4</sup> A pro-Union campaign meeting for Bell and Everett was held on October 17, 1860, in the southern portion of Middle Tennessee at Petersburg. The United States flag was very visible on this occasion. A Nashville newspaper reported that “at 10 o’clock, a procession was formed in the pleasant little village, consisting of the beauty and hardy sons of the surrounding country, numbering hundreds; it was a magnificent display, with a large Union banner in front, followed by 33 fair damsels, each bearing a beautiful banner upon which was inscribed, ‘the Union,’ a bell, and the name of one of the States of our glorious Confederacy.”<sup>5</sup>

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of the United States in November 1860 and the subsequent secession of states in the Deep South increased the pressure for Tennessee’s political leaders to lead the state into joining the Confederacy. Support in favor of withdrawing from the federal union grew among the people of Tennessee, but United States flags were still prominently displayed throughout the state. Newspapers contained articles about the prominence of United States flags in the state’s major cities, even as pro-secession Governor Isham G. Harris called the Tennessee General Assembly into special session to consider withdrawing from the federal union in January 1861 and during a public referendum held during the following month that rejected a secession convention.<sup>6</sup>

Nashville’s *Republican Banner* included an article on January 9, 1861, and a piece of verse eight days later about a United States flag flown at the Tennessee

State Capitol. The article stated that “the ‘Stars and Stripes’ floated gracefully from a gigantic flag staff surmounted by a golden eagle at the Capitol yesterday, at the same time that the cannon belched forth its thunder in honor of the American victory at the battle of New Orleans. The national colors were also displayed from other staffs in the vicinity.”<sup>7</sup> The verse, published on January 17, began, “Flag of my Country! Still float there in pride . . .”<sup>8</sup>

A month later, two of Nashville’s other newspapers included articles about United States flags in the city. It was reported on February 9, 1861, that “the stars and stripes have been thrown to the breeze in every section of the city. . . . Whatever may be the result of the difficulties which at present agitate our country . . . we will still bow with reverence at the sight of the stars and stripes. . . .”<sup>9</sup> The *Daily Nashville Patriot* then noted, “You may stand on Capitol Hill and count nearly a dozen American flags ‘floating [in] the breeze’ in different parts of the city. The stars and stripes have suddenly grown popular.”<sup>10</sup>

In West Tennessee, a stronghold of secessionist support, it was reported that on “February 6, 1861, the Unionists of Memphis had a big street demonstration, to witness which thousands of people gathered. Many stores and residences were brilliantly lighted and large and small United States flags floated all along the line of the torch-light procession. . . . One flag was so large that it took several bearers to keep it upright.”<sup>11</sup>

In his inaugural address on March 4, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln emphasized that no state of its own volition could leave the Union and that any ordinances of secession were illegal. He went on to say that any acts of violence in support of secession were insurrectionary or revolutionary and that he would enforce the laws of the Union to “hold, occupy, and possess” any federal property in secessionist states. To enforce this statement, Lincoln dispatched a naval expedition to Fort Sumter, South Carolina, to provide relief to the besieged garrison. In response, the Confederate government authorized General P. G. T. Beauregard to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter. When this demand was refused, the fort was bombarded by Confederate artillery batteries on April 12 and 13, 1861, surrendering the following day.<sup>12</sup>

President Lincoln’s anti-secession statements in his inaugural address and his subsequent effort at reinforcing Fort Sumter altered the opinions of many Tennesseans who had voted in February 1861 against a convention to withdraw from the federal union. The United States War Department had also requested from Governor Harris “two regiments of militia for immediate services.” The governor’s reply that “Tennessee will not furnish a single man for the purposes of coercion but 50,000 if necessary for the defence [*sic*] of our rights and those of our Southern brothers” virtually ended Union sentiment in Middle and West Tennessee.<sup>13</sup>

Governor Harris capitalized on the change in public opinion and pushed two measures through the General Assembly in May 1861—one calling for the state’s independence and a second allying Tennessee with the Confederacy. The governor’s actions were supported by the people of Tennessee in a June 8 referendum.<sup>14</sup>

Tennessee secession from the federal union and the establishment of the Confederate state capital at Nashville resulted in the suppression of Unionist activities, even in East Tennessee. For the most part, United States flags were only infrequently seen in Tennessee except those carried by invading federal units until after the occupation of Nashville on February 25 and Memphis on June 6, 1862. Incidents of armed violence against Unionists and those attempting to raise the United States flag were recorded throughout the state.

On April 6, 1861, the Cincinnati steamer *Messenger* hoisted the United States flag upon departing from Memphis, prompting citizens of the city to gather and demand the striking of the “odious flag.” The captain of the vessel complied, and the crowd dispersed, satisfied that they had defied the Lincoln government.<sup>15</sup> Armed violence then erupted a week later on April 22 at Paris, Tennessee, when United States Congressman Emerson Etheridge attempted to deliver a Unionist speech. Etheridge was stopped outside of Paris, informed that he was “regarded as a traitor to the South,” and threatened with hanging.<sup>16</sup> And a short article in *The Memphis Daily Appeal* reported, “The Richmond *Whig* of the 4th, learns that an attempt was made last week, by some Union men, to raise a Union flag at Jonesborough, Tennessee, which led to a row between Secessionists and Unionists, resulting in the killing of three of the latter.”<sup>17</sup>

The visible presence of United States flags became more prevalent in Tennessee as Union forces moved into and expanded their hold on the state. On March 26, 1862, only a month after the occupation of Nashville, an article appeared in a local newspaper, stating that “an important omission in the late reports of the able speeches delivered in this city, is the fact that the interest and enthusiasm of these occasions were magnified to a pleasing degree by the introduction of the people’s ‘first love,’ the star-spangled banner. And it must be gratifying to the friends of Major J. Ridenour that he has with his own hand unfurled the old colors to the gaze of returning Tennesseans.”<sup>18</sup>

By June 1863, the Union forces of General William S. Rosecrans would force the Confederate Army of Tennessee out of Middle Tennessee. On June 6 the people of Memphis at the western end of the state celebrated the one-year anniversary of the city’s occupation by Union forces. A local newspaper described the celebration:

Yesterday morning, June 6th, the anniversary of the battle of Memphis, the day when the Federal Government overthrew usurped authority, and once more assumed its just sway over the city, was welcomed by every loyal heart. . . . The crowds wended along the streets in the direction of the gathering place of the masses, . . . and the vaulted heavens and beaming sun looked down auspicious on the hundreds of flags and streamers that moved in graceful folds from as many windows. . . . The vast train set off on its appointed way, and a glorious display it was, of “beautiful ladies and of gallant men,” on foot and on horseback, in cars and carriages, with flags and banners displayed, with hurrahs of joy, on it went.<sup>19</sup>

Almost a month later, the city of Nashville celebrated the Fourth of July, “a grand day for the loyal sons and daughters of Tennessee.” The ceremonies were to occur at Fort Gillem, after a parade from the public square. A local newspaper reported that “banners, emblems and devices waved from every place of attraction, while a confidence and good will seemed to animate the mighty moving mass of manhood and beauty. . . . Two years ago, under the rule of Isham G. Harris and his gar-broth adherents here in the city of Nashville, that striped piece of cloth (pointing to a large national flag) would not have been tolerated here: no not even the whistling of Yankee Doodle.”<sup>20</sup>

On September 12, 1864, the city of Nashville held a grand celebration of the

Confederate expulsion from Tennessee and Union victories in Georgia and Alabama. A local newspaper reported,

“The oldest inhabitants” acknowledge that the illumination last night in honor of the late victories at Mobile Bay, Atlanta, and the Weldon Railroad, surpassed anything of the kind ever witnessed in this place. . . . The Colonnade [*sic*] Building was magnificently adorned with the red, white and blue gas-lights, flags, and regimental banners. . . . Col. Mussey’s Headquarters was adorned with flags and many colored transparencies, in a very attractive and beautiful manner. . . . The New Theatre, in which Miss Leo, the young Lioness, was entertaining an immense crowd, streamed and fluttered with myriads of flags. . . . [And the] Quartermaster’s Headquarters, the crowning glory of the night, [had] . . . Over thirty large flags [that] floated from the front of the office. . . .<sup>21</sup>

At the close of the war, Nashville celebrated in “A Day of Rejoicing.” On April 3, 1865,

The city preparations were making to celebrate the occasion with befitting demonstrations. Soon the national colors began to float from window and from roof. . . . Richmond was taken—that old nest of traitors, which had so long and so bloodily resisted the march of our armies. In every direction the pavements were crowded with eager throngs, engaged in discussing the news with earnest tones, or in viewing the gorgeous array of flags that met the eyes on all sides. . . . Far as sight could stretch, the stars and stripes floated gracefully to the breeze. . . . The Colonnade [*sic*] Building . . . was magnificently covered with flags and banners. [There were] no less than thirty-two of the former and four of the latter. . . . The Quartermaster’s Department . . . on Cherry street [had an] arrangement of flags [which] was in most excellent taste. . . . The theatres . . . were profusely hung with flags, large and small. . . . Between the Times office, with its badges of rejoicing, and Hospital No. 8, from whose windows flaunted a multitude of little flags, was suspended a large one over the middle of the street, visible for a long distance. . . . Mutilated and lacerated by nearly four years of the slaveholder’s rebellion—bereft, for that period, of the civil administration of law and order—unrepresented in the National Congress—our noble Commonwealth on yesterday began her new career, which must restore her to her old position of honor and influence in the Union, and to the blessings of peace and prosperity.<sup>22</sup>

#### Notes

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2. “Kentucky and Tennessee. Visit of John J. Crittenden to the Home of John Bell!! The People for the Constitution and the Union Forever! Grand Demonstration in honor of the Noble Kentucky Patriot! The Capital of Tennessee in a Blaze! Magnificent Reception!” *The Weekly Patriot* (Nashville), September 25, 1860, n.p.
3. Current, Williams, and Freidel, *American History*, 363.
4. Larry H. Whiteaker, “Civil War,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, ed. Carroll Van West (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Society and Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 168.

5. "The Mass Meeting at Petersburg," *The Weekly Patriot* (Nashville), October 22, 1860, n.p.
6. Whiteaker, "Civil War," 168.
7. Article, *Republican Banner* (Nashville), January 9, 1861, n.p.
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9. "Display of Flags," *The Daily Gazette* (Nashville), February 9, 1861, n.p.
10. Article, *Daily Nashville Patriot*, February 12, 1861, n.p.
11. Judge J. P. Young, ed., *Standard History of Memphis, Tennessee* (Knoxville: H. W. Crew & Co., 1912), 113.
12. Current, Williams, and Freidel, *American History*, 364–65.
13. Roger Raymond Van Dyke, *A History of Henry County, Tennessee, through 1865: A Thesis Presented to Graduate Council of the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville: The Univ. of Tennessee, August 1966), 82.
14. Whiteaker, "Civil War," 168.
15. Article, *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, April 17, 1861, n.p.; "U.S. Flag Taken Down," *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 17, 1861, 3.
16. Van Dyke, *A History of Henry County*, 82.
17. "Attempt to Raise a Union Flag in East Tennessee," *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, March 13, 1862, n.p.
18. "The Old Flag," *Daily Nashville Patriot*, March 26, 1862, 3.
19. "The Anniversary Celebration. Grand Procession of Loyal Men," *Memphis Bulletin*, June 7, 1863, n.p.
20. "The Glorious Fourth," *The Daily Press* (Nashville), July 6, 1863, n.p.
21. "Grand Union Illumination. Nashville Ablaze with the Glory of Union Victories," *Nashville Daily Times and True Union*, September 13, 1864, n.p.
22. "A Day of Rejoicing," *The Nashville Times and True Union*, April 4, 1865, n.p.

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## UNION QUARTERMASTER DEPOTS AND MAJOR UNION FLAG PATTERNS

*Greg Biggs*

The formation of Tennessee units for the Union Army was often difficult within a state markedly divided in its sentiments for and against a federal union but controlled by the pro-secessionist government at Nashville until that city fell in February 1862. Tennesseans supportive of the federal union and willing to fight to maintain it were forced to leave their hometowns and flee the state to form military units at locations like Camp Dick Robinson, near Lexington, Kentucky. Accordingly, very few homemade company flags were made in local communities supplying the recruits. When companies of Union recruits were organized into regiments, most of the colors would be issued through one of the massive supply depots operated by the United States Quartermaster Corps.

### Flags Made for Union Depots

Operating under the extremely able and efficient command of General Montgomery C. Meigs, the United States Quartermaster Corps played a major role in securing a victory for the Union and in revolutionizing contracting practices in the United States Army. Through four years of war, the corps obligated more than fifteen billion dollars (or roughly 279 billion dollars by current values) to private contractors, and accounted for every penny expended.<sup>1</sup>

The distribution of all materials, except ordnance, subsistence provisions, and medical supplies, necessary to the operation of the largest United States Army organized up to the Civil War, fell under the responsibility of the Quarter-

master Corps. Four major depots were established to facilitate this distribution in an efficient manner. The Philadelphia and New York City depots supplied the Union armies in the Eastern theater, while the Cincinnati Depot provided material to all units in the Western theater. The Trans-Mississippi theater was supplied out of the St. Louis Depot.<sup>2</sup>

Smaller depots were also established at other strategically necessary locations to further facilitate efficient supply distribution. The largest supplemental supply facilities, in the case of the Cincinnati Depot, were established at Jeffersonville, Indiana, across the Ohio River from Louisville, Kentucky, and at Nashville, Tennessee. Situated at the center of several rail lines, road systems, and accessible rivers, Nashville became a large hub for the distribution of war materials to Union armies operating throughout the expansive Western theater.<sup>3</sup>

The following table, taken from a report of the U.S. Quartermaster General's Office, dated June 30, 1865, shows the volume of flag production by the three primary supply depots during the war:<sup>4</sup>

Type of flag	Cincinnati Depot	Philadelphia Depot	New York Depot
Storm flags	430	308	759
Garrison flags	180	25	557
Recruiting flags	500	357	2,670
Guidons	1,476	4,189	4,551
Regimental colors	564	765	1,021
National colors	500	890	917
Camp colors	1,502	1,819	7,800
Cavalry standards	700	286	225

### *Cincinnati Depot, Cincinnati, Ohio*

The Cincinnati Depot was located at 101 East Third Street. The quartermaster officers directly responsible for flag contracts were General Thomas Swords; Colonels C. W. Moulton and William W. McKim; and Captain John H. Dickerson. Units receiving colors from this depot were principally from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin.<sup>5</sup>

The national colors issued by the Cincinnati Depot had vertically oriented, rectangular cantons. The United States flags produced when the federal union included thirty-four states had stars arranged in six rows of five each above one row of four. A fifth star was added to the shorter row after West Virginia was admitted to the Union on June 20, 1863, making the star pattern seven rows of five each.<sup>6</sup>

Regimental standards distributed by the Cincinnati Depot varied slightly based on which of its two principal contractors, Longley and Brother or John Shillito & Company, made them. Standards made by Longley and Brother featured feathers on the federal eagle that were less defined than those on the same flags made by John Shillito & Company. The outer ends of the double arc of stars above the eagle were in line with the outer ends of the scroll in its beak on flags produced by Longley and Brother. John Shillito & Company made its regimental standards with the ends of the double arc of stars extending beyond the ends of the scroll in the eagle's mouth. The unit designation ribbon was

rather plain and dropped below the federal eagle's feet on Longley banners, while the opposite was true of Shillito regimental standards.<sup>7</sup>

Two national flags issued to Tennessee regiments by the Cincinnati Depot have not been associated with a specific maker. They were the national colors of the 1st and 6th United States Quartermaster Regiments (Plates 191, 196).<sup>8</sup>

#### *New York City Depot, New York City, New York*

Throughout 1861, the supplying of federal units was handled by each of the states remaining in the Union. In February 1862, this responsibility was assumed by the federal government, and the first contract for the making of flags was issued by the United States Quartermaster Corps from the New York City Depot.<sup>9</sup> It provided military items, excluding ordnance, food, and medical supplies, to units from the state of New York, as well as to many regiments from New England and in the Army of the Potomac.

The New York City Depot set the standard for flag contracts followed by other United States Quartermaster facilities. The quartermaster officers directly responsible for flag contracts were General D. H. Vinton and Captain Charles Darrow.<sup>10</sup> Local makers who produced flags under contracts issued through the New York City Depot were Alexander Brandon, Albert Ertle, William Paton, and James Toft. Horstmann Brothers, Evans & Hassall, and William F. Scheible, all of Philadelphia, also made flags for this depot.<sup>11</sup>

The national colors issued by the New York City Depot featured square cantons. The United States flags produced when the federal union included thirty-four states had stars laid out on the canton in five horizontal rows. The middle row contained six stars, while the other four rows each had seven stars. West Virginia was admitted to the federal union on June 20, and the national flag had thirty-five stars officially on July 4, 1863. New York City Depot national banners then had five rows of seven stars each.<sup>12</sup>

Regimental standards distributed by the New York City Depot all featured a federal eagle that was larger than that used by either the Cincinnati or Philadelphia facilities. And unlike the eagles used on flags issued by the other two major depots, those on the regimental standards made through the New York City Depot all had closed beaks. Other distinguishing features on the regimental standards produced through the New York City Depot included a double arc of stars above the eagle's head, the outer ends of which extended well beyond the outer ends of the ribbon grasped in the eagle's beak. And the unit designation ribbon situated below the eagle was more ornate than that used on the regimental standards issued through the Cincinnati and Philadelphia Depots. The middle portion of this ribbon also rose above the eagle's feet.<sup>13</sup>

The only existing Tennessee-associated colors known to have been issued by the New York City Depot is the regimental standard of the 59th United States Colored Infantry Regiment (Plate 206).<sup>14</sup> It is not currently known which contractor made or painted this flag. It is quite possible that other flags made through the New York City Depot were issued to Tennessee units, but no records have been found to date documenting such.

#### *Philadelphia Depot, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

The Philadelphia Depot was the oldest military supply center in the United States, originating out of the Schuylkill Arsenal, which opened its doors in 1799. The arsenal was the primary source for flags, uniforms, and other military

items in the country and supplied the Lewis and Clark Expedition and United States Army units that fought in the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War.<sup>15</sup>

The Philadelphia Depot was probably the primary supply center for Union armies operating in the Eastern theater during the American Civil War.<sup>16</sup> The quartermaster officers for flag contracts at that time were Generals G. H. Crosman and Herman Biggs and Colonel William W. McKim. Records indicate that Philadelphia Depot contracts were not only issued for unit colors, but also 550 garrison, 1,366 storm, 366 recruiting, 9 hospital, 3 post and field hospital, and 742 headquarters-designating flags.<sup>17</sup> Generals George McClellan and Daniel Butterfield had the distinctive headquarters-designating flags created through the Philadelphia Depot for corps, divisions, and brigades in the Army of the Potomac.<sup>18</sup>

Makers who produced flags under contracts issued through the Philadelphia Depot were Samuel Brewer, Evans & Hassall, Horstmann Brothers, and William Scheible. Albert Ertle of New York City also made twenty-five artillery regimental colors for this depot.<sup>19</sup>

The star pattern on the national colors issued through the Philadelphia Depot was quite unique. These flags had a vertically oriented, rectangular canton, upon which the painted gold stars were laid out in two concentric ovals. There was also one star at the center and in each of the four corners of the canton. When there were thirty-four states in the federal union, the outer oval usually had twenty stars and the inner oval had nine. But there were also thirty-four-star national colors issued through the Philadelphia Depot that had nineteen stars in the outer oval and ten stars in the inner oval. When West Virginia was admitted as the thirty-fifth state to the federal union on June 20, 1863, the thirty-five-star national flag, issued officially on July 4, generally had twenty stars in the outer oval and ten in the inner oval. But there were also Philadelphia Depot variant national colors issued through the later years of the war that did not include the star at the center of the canton.<sup>20</sup>

The regimental standards issued through the Philadelphia Depot had federal eagles that were smaller than those on the New York City Depot flags and similar in size to the national coat of arms on Cincinnati Depot standards. The eagles on the Philadelphia standards were all grasping a scroll in an open beak. The regimental designation scrolls varied with the maker. None were as ornate as those painted by Samuel Brewer. Those made by Horstmann Brothers all included a middle section of this scroll that rose upward. Evans & Hassall standards had a regimental designation scroll that dropped down in the middle, like those on Cincinnati Depot flags. And the double arc of stars above the eagle's head on Philadelphia Depot regimental standards were similar to those on Longley & Brother flags, except that the outer ends were inside of the outer ends of the unit designating scroll.<sup>21</sup>

Known Tennessee colors issued through the Philadelphia Depot included national colors of the 2nd, 7th, and 8th Quartermaster and the 12th United States Colored Infantry Regiments (Plates 193, 198, 200, 202). The standard of the 7th Quartermaster Regiment was also issued through this depot (Plate 199).<sup>22</sup> It is currently uncertain as to which contract makers provided these flags to the Philadelphia Depot.

## Notes

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2. Emma Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army: A History of the Corps, 1775–1938* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1989), 427–52.
3. Ibid.
4. Montgomery C. Meigs, *Report of the Quartermaster General of the United States Army to the Secretary of War for the Year Ending June 30, 1865* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1863), 13.
5. Ibid., 81.
6. Time-Life Editors, *Echoes of Glory: Arms and Equipment of the Union* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1991), 265–66.
7. Ibid.
8. See the following catalogue entries for the 1st and 6th United States Quartermaster Regiments for more details.
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10. Meigs, *Report of the Quartermaster General*, 10, 621; Time-Life Editors, *Echoes of Glory: Union*, 244, 260–61.
11. *Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General (OQMG), 1774–1985*, Record Group 92, Entry 1220, Books 1–5 (May 19, 1863–February 16, 1865) (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC).
12. Time-Life Editors, *Echoes of Glory: Union*, 244, 260–61.
13. Ibid.
14. See the following catalogue entry for the 59th United States Colored Infantry Regiment for more information.
15. “Schuykill Arsenal to Wheeling,” <http://www.lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=2980>; John V. Haggard, “Flagmaking Tradition at the Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot,” United States Army Quartermaster Foundation, <http://www.qmfound.com/Flag-Making-Philadelphia-Depot.htm>; Time-Life Editors, *Echoes of Glory: Union*, 244, 262–63.
16. Ibid.
17. Meigs, *Report of the Quartermaster General*, 15.
18. Ibid., 76.
19. *Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General (OQMG), 1774–1985*, Record Group 92, Entry 1220, Books 1–6.
20. Time-Life Editors, *Echoes of Glory: Union*, 244, 262–63.
21. Ibid.
22. See the following catalogue entries for the 2nd, 7th, and 8th Quartermaster and the 12th Colored Infantry Regiments for more information.

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## FLAG MAKERS FOR TENNESSEE’S UNION TROOPS

Greg Biggs

### Flag Makers Contracting to the Depot System

The United States Army Quartermaster depots at Philadelphia, New York City, and Cincinnati supplied most of the colors issued to units operating as part of the Union forces. A lesser number of flags were provided to federal units through the smaller St. Louis Depot and by independent, non-contracted companies, like Gilbert & Hubbard of Chicago, the Fancy Flag Bazaar of Indianapolis, Sisco Brothers of Baltimore, and Tiffany & Company of New York City. Individual, non-contracted makers, like Hugh Wilkins of Louisville, H. G. Hamlin

of Cincinnati, and Charles Easton of Boston, also produced flags for units from specific states.<sup>1</sup>

The quartermaster depots constantly advertised for contractors in major newspapers, both in their immediate locales and across the country. The Cincinnati Depot, for example, placed advertisements for contract services in *The New York Times*.<sup>2</sup> Contracts were often issued to companies and individuals from other regions of the country when flags could not be produced by makers in the immediate area of a depot.

A detailed, scholarly study of the Union depots and flag makers contracted to each of them has yet to be published, but a few flag historians, like Steve Hill, Howard Madaus, and Ryan Toews, have done some work on the subject. But many questions remain unanswered regarding Union colors produced during the war. For example, were flags distributed by the Union depots made with unit designations and battle honors painted onto them by the same contractors, or were the latter services provided by subcontractors?

### *Cincinnati Depot, Cincinnati, Ohio*

**LONGLEY & BROTHER, SEPTIMUS H. AND SERVITUS  
LONGLEY, PRINCIPALS, CINCINNATI, OHIO**

The Longley brothers were involved in a different trade before the war and moved into flag making for patriotism and profit. In 1859, Longley Brothers included Elias, Servetus, Septimus H., Cyrenius, and Alcander Longley, and was operating as a printer and publisher at 168 Vine Street.<sup>3</sup> By 1860, the firm apparently had dissolved, as Alcander, Cyrenius, and Septimus H. Longley were working independently as printers; Elias Longley was a proofreader for Stone and Hoadley; and Servetus Longley had no recorded place of employment.<sup>4</sup> And in the Cincinnati directory for 1861, Alcander, Cyrenius, and Septimus H. Longley were each listed separately as printers at different locations, and Elias Longley was shown as being a “phonetic publisher” at 160 Vine Street. There was no listing for Servetus Longley.<sup>5</sup>

The firm Longley & Brother first appeared in 1862, included Septimus H. and Servitus Longley, and was operating as a flag manufacturer at 164 Vine Street.<sup>6</sup> The following year, it had relocated to 143 Walnut Street and again was listed as being a manufacturer of flags.<sup>7</sup> It was also in 1863 that Longley & Brother received its first contract with the Cincinnati Depot for production of United States Army national and regimental colors.<sup>8</sup>

Advertisements for Longley & Brother began appearing in newspapers at Cincinnati and in other locations during 1862. The February 21, 1862, issue of the *Cincinnati Daily Press* included an advertisement indicating that the firm had “FLAGS. WASHINGTON BIRTHDAY. ‘The Glorious Stars and Stripes.’ FLAGS! FLAGS! SILK, BUNTING AND MUSLIN, of all sizes, for decoration and military purposes. . . .”<sup>9</sup> And it was then that Longley & Brother began also making printed flags for patriotic purposes. On June 15, 1862, the *Daily Times* in Leavenworth, Kansas, stated that “Longley Brothers, of Cincinnati, have sent 22,000 American flags to Baltimore, to fill orders, within the past two days. In one lot alone there were 15,000. Creditable not only for the rising patriotism of Baltimore, but the enterprise of Cincinnati men.”<sup>10</sup>

Longley & Brother made a significant number of colors under contracts with the Cincinnati Depot between 1862 and 1864. An examination of records from the Office of the Quartermaster General indicated that the firm produced

1,315 flags during those three years of the war, making it the largest supplier in Cincinnati. They included not only infantry and artillery colors but also cavalry guidons, storm banners, and garrison flags.<sup>11</sup> But only two years later, after the war had ended, the firm had again changed its business model. The 1866 Cincinnati city directory indicated that Longley & Brother specialized in playing card manufacturing.<sup>12</sup>

Existing Tennessee flags made by Longley & Brother include the regimental colors of the 2nd, 3rd, and 6th U.S. Quartermaster Regiments (Plates 194, 195, 197).<sup>13</sup>

#### **JOHN SHILLITO & COMPANY, JOHN AND WALLACE SHILLITO, PRINCIPALS, CINCINNATI, OHIO**

John Shillito & Company was a major dry goods and carpeting firm in Cincinnati, Ohio. The United States Census for 1860 confirmed that John Shillito, a Pennsylvania native, was a dealer in dry goods.<sup>14</sup> He had moved to Cincinnati in 1817 and by 1831 was a clerk for Blanchly and Simpson, one of the city's leading dry goods merchants, located at 55 Main Street.<sup>15</sup> In 1832, John Shillito briefly formed a partnership with William McLaughlin in the dry goods business of McLaughlin & Shillito.<sup>16</sup> Two years later, Shillito had joined with Robert W. Burnet to form Shillito & Burnet at 148 Main Street.<sup>17</sup> This firm had become Shillito, Burnet & Pullan by 1836 and was listed as wholesale and retail dry goods merchants at Main and Sycamore.<sup>18</sup> John Shillito apparently bought out his partners in 1837, establishing John Shillito & Company and building a four-story, 14,400-square-foot building on Fourth Street, between Main and Sycamore. This new building was said to be "the most commodious dry-goods store west of the Alleghenies."<sup>19</sup>

John Shillito & Company continued to operate as one of Cincinnati's largest dry goods and carpeting firms, located at 101, 103, and 105 West Fourth Street.<sup>20</sup> John Shillito's son, Wallace, began working for the firm as a clerk in 1859.<sup>21</sup> The following year, the younger Shillito was listed in the Cincinnati city directory as a salesman,<sup>22</sup> and by 1861, he was a full partner in the company.<sup>23</sup>

With the beginning of the American Civil War, the firm added to its array of products the making of flags for military units. Some of John Shillito & Company's first flags were made for the State of Ohio through the Governor's Contingency Fund.<sup>24</sup> The company also placed advertisements in local newspapers and those in neighboring states,<sup>25</sup> which undoubtedly resulted in the making of flags for units formed in Kentucky and Indiana. One of the earliest of those advertisements appeared in the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* on April 27, 1861. It stated simply that John Shillito & Company was "prepared to furnish silk, worsted and cotton flags at short notice."<sup>26</sup> By July of the same year, the firm's advertisements were offering "superior English bunting,"<sup>27</sup> a fabric used extensively in the making of flags. And advertisements placed in a newspaper on March 19, 1862 stated that John Shillito & Company was offering "Flags. National and Regimental Colors for Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry, made in the best style of the best banner silk."<sup>28</sup>

Records indicate that John Shillito & Company made colors for two Tennessee units. An article in the August 5, 1862, edition of *The Cincinnati Commercial* stated that a flag purchased by the "Union ladies of Memphis" and presented to the 10th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment was placed on display initially in the window of Shillito's store.<sup>29</sup> Another article, included in *The Nashville Daily*

*Union* on June 14, 1863, reported that Andrew Knoll had gone to Cincinnati to purchase national and regimental flags for the 3rd Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, inscribed with the slogan, "For Knoxville."<sup>30</sup> John Shillito & Company was the primary source for non-contract, direct-sale flags in Cincinnati, so it was very likely that these banners for the 3rd Tennessee were purchased from this firm.

In April 1863, John Shillito & Company was contracted by the Cincinnati Depot to provide regimental and general hospital flags to the United States Army.<sup>31</sup> Military equipment historian Bruce Bazelon has further determined, based upon Quartermaster Corps records, that Shillito supplied guidons, thirty cavalry standards, eighty regimental colors, and one hundred hospital flags through contracts with the United States Army Quartermaster Corps between 1862 and 1865.<sup>32</sup>

Two John Shillito & Company colors made for Tennessee units still exist today. The regimental standards of the 1st and 8th Quartermaster Regiments (Plates 192, 201), now contained in the United States Military Academy Museum at West Point, New York, are characteristic of flags made by Shillito.<sup>33</sup>

Following the war, Shillito's became Cincinnati's largest, full-service department store. The firm moved to a new facility at Seventh and Race Streets in August 1878. This building, designed by James McLaughlin, was an inspiration for the new Chicago style of modern commercial architecture.<sup>34</sup>

John Shillito died on September 10, 1879.<sup>35</sup> Shillito's continued in operation under the direction of his family until 1930, when it was absorbed by F. & R. Lazarus Company of Columbus, Ohio. A year later, Lazarus joined Filene's of Boston and Abraham & Strauss of Brooklyn to form Federated Department Stores, which became headquartered in Cincinnati during 1945.<sup>36</sup>

#### **OTHER FLAG MAKERS SUPPLYING FLAGS TO THE CINCINNATI DEPOT**

The Cincinnati Depot also secured flags and related equipment, like color belts, from Evans & Hassall,<sup>37</sup> Horstmann Brothers & Company,<sup>38</sup> and William F. Scheible<sup>39</sup> of Philadelphia. From New York City, Albert Ertle supplied unit colors,<sup>40</sup> and James Sebring made recruiting flags.<sup>41</sup> Chicago's John W. Casey & Company supplied cavalry guidons.<sup>42</sup> Some of these makers provided flags to Tennessee Union units and will be addressed in following sections.

#### ***New York City Depot, New York City, New York* ALEXANDER BRANDON, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK**

Alexander Brandon, born of Irish-immigrant parents, was listed in the 1860 United States Census as a block-letter maker.<sup>43</sup> The New York City directories for 1857, 1860, and 1861 each showed him as being in business with his brother George, under the name of A & G Brandon, specializing in block-letter signs and sign painting. The business was located at 4 Tryon Row and 102 Mulberry.<sup>44</sup>

When the Civil War began, Alexander Brandon moved into working on flags. Considering his business experience, flags may have been delivered to Brandon already assembled, whereupon he applied unit and state designations and battle honors.

Under contracts issued by the New York City Depot, Brandon worked on 125 national colors, 195 regimental standards, 200 cavalry guidons, and 75 cavalry

flags in 1863.<sup>45</sup> During the following year, he contracted for 370 national colors and 290 regimental standards.<sup>46</sup>

Alexander Brandon remained in the painting trade after the war, but his business was then directed toward the making of lamps. A & G Brandon was relocated to 25 Chambers and 102 Mulberry by 1872.<sup>47</sup>

#### **ALBERT ERTLE, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK**

German-born Albert Ertle<sup>48</sup> was listed in the 1857 and 1860 New York City directories as being a painter.<sup>49</sup> When the Civil War began, he moved into working on flags. As with his fellow New Yorker, Alexander Brandon, flags were probably delivered to Ertle already assembled for his painting of unit and state designations and battle honors.

Ertle was contracted by the New York City Depot to paint twenty-five infantry regimental standards and fifty cavalry flags in 1863.<sup>50</sup> He then worked on 125 artillery regimental colors, 350 infantry regimental standards, and 600 cavalry guidons in 1864.<sup>51</sup> Ertle subsequently painted 175 regimental colors at the close of the war.<sup>52</sup>

After the war, Albert Ertle apparently continued his career as an artist, as recorded in the New York City directory for 1872.<sup>53</sup>

#### **WILLIAM PATON, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK**

William Paton, a native of Scotland, was listed in the 1860 United States Census as a tailor.<sup>54</sup> The 1857 New York City directory showed William and Thomas C. M. Paton as importers located at 17 Park Place and 14 Murray.<sup>55</sup> By 1860–1861, the two Patons were listed separately and as Paton & Company, dry goods merchants located at 341 Broadway and 88 Leonard.<sup>56</sup>

In 1862, William Paton was the recipient of the New York Depot's first flag-making contract.<sup>57</sup> He then made twenty-two national flags, thirty regimental standards, 350 guidons, and 2,300 camp colors in 1862–1863.<sup>58</sup> Based on his prewar trade, Paton probably made these flags and then sent them to other contractors specializing in the painting of unit and state designations and battle honors.

William and Thomas C. M. Paton resumed their dry goods business at 341 Broadway following the war.<sup>59</sup>

#### **JAMES TOFT, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK**

James Toft was recorded in the 1860 United States Census as a native of England working as a clerk in New York City.<sup>60</sup> The city directory for 1861 listed him as a clerk working at 341 Broadway, the location of the dry goods establishment operated by William and Thomas C. M. Paton.<sup>61</sup>

In 1862, Toft moved into flag making. It is not known whether he initially received commissions directly from New York regiments. But starting in 1863, he made five national flags, thirteen hundred guidons, and two hundred camp colors under contracts with the New York City Depot. The bulk of the guidons issued through this depot were in fact made by James Toft.<sup>62</sup>

#### ***Other Makers Supplying Flags to the New York City Depot***

Due to the huge demand for flags, the New York City Depot also turned to makers from other cities. These included the longtime militaria supplier, Horstmann Brothers, and Evans & Hassall and William F. Scheible, all of Philadelphia.

#### ***Philadelphia Depot, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania***

##### **SAMUEL BREWER, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA**

Samuel Brewer, a native Pennsylvanian, was recorded as being a painter in the 1860 United States Census.<sup>63</sup> The Philadelphia city directories for 1856 through 1858 indicated that he was an ornamental painter, located at 5½ South Third Street.<sup>64</sup> Brewer was listed as being a painter at 11½ South Third Street at the beginning of the American Civil War.<sup>65</sup>

In the years prior to the Civil War, flags were made through the Schuykill Arsenal, the United States Army's clothing depot at Philadelphia.<sup>66</sup> Starting prior to the Mexican-American War, Brewer assembled and decorated flags for the arsenal.<sup>67</sup> He was contracted in 1855 to make seventeen flags, including national and regimental banners for the artillery and standards and guidons for dragoon and cavalry units.<sup>68</sup>

Samuel Brewer could have been the only flag maker contracted by the United States Army during the two decades leading up to the Civil War. He could no longer keep up with the demand, however, because of the massive build-up of federal forces during the early 1860s.<sup>69</sup> His style would be followed closely by other flag makers, but there is no record of Brewer's receiving contracts from any of the quartermaster depots during the Civil War.<sup>70</sup>

Following the Civil War, Samuel Brewer continued to be listed in the Philadelphia city directory as a painter, working at 11½ South Third Street.<sup>71</sup>

##### **EVANS & HASSALL, GEORGE O. EVANS AND WILLIAM S. HASSALL, PRINCIPALS, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA**

George O. Evans and William S. Hassall, operating as partners in Evans & Hassall, became a military goods supplier during the Civil War.<sup>72</sup> In 1856, the Philadelphia city directory listed Evans as a merchant at 51 North Third Street,<sup>73</sup> and Hassall was a salesman at 223 Chestnut Street.<sup>74</sup> These were the two locations occupied by William H. Horstmann & Sons, the largest supplier of militaria in the United States at that time.<sup>75</sup> The following year, both Evans and Hassall were working for Horstmann & Sons at its 223 Chestnut Street location.<sup>76</sup> And in 1858, George O. Evans was employed as a salesman at Horstmann's 51 North Third Street location, but William S. Hassall was simply listed as a salesman with no place of business.<sup>77</sup>

At the beginning of the Civil War, Evans and Hassall were both recorded in the Philadelphia city directory as being importers at 40 and 42 North Third Street. The firm of Evans & Hassall had been formed as an importer of ladies' dress trimmings and was situated at 51 South Fourth Street.<sup>78</sup>

Evans & Hassall was under contract with the United States Army quartermaster depots at Philadelphia, New York, and Cincinnati between 1862 and 1865. It provided storm, garrison, and hospital flags and cavalry standards and guidons, as well as color belts, flag thimbles, drums, fifes, and painted haversacks. In 1864 and 1865, Evans & Hassall produced 150 national flags and twelve regimental standards for the Philadelphia Depot.<sup>79</sup>

Evans & Hassall remained in business through 1866 as military furnishers at a new location, 418 Arch Street.<sup>80</sup> But by 1867, George O. Evans Company was included among a listing of new firms in the Philadelphia directory. The principals of the new company, specializing in commission dry goods, were George O. Evans, Joseph W. Bates, and Sydney Solms. George O. Evans Company was located at 229 and 231 Church Street. William S. Hassall was listed simply as a merchant at the 418 Arch Street location.<sup>81</sup>