DIVISIONS BETWEEN ARKANSANS IN THE BROOKS-BAXTER WAR

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

DIVISIONS BETWEEN ARKANSANS IN THE BROOKS-BAXTER WAR

Many historians have failed to consider seriously the role of the Brooks-Baxter War of 1874 in ending Reconstruction in Arkansas. Of those who have, they have not examined participants in the conflict nor attempted a robust study to determine who fought in the conflict. This thesis examines the soldiers and officers of the rival armies of Joseph Brooks and Elisha Baxter. It surveys the participants' class, race, professions, places of birth, and especially places of residence at the time of the conflict. This analysis of the Brooks-Baxter War reaffirms other historians' work on the fall of Reconstruction, while finding unique characteristics to Arkansas's redemption, like substantial support from white Arkansans for upholding Reconstruction and instances of black Arkansans supporting the redeemer army of Elisha Baxter. It concludes that Arkansas redemption was typical of other redemptions in the South in the mid-1870s, insofar as the powerful role that the state Democratic Party and Democratic elites played in ending Reconstruction in the state. The Brooks-Baxter War shows, however, that redemption in Arkansas had a more moderate face in that explicit, naked white supremacist rhetoric was not as apparent in the overthrow of Reconstruction there as in some other Deep Southern states.

KEY WORDS: Reconstruction, redemption, Arkansas, Brooks, Baxter

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DIVISIONS BETWEEN ARKANSANS IN THE BROOKS-BAXTER WAR

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For my grandmother, Louise “Weezie” Russert Kraemer, who encouraged me to never stop questioning.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Reconstruction was a time of immense political, economic, and social struggle in the South. Republican dominated governments introduced major political and social reforms into southern society that many whites opposed and resented. In an effort to overthrow this new political system, most whites, and more broadly Democrats, used legal, semi-legal, and illegal means to undermine these new governments and sought to “redeem” their states from Republican rule. In the South, there were multiple paths to “redemption.” In some states, like Louisiana, Democrats resorted to white supremacist violence to remove Republicans from office. Arkansas was different. There, like Tennessee and Virginia, Democrats won control legally through the ballot box and strategic political alliances. But in other ways, Arkansas proved one of a kind: a nearly-bloodless civil conflict between two self-proclaimed Republican governors, the Brooks-Baxter War of 1874, brought about Redemption. The term “redemption” itself carries the implication of salvation. It also implies that the process was almost inevitable. Conservative apologists made it appear that redemption occurred through widespread participation; in fact, most Southerners, black and white, were not involved in the political violence that accompanied the overthrow of Reconstruction, and certainly not on the Redeemers’ side. The Reconstruction governments throughout the South were overthrown or significantly weakened by activist Democratic and white supremacist terrorists who pursued the political goal of destroying Reconstruction and sometimes the social goal of promoting white supremacy. Most people, on the contrary, were small farmers or sharecroppers too busy or preoccupied to involve themselves beyond voting on election day. This is particularly true after the Panic of 1873 which ushered in one of
America's worst depressions. Those few Southerners who actually participated in the political violence are therefore all the more important and influential agents in Reconstruction’s demise.

If activists comprised only five percent of the southern people, who were they? Certainly, prominent politicians were involved in conflicts over Reconstruction on both sides, but what about the lower and middle class people whom they enlisted? Who fought in the armies in Arkansas's pivotal Brooks-Baxter War in 1874? Examining the forces on either side may shed light on Reconstruction there and, possible, the varied “redemptions” across the South.

Redemption in Arkansas, it must be cautioned, was atypical. In Mississippi and Louisiana, an active, paramilitary white supremacist movement was responsible for undermining committed Reconstruction state governments. Political battle lines in Arkansas were more convoluted and complex. There, Reconstruction was first dismantled from the governor's office, where Elisha P. Baxter, a conservative Southerner elected with Republican votes, turned on his backers and allied himself with the Democrats, who had supported Reform party candidate Joseph Brooks. Republican allies, in response, took up Brooks, who had been contesting the validity of the 1872 election results. The Brooks-Baxter War began when Brooks forcibly removed Baxter from the governor's mansion with an armed militia in April 1874. It lasted a month. The confusion over who was fighting for what has lasted nearly 140 years. Who, then, were the Arkansan “redeemers” and who were the people who resisted them?

The historical literature on the Brooks-Baxter War is exceedingly sparse. Very few works have been written on the war itself, though many prominent historians have
mentioned it or have briefly summarized it. Other historians did examine the war and the composition of the armies in greater detail. Otis Singletary in his *Negro Militia and Reconstruction* surveyed the racial composition of Brooks's and Baxter's militias, while summarizing the conflict. However, Singletary largely took the reports of the Democratic Little Rock *Daily Arkansas Gazette* at face value. This prevented him from accurately determining the participation of whites and blacks in Brooks's and Baxter's militias and therefore led him to reaffirm much of the Democratic propaganda of the *Gazette* - that it was a tragic war between Republicans at the expense of white and black Arkansans. Earl F. Woodward, in his published master's thesis, “The Brooks and Baxter War in Arkansas, 1872-1874,” used the same newspaper as his main source, with the same critical limitations.

Chroniclers of the Grant administration also covered the Brooks-Baxter War, though, understandably, not in great detail and without much reference to Arkansas source material. William Gillette in his *Retreat from Reconstruction* focused on the Grant administration’s role in resolving the conflict. He argued that Grant ordered the deployment of federal troops in Little Rock more to protect Joseph Brooks than keep the peace in Little Rock. Gillette stated that Baxter's force “had originally been made up

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exclusively of whites” and only “began to recruit blacks” only in the second week of May. 4 By contrast, George Rable’s *But There Was No Peace: the Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* emphasized the role of blacks in Baxter’s army at the *beginning* of the conflict, but carried the composition of Baxter’s forces no further. 5 Each generalization was incorrect, as this paper will show. Both historians, notably, did not make an attempt to analyze the composition of Brooks's army.

Historians whose works centered on Arkansas state history provide a more thorough examination of the conflict in general. In his dissertation “*Leadership of Arkansas Reconstruction*,” George H. Thompson argued the importance of changing political coalitions in determining the fate of Arkansas Reconstruction, while downplaying the military particulars of the war itself. But his analysis is important, because it goes to the heart of the question: from which party did each contestant’s enlistments come? Thompson held that three main coalitions existed in Arkansas politics from the 1872 election until around March 1874. The first coalition was between Justice J. J. McClure and former governor Powell Clayton. The second coalition encompassed Democrats Harris Flanagin, David Walker, and Liberal Republicans Joseph Brooks and Senator B. F. Rice. The last coalition, and for Thompson the most important, was between newly-elected governor Elisha Baxter, Augustus H. Garland, and United States Senator Stephen Dorsey, who was appointed in 1873. 6 When the Brooks-Baxter War began in April 1874 these coalitions realigned. McClure and Clayton joined with Brooks

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4 Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction*, 141
5 George Rable, *But There Was No Peace: the Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens, GA: Georgia University Press, 1984), 113
and Rice to elevate Brooks to the governorship in order to save Reconstruction. Democrat Augustus H. Garland continued to ally himself with Baxter, while Senator Dorsey joined Brooks’s camp over Baxter's decision to oppose the granting of bonds for Dorsey's Arkansas Central railroad company. Meanwhile, Harris Flanagin remained nominally neutral in the conflict while David Walker continued to support Brooks. Under the circumstances, it would be natural to conclude that both armies would have had a draw from both parties, but on the particulars, Thompson has nothing to say: his interest is confined to the political elites supporting the two alleged governors.

A more recent and detailed work on the events of the conflict was Thomas A. DeBlack's *With Fire and Sword: Arkansas, 1861-1874* (2003). DeBlack argued that the black population was divided during the conflict. He acknowledged that “a large part of Brooks's forces at the state capitol were African Americans,” and that these blacks backed Brooks because of his strong record on civil rights, but, he notes, “other blacks supported Baxter”. DeBlack also accepted the standard view that the Brooks-Baxter War was merely a conflict between two different factions of the Republican Party with the Democratic Party as a “swing vote” in the conflict. That, as will be clear, greatly underestimates Democrats’ direct involvement in Baxter's army.

This thesis therefore tackles a matter heretofore assumed by historians and never examined closely: the who, when, where, how, and why of Brooks's and Baxter's army. What was their racial composition? Where did the soldiers and officers come from?

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7 Thompson, *Leadership in Arkansas Reconstruction*, 275
8 Thompson, *Leadership in Arkansas Reconstruction*, 276-277
9 Thompson, *Leadership in Arkansas Reconstruction*, 202
11 Thomas A. DeBlack *With Fire and Sword, Arkansas, 1861-1874* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2003), 221
12 DeBlack, *With Fire and Sword, Arkansas, 1861-1874*, 223
Where were they born? From what economic class did they come? In what professions were they engaged? This survey’s conclusions may help explain how each of the armies functioned and why the conflict ended as it did. It may also cast light on the character of Arkansas's redemption.

This thesis also seeks to illuminate those who resisted the efforts of redeemers to destroy Reconstruction. Unlike some other places, Republicans in Arkansas sought to defend Reconstruction with military force when one of their own used his power as governor to betray it. The evidence will show that, as far as their enlistments speak for their feelings, black Arkansans understood clearly what the consequences of a Baxter victory would be and firmly sided with Joseph Brooks. This work’s findings provide a way to compare the backgrounds of Brooks's soldiers and officers and those of Baxter. They may reveal how diverse and disparate the groups were that mustered in Reconstruction’s defense.

The chapters that follow have been organized to best present what may seem a convoluted historical event. Chapter Two provides a background and overall summary of the Brooks-Baxter War. It recounts the events leading up to the conflict, and how the war turned out. Chapter Three concentrates on the composition of Brooks's force. Chapter Four does the same for Baxter’s. Central to the argument presented in Chapter Four are the questions of who the Redeemers in Arkansas were and what the make-up of the army can tell us about Redemption in Arkansas.

The Brooks-Baxter War was unique. All the same, it can offer us insights as to why certain people and parties sought to overthrow Reconstruction while others tried to save it. We should not just dismiss the conflict as another obscure political dispute. It
was a major political event that decisively ended Reconstruction in Arkansas. Only through analyzing it may we fully understand in what diverse ways Reconstruction was undone across the South.
CHAPTER TWO: THE CONFLICT

On May 15th 1874, President Ulysses S. Grant issued a proclamation, directed at the warring parties of Arkansas. “Whereas certain turbulent and disorderly persons, pretending that Elisha Baxter, the present executive of Arkansas, was not elected, have combined together with force and arms to resist his authority as such executive,” he announced, “…I, Ulysses S. Grant, president of the United States, do hereby make proclamation, and command all turbulent and disorderly persons to disperse.” 13 By that proclamation, the President effectively recognized Baxter as the official governor and ordered Joseph Brooks to leave the State House that he had occupied since April 15th. Grant's act gave the Arkansas Democrats who backed Baxter the major political victory that they had been waiting for since the Civil War and the opportunity to end Reconstruction. That victory would help give them the dominant role in the state that let them keep the governorship until 1967.

The Brooks-Baxter War came as the culmination of a long factional conflict, dating back to the ratification of the Reconstruction constitution in 1868. It began when the northern-born Republican, Powell Clayton succeeded to the governorship. Clayton was a ruthless, talented politician, and a determined partisan. Unlike many other Republican governors in the South, he mustered a militia to suppress the Ku-Klux Klan and eliminated them as a political factor by early 1869. His support for railroad construction helped bring the state a general economic prosperity. Under the Arkansas Constitution, the vote was denied to anyone who had formerly served in the Confederate

13 “General Assembly Reception of a Proclamation from President Grant” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Saturday, May 16, 1874
army after taking an oath to uphold the United States government. It was one of the harshest disfranchisement provisions in any former Confederate state and the longest-lasting. Clayton also saw to it that it was rigidly enforced.\textsuperscript{14} After a relatively successful if tumultuous term in office, Powell Clayton went to the Senate in 1871, leaving behind a reliable successor. The senator had no intention of leaving state politics behind and played a key role in selecting the Republican nominee for governor in 1872.\textsuperscript{15}

Clayton had to involve himself. In spite of his domination of the Republican party, rival factions, motivated by differences of opinion and jealousy about the rewards of office, grew stronger all the time. By 1871, the so-called “Radicals” of Arkansas had divided into two groups, Clayton’s “Minstrels” and the “Brindletails,” the latter led by Joseph Brooks, a former Ohioan and Methodist preacher. At the same time, between 1871 and 1872, disputes surfaced between northern Republicans. Some were disgusted by national corruption, specifically within the Grant Administration. With Democrats still tainted by their association with the Confederacy, these dissatisfied Republicans preferred not to switch parties, but to create a new Liberal Republican organization. In May 1872 they nominated the editor of the \textit{New York Tribune}, Horace Greeley, to run for president against Grant, and welcomed Democratic support on their terms. Since they favored full amnesty for former Confederates and an end to federal intervention in the South, they found it theirs for the taking. The Liberal Republicans also attempted to establish themselves as a force in Arkansas, but were hampered by the fact that Joseph Brooks had created his own Reform party in early 1872, which sought to court the same votes the Liberal Republicans were courting nationally by offering to end all restrictions

\textsuperscript{14} Richard N. Current, \textit{Those Terrible Carpetbaggers} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 136-137, 257

\textsuperscript{15} Current, \textit{Those Terrible Carpetbaggers}, 259
on Confederates’ voting or holding office. Brooks was successful, absorbing the Liberal Republicans and attracting the good will of the local Democratic Party, as well as receiving significant support throughout the state.\footnote{16}

Recognizing the seriousness of this challenge, Clayton had to find a nominee who could attract white Democratic conservatives to the ticket while still holding on to the votes of blacks in the Mississippi Delta region. That would take somebody not closely connected with the “Minstrels” in active political life. He picked Elisha Baxter, a former Unionist and Southern slave-owner from the northwestern town of Batesville as the Republican candidate for Governor. That fall, Clayton’s officials counted the votes to see to it that Baxter won.\footnote{17}

The controversial result of the 1872 election, set into motion the events that led to the Brooks-Baxter War. The state government’s certified returns put Baxter ahead by just 3,000 votes, officially reported as 41,681 to 38,415. As historian George H. Thompson remarked, “the distribution of votes and the absence of returns from four counties would place suspicion on the validity of the official totals.”\footnote{18} The election was also tainted with corruption and intimidation. According to the House report on Arkansas issued in early 1875 (the Poland Report) certain counties and towns, like Russellville, were occupied on election day by an armed regular Republican militia. A witness of this incident at Russellville described the leader of the militia saying, “he would have enough of armed

\footnote{16}Michael Perman \textit{The Road to Redemption} (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 118-119
\footnote{18}Thompson 176; George H. Thompson, \textit{Arkansas and Reconstruction} (Port Washington, N.Y: Kennikat Press, 1976), 101
men in there next day to run the election as he damned please.”

It can be easy to fathom local militia leaders like this bending the rules of legal disenfranchisement and thus putting the validity of the election returns in serious question. Because of this, Brooks disputed the official totals and appealed to the Republican legislature, which under the Constitution of 1868 was the arbiter of the final results of state-wide elections. The legislature, not surprisingly, found in Baxter’s favor. Nor did it help Brooks's cause that influential Democrat Augustus H. Garland and his allies in the Arkansas General Assembly were cooperating with de-facto Governor Baxter. Denied redress in the legislature, Brooks began the slow process of appealing through the state courts.

In the meantime, Elisha Baxter had been acting in unexpected ways. He moved to enfranchise former Confederates by eliminating the disenfranchisement clause in the Arkansas Constitution. He began to side with Democrats, appointing many of them to a strengthened state militia. In addition, Baxter designated the Democratic Little Rock Daily Arkansas Gazette the “official organ for state printing,” increasing the circulation of its articles throughout the state. Next, he set his sights on the Republicans in the state legislature. He appointed “between forty and fifty” state legislators to “various offices” around the state. In September 1873, he called a for a November special election to fill these vacancies, in which the Republican Party declined to participate. Nearly all of the new elected legislators were, thus, Democrats. Baxter's maneuvers essentially transferred control of the Arkansas General Assembly from Republicans to Democrats in

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20 George H. Thompson, Arkansas and Reconstruction (Port Washington, N.Y: Kennikat Press, 1976), 101
21 George H. Thompson Leadership in Arkansas Reconstruction (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1968), 192, 204
23 Current, Those Terrible Carpetbaggers, 299
24 George H. Thompson Leadership in Arkansas Reconstruction (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1968), 220
the span of a few months. The major split between Baxter and state Republicans, however, came when Baxter actively resisted a railroad relief bill in 1873. Many of the state's leading Republicans, Senators Clayton and Dorsey and Supreme Court Justice John J. McClure, were closely involved with railroad companies in Arkansas, politically and financially. The bill, which would provide direct aid to Arkansas railroad companies, was opposed vehemently by Baxter who promised to deny political patronage to any Republicans who supported it. Through his intransigence, Baxter was able to defeat the bill.

In March 1874, Baxter again raised the railroad issue. This time, he not only stopped issuing new state bonds to railroad companies, but also refused to honor bonds already promised to them. The action represented a frontal attack on a major accomplishment of Powell Clayton's tenure as governor and repudiated his policy of using state government to promote economic growth. Regular Republicans were incensed. It was then that Senator Clayton and his fellow Arkansas Senator Stephen Dorsey began to consider taking drastic action to remove Baxter from office. Clayton and Dorsey planned a quasi-legal coup d'etat against Baxter, which would allow the now more Republican-inclined Brooks to assume the governorship of Arkansas. Local Arkansas politicians also were involved in the plot. Henry Page, Arkansas's Secretary of the Treasury, called a meeting of the Little Rock Light Guard to commence on April 15th, probably to ensure forces for the coup.

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26 Summers, *Radical Reconstruction and the Gospel of Prosperity*. 816
27 Summers, *Radical Reconstruction and the Gospel of Prosperity*. 817
28 Summers, *Radical Reconstruction and the Gospel of Prosperity*. 818
29 “City Notices” *Little Rock Daily Republican*, (Little Rock, AR) Monday, April 13, 1874. Though there is
On April 15th, 1874, Judge Whytock, a circuit court judge who was considering Brooks’ case, granted “Brooks’ application for a writ of quo warranto…without informing Baxter and his attorneys,” thereby giving Brooks the legal title to the governorship. Chief Justice John J. McClure secretly administered the oath of office to Brooks, who gathered his militia and occupied the State House, forcibly expelling Baxter. General Robert F. Catterson, the leader of Brooks’s militia and a U.S. Marshall, broke into the armory, also located in the State House, and procured hundreds of weapons for Brooks's cause. Ejected from the State House, Baxter proceeded to St. John's College to set up his headquarters. Brooks telegraphed President Grant, asking his recognition as the bona fide governor of Arkansas, while Baxter telegraphed Grant to allow him access to the U.S. arsenal in Little Rock.

The month long political conflict began with a frenzy of activity. Both sides appealed to black and white Arkansans to join them in the fight. Between April 16th and April 20th 1874, troops poured into the capital. On April 17th, Elisha Baxter moved his headquarters to the Anthony House, located only a few blocks away from the State House. Colonel Thomas E. Rose, the head of the U.S. arsenal in the city, ordered a company of U.S. regulars to position themselves in between the two armed camps, thereby preventing bloodshed for the time being. In response to both Brooks's and Baxter's appeals, President Grant directed Colonel Rose to refrain from supporting either

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31 “Revolution in Arkansas” *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Thursday, April 16, 1874
32 Current 300-301; “Revolution in Arkansas” *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Thursday, April 16, 1874
33 “The Arkansas War” *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Saturday, April 18, 1874
side and to prevent fighting in the streets.\textsuperscript{34} Baxter and his forces quickly gained control of the telegraph office of the city.\textsuperscript{35} Battle lines in the streets of Little Rock were set, as forces of both Brooks and Baxter began to fortify their positions.\textsuperscript{36} In this early period of the conflict, between the 16\textsuperscript{th} and the 20\textsuperscript{th}, no one was killed or injured by combat. Hundreds of Arkansans joined either Brooks or Baxter, organized squads, appointed sentries, and strengthened their defensive positions around the State House or the Anthony House.

Among the reinforcements who came to Little Rock in support of Elisha Baxter were H. King White and Ferd Havis leading a force of several hundred black plantation workers. Ferd Havis was a black representative of the Arkansas state legislature from the town of Pine Bluff. His ally H. King White was a rich attorney also from Pine Bluff who owned $27,000 worth of property.\textsuperscript{37} King White was an energetic, flamboyant 29 year-old man who created a scene wherever he went. Wherever there was a major event or battle in the Brooks-Baxter War, he was not too far from it. Just three days after arriving in Little Rock, King White led his troops in a military parade in support of Baxter. The incident resulting from this parade would mark the first direct casualties of the war. On April 21\textsuperscript{st}, King White, with a force of around 250 soldiers and a brass band, marched through the streets, “shouting and yelling at the top of their voices.”\textsuperscript{38} When the crowd reached Baxter's headquarters at the Anthony House, they beckoned Baxter to the balcony, asking him whether he wished them to assault the State House. Baxter told

\textsuperscript{34}“Up in Arms” \textit{Inter Ocean}, (Chicago, IL) Friday, April 17, 1874
\textsuperscript{35}“Arkansas” \textit{The Memphis Appeal} (Memphis, TN) Friday, April 17, 1874
\textsuperscript{36}“Arkansas” \textit{The Memphis Appeal} (Memphis, TN) Saturday, April 18, 1874
\textsuperscript{37}Ninth U.S. Census. \textit{Library of Congress}. 1870; “Arkansas Insurrection” \textit{Inter Ocean}, (Chicago, IL) Tuesday, April 21, 1874
\textsuperscript{38}“The First Blood” \textit{Little Rock Daily Republican}, (Little Rock, AR) Wednesday, April 22, 1874
them to “be patient” and not act yet. After the speech, King White and his men celebrated and continued to congregate in the street below the Anthony House. In the midst of the cheering and commotion, Thomas E. Rose, the commander of the federal troops in the city, fearing that White and his men were planning to attack Brooks's position, attempted to hail King White.

What happened next is unclear. The Cincinnati Commercial's main report of the incident claimed that Rose's pistol accidentally discharged and that another federal officer then proceeded to shoot at White, causing Brooks's troops on the upper floors of the nearby Metropolitan Hotel to fire at the Baxter forces below. The report stated “two hundred shots were fired.” An alternate report summarized in the Commercial from the St. Louis Democrat claimed that a number of men from White's force fired at Colonel Rose with no warning, wounding innocent civilians around the street instead. The Little Rock Republican probably provided the most accurate report, stating “just how the firing commenced is impossible to say, but a few seconds after White's reply to Col. Rose, a shot was fired at the colonel, when there ensued a scene of the wildest panic. The colored men commenced discharging their pieces in every direction.” Many non-combatants were wounded. A prominent citizen of Little Rock, D. F. Shall, was killed.

Peace was quickly restored. Both parties agreed on a truce, broken thereafter only by the occasional arrest of a few Brooks or Baxter men who strayed too close to each other’s camps. At the same time, Baxter sent a telegraph to President Grant asserting that

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39 “The First Blood” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Wednesday, April 22, 1874
40 “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Wednesday, April 22, 1874
41 “An Account from the Brooks Party” (Cincinnati, OH) Wednesday, April 22, 1874; A report from the Inter Ocean claimed that King White even ordered the firing on Rose. “Civil War.” Inter Ocean, (Chicago, IL) Wednesday, April 22, 1874
42 “The First Blood” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Wednesday, April 22, 1874
he would not allow his forces to engage with the federal troops occupying the area between his and Brooks's position “under any circumstances.” Baxter then proposed calling a session of the state legislature as a means of solving the dispute and stated that he would “abide by the decision of the Legislature.” President Grant's response was permissive if non-committal:

“I heartily approve any adjustment peaceably of the pending difficulties in Arkansas by means of the Legislative Assembly, the Courts, or otherwise and I will give all the assistance and protection I can under the Constitution and laws of the United States to such modes of adjustment. I hope that the military forces on both sides will now disband.”

The message’s wording was no ringing approval of Baxter. It did not point to the state legislature as the exclusive authority for deciding the contest, though it accepted it as one option. But Baxter and his allies treated it as an endorsement and authorization for Baxter to summon the Arkansas state legislature to meet on May 11th. A Democratic-dominated state legislature would surely endorse Baxter. If the President deferred to its decision, Baxter's victory would be assured. Given this positive news, there was no reason for Baxter to risk his improved political position with drastic actions. To avoid another embarrassing clash like the one after his speech, he ordered hundreds of his troops home and ordered King White and his forces to retire to Jefferson County, where there would be no risk of the hot-headed commander coming into conflict with federal troops. The draw-down was so noticeable that it led the Commercial to declare “the war is over.”

Brooks did not disband his own forces. He held his position in the State House

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43 Elisha Baxter to President Ulysses S. Grant. April 22, 1874 quoted in “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Thursday, April 23, 1874.
44 President Ulysses S. Grant to Elisha Baxter. April 22, 1874 quoted in “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Thursday, April 23, 1874.
45 “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Thursday, April 23, 1874.
and reinforced them when the senator’s brother John M. Clayton came to his aid with
over a hundred troops from Jefferson County.46 He, too, had read the president’s
statement and realized that it left room for him to convene the Republican-dominated
Arkansas Supreme Court to adjudicate the conflict. Its decision would certainly go his
way, not Baxter’s, and if that happened, Grant might well accept the judges’ decision as
final. The war was far from over.

R.C. Newton, the commanding general of Baxter's army, recognized that Baxter's
political strength in the legislature needed to be discreetly augmented by financial and
military strength. While overseeing the disbandment of hundreds of troops in Little
Rock, Newton ordered King White to maintain his forces in Jefferson County and to
secure the local tax revenue there in Pine Bluff. On April 22nd, Newton sent a telegram to
King White directing him to “see that the state revenue in hands of Collector is not
removed from County.”47 He reminded White again five days later, for the funds at Pine
Bluff were essential to the Baxterite war effort. **48 Brooks had possession of the State
House and its treasury, along with the support of the Arkansas Secretary of Treasury,
Henry Page. Newton had to secure a funding source for even the small army that Baxter
maintained in Little Rock. When the truce expired on April 25th, King White proclaimed
martial law in Jefferson County and took control of the Court House in Pine Bluff.49 The
revenue of Jefferson County was apparently not enough to support Baxter's army. The

Cincinnati Commercial speculated on the 28th that Baxter was planning to declare martial

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46 “Arkansas Troubles” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Friday, April 24, 1874.
47 R. C. Newton to H King White. Telegram. (The Western Union Telegraph Company: Little Rock, AR),
April 22, 1874. From the Collections of the Arkansas Historical Commission, Little Rock, AR.
48 R. C. Newton to H King White. Telegram. (The Western Union Telegraph Company: Little Rock, AR),
April 27, 1874. From the Collections of the Arkansas Historical Commission, Little Rock, AR.
49 “The Arkansas Anarchy” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Wednesday, April 29, 1874.
Beyond requisitioning local tax revenue, the Baxterites asked for donations from wealthy sympathetic individuals. A postwar list of names kept by “Mrs. Wright and other ladies” denoted individuals whose donations had been paid back. With the exception of Weldon E. Wright who loaned Baxter's forces $20,000, the majority of the individuals on the list made small donations of $5 or $10. Baxter's efforts to secure funding sources for his army in late April would prove to be vital for his war efforts later in May.

In addition to procuring funds, Baxter also re-militarized. He welcomed new troops into his army and refrained from sending more troops home. From April 25th, when the truce ended, until the 30th, two hundred militiamen joined Baxter's outfit. Brooks sought reinforcements from the Arkansas Delta, with some of his officers organizing a meeting in Helena, Arkansas, on the shore of the Mississippi River. However, this meeting was unsuccessful as a prominent black former state senator, James T. White, convinced the crowd to stay at home. By May 1st, the number of men in Baxter's force was estimated at 300 while Brooks held the State House with 500 men. During this period, though, there were no skirmishes or battles in Little Rock. According to the Commercial, “beyond the arrests on both sides there [were] no active operations.”

While this may have been the case in Little Rock, it was certainly not true in
Jefferson County.

After King White declared martial law there and occupied the Pine Bluff Court House, Brooks's forces in the region began to organize. Joseph L. Murphy called for a meeting in Jefferson County to mount a resistance. “King White, military governor, has taken all the funds from the collector,” he wrote Colonel J. F. Van de Sande. “The d---l [devil] is to pay.” As this pro-Brooks force was organizing in the rural areas of Jefferson County, Newton gave King White permission to move out and destroy it. Leading a force of eighty men, White found Murphy's recruits at Corner-stone Church outside New Gascony. White's mounted troops carried rifles, while Murphy's had only “two to four rounds of powder and duckshot.” The outcome of the battle was predictable. White's heavily-armed and mounted troops overran Murphy's forces. While only seven of White’s troops were wounded in the battle, nine black soldiers in Murphy’s company were killed and twenty others were wounded. White captured both Murphy and Van De Sande, but released the other captured soldiers. R. C. Newton congratulated fellow Baxterite General Ira Barton on White's victory and hoped that White “[would] continue to rigorously put down armed insurrection against legitimate government.” On Newton’s directions, White sent his forces to investigate possible rebellions in Arkansas and Lincoln counties the following day.

A soldier in J. L. Murphy's force, Godfrey Phillips, gave an interview to the Little

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57 R.C. Newton to H. King White. Telegram. (The Western Union Telegraph Company: Little Rock, AR), April 29, 1874. From the Collections of the Arkansas Historical Commission, Little Rock AR
58 “A Desperate Cause.” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, May 7, 1874
59 “The Rebellion” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, May 1, 1874
60 R. C. Newton to Ira Mc. L. Barton. Telegram. (The Western Union Telegraph Company: Little Rock, AR), April 30, 1874. From the Collections of the Arkansas Historical Commission, Little Rock AR.
61 “The Rebellion” Daily Arkansas Gazette. (Little Rock, AR) Friday, May 1, 1874
Rock Republican after the defeat in the Battle of New Gascony. This source is one of the few surviving first-hand accounts of the conflict from a black soldier. According to this account, King White's martial law went beyond simply occupying the Pine Bluff Court House. Indeed, the commander acted more like an independent warlord over Jefferson County than as an officer in part of a larger organized army. Phillips described King White's militiamen as “running off the stock.” “King White's men are thieving from the colored people, stealing their arms and bed-clothes wherever they find them,” he added. He also observed that White “ha[d] scouts posted on every large plantation.”

If White had “scouts posted on every large plantation,” as Phillips stated, there were good reasons, and they reveal much about how and from where Brooks was getting most of his men in the countryside. In a war where voluntary recruitment was vital for maintaining an army in the field, leaders could not afford to only occupy large towns and ignore the more populous cotton-growing counties of the state. In Jefferson County dozens of soldiers could easily be gathered and organized on the major plantations along the river. It is from this region that Brooks's captains, Savage, Murphy, and Van De Sande, recruited nearly all of their forces and where H. King White recruited his forces for Baxter. That was how Phillips became mixed in the fight. As the reporter of the Phillips interview noted, Phillips had enlisted in Capt. Savage's force at “Mr. Taylor's

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62 According to the account, the battle itself was a thoroughly one-sided affair. H. King White's troops were mounted and had rifles; whereas, the Brooks's forces under Murphy, Van De Sande, and Savage were only lightly armed with shotguns and had no horses. The battle consisted of White's troops overwhelming Brooks's forces, killing a few and then capturing many. Most battles in Reconstruction between black and white militias usually resulted in major victories for white militias because they were almost always much better armed. Interview of Godfrey Phillips in “A Desperate Cause.” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, May 7, 1874

63 Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, May 7, 1874.

64 Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, May 7, 1874.
farm.”\textsuperscript{65} In the aftermath of the Battle at New Gascony, Phillips and the other retreating soldiers were ordered by Capt. Savage, the only remaining officer not captured during the battle, to go to the “Williams plantation.”\textsuperscript{66} This plantation was owned by M. H. Williams, who did not actively support Brooks but may have sympathized with his cause.\textsuperscript{67} Understandably, White had good reasons for trying to prevent Brooks's captains from raising any troops from the region or sending them on to Little Rock. The strategy was successful. Brooks recruited no additional soldiers from Jefferson County for the remaining two weeks of the conflict. As White spread his forces further into the Delta, Brooks also was prevented from recruiting additional soldiers from Lincoln and Arkansas Counties.

On the same day that Murphy led his troops in the Battle of New Gascony, Joseph Brooks was readying the appointment of James P. Fagan, a former major general of the Confederate army, as the new commander of his forces.\textsuperscript{68} On May 1\textsuperscript{st}, Fagan took official command of the army and called his old allies in the Civil War to come to Brooks's side. Fagan's appointment marked an escalation of the conflict. Each side’s forces, only a few hundred strong at the end of April, grew to over one thousand by the second week of May. As militiamen once again flooded into the capital, larger engagements broke out around different areas of Arkansas. One of the most notorious actions was the kidnapping of Arkansas Supreme Court justices traveling to Little Rock.

To prevent the State Supreme Court from meeting and rendering an unfriendly

\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Little Rock Daily Republican}, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, May 7, 1874.
\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Little Rock Daily Republican}, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, May 7, 1874. I have not been able to identify the first name of “Captain Savage” in newspapers or the Ninth Census.
\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Little Rock Daily Republican}, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, May 7, 1874
\textsuperscript{68} R.C. Newton to Gen. Ira Barton. Telegram. (The Western Union Telegraph Company: Little Rock, AR), April 30, 1874. From the Collections of the Arkansas Historical Commission, Little Rock AR; “The Arkansas War” \textit{Cincinnati Commercial} (Cincinnati, OH) Saturday, May 2, 1874
decision, Baxter ordered a squad of men to arrest the justices. Three of the five justices of the Arkansas Supreme Court were traveling on the Memphis train into Little Rock when the train was stopped at Argenta on the night of May 3rd.69 Judge John E. Bennett and Judge E. J. Searle were approached by a Captain Williams. As Bennett later testified, Williams told them he had orders from Elisha Baxter to take him and Judge Searle off of the train. Judge M. L. Stephenson who was in another section of the train was able to escape to Brooks's lines at the State House.70 Bennett and Searle were escorted off the train by a group of armed men and taken first to the Anthony House and then St. John's College in Little Rock.71

At St. John's College, Bennett requested a meeting with Baxter. Instead, Captain Williams led the judges on an all-night, twenty four mile hike to Benton, southwest of Little Rock.72 They were held there under General William Crawford, a local of the town, who guarded them with forty to fifty troops. After being held in Benton the next day, there was a disagreement among the Baxter guards about what to do with the justices that night. The armed Baxter party had information that Brooks men and federal soldiers were on the way to Benton to free the justices and may even arrive within a few hours. According to Bennett's account, Lt. Summerhill, a Baxterite officer, received final orders to kill the justices if there was any risk that they would be recaptured by Brooks's forces. Summerhill appeared to have taken affront with being directed to kill two unarmed men and refused to comply with Baxter's orders. Instead, he spirited the judges out of

69 Modern-day North Little Rock, just north of the Arkansas River.
70 House Report 2, “Affairs in Arkansas,” 43d Cong. 2nd sess., 37, 41
71 “Arkansas” Memphis Appeal (Memphis, TN) Tuesday May 5, 1874; House Report 2, “Affairs in Arkansas,” 43d Cong. 2nd sess., 38
72 “Arkansas” Memphis Appeal (Memphis, TN) Tuesday May 5, 1874; House Report 2, “Affairs in Arkansas,” 43d Cong. 2nd sess., 38
Crawford's camp later that night and turned them in to federal forces. By May 6th, the judges arrived back safely in Little Rock under federal escort. The moment that Judges Bennett and Searle returned to Little Rock, they joined Chief Justice John McClure and Judge Stephenson in the State House in reviewing the case of Henry Page “refusing” to release state funds for Joseph Brooks to use in the conflict against Baxter. This was probably an excuse for the Arkansas Supreme Court to address the legality of circuit court Judge Whytock's April 15th decision that began the conflict and formally affirm Brooks as governor. The next day the four justices held that Brooks had the right to the treasury's funds as the legal Governor of Arkansas and upheld the Whytock decision granting him the office.

Meanwhile, Brooks's and Baxter's forces were clashing throughout other regions in the state. On May 6th, Col. A. S. Fowler of Brooks's forces raided the Arkansas Industrial University in Fayetteville in northwestern Arkansas to procure weapons for Brooks's army. He sent these weapons down to Little Rock with six men on a flatboat on the Arkansas River. The next day, in an effort to intercept this boat, Lt. Welch of Baxter's army took twenty-five men on the steamboat the “Hallie” upriver. Col. John Brooker along with two hundred troops sought to stop this Baxterite force. Finding the Hallie docked twenty miles upriver from Little Rock, Brooker and his men planned an ambush. The twenty-five Baxterites on the steamboat were vulnerable to attack and heavily outnumbered. The Brooks men opened fire from the river bank, killing 23 year-old Frank

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73 House Report 2, “Affairs in Arkansas,” 43d Cong. 2nd sess., 37, 41
74 “Arkansas” Memphis Appeal (Memphis, TN) Thursday, May 7, 1874
75 Ibid.
76 “The Arkansas Trouble” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Friday, May 8, 1874.
H. Timms of Little Rock and compelling the rest of the crew to scramble into the interior of the ship for protection. The continued fire from Brooker's troops then disabled the boat and Welch's men fled. The battle left six killed and six wounded, many seriously. 78

This increased violence throughout Arkansas in early May was no help to President Grant and his cabinet who were absorbed in negotiations to decide the contest. Senators Clayton and Dorsey had been in Washington since the conflict began putting the best face on Brooks's actions that they could. Representatives of Elisha Baxter had arrived in Washington by April 29th and were preparing a brief for Attorney General George Williams. 79 Under pressure from both parties, President Grant had to balance a variety of considerations. Which institution in Arkansas had the better right to decide the contest, the state supreme court or the General Assembly? Grant had already used federal troops in Little Rock to maintain the status quo and allow both parties to hold their positions. Brooks had been the gainer. The United States army prevented a numerically-superior Baxter force from attacking the State House, as they otherwise very likely would have done. 80 But if Grant wished to endorse Brooks, he would need to go further, by declaring the Republican-dominated Supreme Court the official arbiter of the conflict and using federal forces to back up its decision.

That was a decision that Grant was not prepared to take. He was probably as confused by the conflicting advice and contradictory reports as anybody else. Then, too, in the 1872 election, Baxter had been elected on the same ticket as Grant. If Grant chose to recognize Brooks instead of Baxter, his decision might raise questions about whether

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78 “Arkansas” Memphis Daily Appeal (Memphis, TN) Saturday May 9, 1874
79 “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Friday, April 30, 1874
80 William Gillette Retreat From Reconstruction (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1874), 138
Grant fairly won Arkansas's electoral votes and highlight the issue of Republican Party corruption. But if Grant chose to affirm Baxter, he would be undermining the Republican Party in Arkansas. A decision in favor of Brooks would not guarantee an end to conflict. Would the stronger Baxter army disperse after Grant backed Brooks? It did not disperse earlier in the war when federal troops were standing between it and Brooks's army.\footnote{Gillette, Retreat From Reconstruction 140}

By early May, Grant was also running out of time. The northern press was growing increasingly annoyed at Grant's indecision as people died on the farms of Jefferson County and in skirmishes in Little Rock. The coverage of the \textit{Cleveland Daily Herald} was quite typical of Northerners' disgust with the conflict. In a May 2\textsuperscript{nd} report, the \textit{Herald} asserted, “it is a scandal which affects the whole country and brings reproach on our political institutions...The condition of affairs in Arkansas at the present moment is more characteristic of a Mexican or Central American State than of a State of the American Republic.” The \textit{Farmers' Cabinet} of New Hampshire stated, “we see the unseemly spectacle of two men fighting over the executive chair of one of the sovereign States of this Union, with the world looking on in amazement at the result of our boasted freedom.”\footnote{“The Arkansas Conflict.” The Farmers' Cabinet, (Amherst, NH) Tuesday, April 29, 1874} This sense of embarrassment expressed by northern papers quickly translated into a call for action to end the conflict at the end of the first week of May. “The question is now not which of the rival politicians shall occupy the Gubernatorial seat,” the \textit{Bangor Daily Whig and Courier} stated on May 6\textsuperscript{th}, “but whether bloodshed, plunder, and rapine shall be allowed to go on unchecked.” Its editor urged the President to decide the contest -- “the sooner, the better.”\footnote{“The Arkansas Imbroglio.” Bangor Daily Whig & Courier, (Bangor, ME) Wednesday, May 6, 1874} Under such pressure, with his eye on the upcoming 1874 congressional elections and perhaps aware that the growth in forces...
in Arkansas threatened a clash far more dangerous and bloody than anything seen so far, 
Grant had to decide quickly. His party already lost standing in the eyes of northern voters 
for his intervention in Louisiana which sustained the Kellogg government in spring of 
1873, and the parallels – a governor given legitimacy through a partisan judge’s decision 
based on fraudulent election returns, and the impression that the national government had 
intervened to make the losing party the winner – could not have been far from his mind, 
especially since the Louisiana frauds had been a hot issue of discussion in Congress that 
spring.\textsuperscript{84} He would risk his party's political future and his own political power by 
allowing violence to continue in Arkansas, and sustaining Brooks in the face of the 
legislature’s decision more than a year before, would stir up the most unpleasant kinds of 
memories and comparisons.

On May 5\textsuperscript{th}, a general understanding was reached in Grant's cabinet that the 
General Assembly must be granted the right to judge the contest.\textsuperscript{85} Over the next few 
days, Attorney General George Williams attempted to convince Brooks's advocates to 
accept a deal with the General Assembly as the arbiter. Senators Clayton and Dorsey did 
eventually agree with this, probably because it also stipulated that the General Assembly 
must launch an investigation of the 1872 election to determine whether Baxter was 
legally elected in the first place.\textsuperscript{86} On May 9\textsuperscript{th}, the agreement was released to the public. 
It called for the General Assembly to meet in a neutral and de-militarized State House on 
the fourth Monday of May in order to investigate the legality of the 1872 election and 
come to a decision of the winner of that election. It barred Brooks's and Baxter's army 
from interfering in the process and ordered the disbandment of both forces with the

\textsuperscript{84} Gillette, \textit{Retreat From Reconstruction}, 116, 140  
\textsuperscript{85} Gillette, \textit{Retreat From Reconstruction}, 141  
\textsuperscript{86} Gillette, \textit{Retreat From Reconstruction}, 142
exception of one company each.\footnote{“The Arkansas War” \textit{Cincinnati Commercial} (Cincinnati, OH) Sunday May 10, 1874} Baxter rejected this compromise, continuing the preparations for his planned May 11\textsuperscript{th} meeting of the Arkansas General Assembly.\footnote{Gillette, \textit{Retreat From Reconstruction}, 142}

Baxter's decision put Grant in a difficult position. Grant and his administration had already recognized the Arkansas state legislature as the legitimate institution to decide the conflict. If Baxter convened the Democratic-dominated legislature on his own accord to insure that they endorse him, how could Grant reverse his opinion and then state that the Arkansas Supreme Court should decide the issue? Even if he did reverse his opinion, would Brooks's forces be strong enough to establish order in Arkansas and intimidate Baxter to disband his troops? The moment the administration acknowledged that the Arkansas General Assembly had the sovereignty to confirm the results of the 1872 election, it gave Baxter the upper hand. By rejecting the compromise, Baxter forced Grant either to affirm the General Assembly's inevitable recognition of Baxter or to watch as the conflict continued to erode his political support in the North and probably end in a bloody confrontation. Grant did neither. Instead, he responded by offering Baxter a new compromise that removed the requirement of the state legislature to investigate the results of the 1872 election. Because it offered a virtual guarantee of recognition, Baxter acceded to the proposal, though he continued to call the legislature to meet on May 11\textsuperscript{th}.\footnote{“The Arkansas War” \textit{Cincinnati Commercial} (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday May 12, 1874} Acknowledging the major blow this was to Brooks's chances at securing office, Senator Powell Clayton introduced a bill for the creation of a House committee to investigate the legitimacy of the 1872 election, hoping that this would lead to federal recognition for Brooks.\footnote{“XLIII Congress – First Session” \textit{Cincinnati Commercial} (Cincinnati, OH) Wednesday May 13, 1874}
Having bolstered his political position in Washington, Baxter wasted no time in strengthening his military in Little Rock. Baxter-allied state legislators began arriving in Little Rock on May 9th. As the decisive moment was coming in the conflict, R. C. Newton ordered White to return to Little Rock. He had been asking for White's cavalry ever since Fagan had begun to assume command of Brooks's army on April 30th. On May 10th, White finally returned with 100 cavalry. His force promptly fought against 200 of Brooks's men north of the city. The skirmish resulted in many killed and wounded and was only ended when federal troops were able to move in between the two sides. Both sides also fortified their positions around the State House and the Anthony House in anticipation of a major battle. Sentries in each camp became more aggressive, shooting at anyone who came near their lines. A reporter for the Cincinnati Commercial, Horace V. Redfield, described a shooting of a Brooks soldier by Baxter sentries. He stated, observing a soldier of Brooks's force 100 feet from Baxter's lines, “A Brooks man in the middle of the street fired his pistol twice, and then fell dead, his brains splattering over the pavement...He was a Brooks negro who had ventured too far beyond his lines and got picked off.” Redfield described a situation where soldiers on both sides did not hesitate to shoot into the streets, and both armies sought to expand and build up their fortifications.

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91 R. C. Newton to Ira Mc. L. Barton. Telegram. (The Western Union Telegraph Company: Little Rock, R), April 30, 1874, From the Collections of the Arkansas Historical Commission, Little Rock AR; R.C. Newton to H King White. Telegrams. (The Western Union Telegraph Company: Little Rock, AR), May 2 and May 7 1874, From the Collections of the Arkansas Historical Commission, Little Rock AR.

92 “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday May 12, 1874; “Little Rock” Memphis Appeal (Memphis, TN) Tuesday May 12, 1874

93 “H. V. R.” May 9th Report. “The War in Arkansas” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday May 12, 1874

94 Redfield's reports tended to emphasize the “normality” of violence in the South. In his six specials sent from Little Rock, Redfield expressed a general antipathy for Arkansas and everyone who lived there. Black Arkansans were portrayed as ignoramuses who would do anything for alcohol or a little money.
On May 13th, the General Assembly convened enough of its members within Baxter's lines to make a quorum. The next day the legislature endorsed Baxter as the rightful governor of Arkansas and requested aid from the federal government in dispersing Brooks's men from the State House.\(^95\) On May 15th, President Grant recognized the state legislature's decision, formally recognizing Elisha Baxter as governor of Arkansas and ordering Brooks to vacate the State House.\(^96\) Baxter's men celebrated throughout the streets. Elisha Baxter addressed his supporters, stating “your valor and patriotism are rewarded...As citizens and soldiers of Arkansas, I congratulate you.”\(^97\) Though General Fagan began to negotiate with counterpart R.C. Newton about disbanding their forces, Joseph Brooks continued to hold the State House, possibly holding out hope that Grant would reverse his decision in the ten days given to Brooks for dispersing his army. But Baxter’s supporters had no intention of allowing those ten days of grace. On May 18th the General Assembly declared Brooks and his current supporters guilty of treason against the state. With fading hopes that Grant would change his mind and awareness that further delay would put him at risk, Brooks vacated his State House the next day.\(^98\) The Brooks-Baxter War was over.

White Arkansans were generally described as drunken and violent. In a May 14th report, Redfield described each side as an “army of drunken men.” As Mark Summers has noted in *The Press Gang*, Redfield routinely presented a negative view of Southern Reconstruction and was dispatched to the South to highlight corruption, violence, and disorder, instead of the successes of Reconstruction, like the strengthened public school system providing much-needed education for poor whites and blacks. Nonetheless, Redfield's observations on violence in Little Rock were probably accurate, if not the opinions he published with them, as violence did increase throughout the city in the second week of May, the moment Redfield arrived. Mark W. Summers. *The Press Gang.* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 191-192, 199.

\(^{95}\) “The War in Arkansas” *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Thursday May 14, 1874; “General Assembly” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, May 15, 1874; “Arkansas” *Memphis Appeal* (Memphis, TN) Friday May 15, 1874

\(^{96}\) “Arkansas War” *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Saturday May 16, 1874

\(^{97}\) “Triumphant! Gov. Baxter Recognized!” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, (Little Rock, AR) Saturday, May 16, 1874

\(^{98}\) “Arkansas” *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday May 19, 1874; “Arkansas” *Cincinnati
The complicated political maneuverings of this conflict raises many interesting questions about Reconstruction in Arkansas. Who supported Brooks and Baxter? Who fought in each of their armies and why? What can this information tell us about what kind of redemption occurred in Arkansas? Furthermore, how did this redemption compare and contrast with other redemptions throughout the South? An examination of the composition of Brooks's and Baxter's armies should prove useful to addressing these questions and direct how to integrate the story of this war into the larger story of the end of Reconstruction throughout the rest of the South.
CHAPTER THREE: BROOKS'S ARMY

On April 24th, the Daily Arkansas Gazette printed an article from the Shreveport Times that said, “If the negroes and carpet-baggers of Louisiana and Arkansas can whip out the whites, let the negroes and carpet-baggers rule the states; if they can't, let them give up the power they have usurped to those to whom it belongs and who are able to hold it.” The Democratic Gazette clearly saw Brooks's army as solely composed of “negroes and carpet-baggers,” an alliance between southern blacks and northern-born whites. While aspects of this stereotype were true, Brooks's force was not that simple. In fact, Brooks's coalition was much more diverse and disparate. It included northerners, southerners, foreigners, blacks, whites, farmers, merchants, policemen, office-holders, young and old, poor and rich. Arkansans from all walks of life and all parts of the state joined Brooks's army.

Both Brooks and Baxter formed their militias from willing volunteers all over the state. The conflict unfolded with Brooks and Baxter encamped in Little Rock making appeals to local notables all over the state for troops and supplies. This can be shown especially in a letter from Brooks to L. J. Hunt of Fayetteville in hilly northwest Arkansas. Brooks asked for his aid and specifically for, “one hundred of your best and bravest mountain boys.” This appeal not only shows the primary method which Brooks utilized for raising troops, calling on leaders around the state who could muster men, but also how he praised the local area where he was sending the appeal, requesting Hunt's, “bravest mountain boys.” It was charismatic appeals like this that gave both

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100 Joseph Brooks to L. J. Hunt, April 27, 1874. Special Collections of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AR.
Brooks and Baxter their troops. Brooks relied on the aid of prominent party allies throughout the state to deliver troops to Little Rock and convince those not already in Baxter's camp to join Brooks's side.
**Table 3.1 – Reinforcements for Brooks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Forces</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Date Arrived / Date Fought / or Date Left</th>
<th>Joined Brooks's army in Little Rock?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>More than half black</td>
<td>April 18th</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Pulaski – Eastman</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 20th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~225</td>
<td>Pulaski – Campbell</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 20th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 23rd</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~150</td>
<td>Hot Springs</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Half white, half black</td>
<td>April 24th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>St. Francis</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>April 24th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-150</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 29th</td>
<td>Left for Jefferson County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 30th</td>
<td>Fought in county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~120</td>
<td>Sebastian</td>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>Unknown, but possibly 60 white and 60 blacks.</td>
<td>May 2nd</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>May 4th</td>
<td>Dispersed in county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Memphis, TN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>May 7th</td>
<td>Organized but were dispersed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>May 11th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before examining from where Brooks’s troops came, a few cautions must be given. The troop numbers reported throughout the press sometimes varied from paper to paper. A report from the *Cincinnati Commercial* describes Brooks's force as “mostly colored.” "The Arkansas War" *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Sunday April 19, 1874

101 This table deceptively suggests that the army that left Little Rock on April 29th was the same force that fought in Jefferson County on the 30th. This is not the case. John M. Clayton led the force that departed for his plantation in Pine Bluff, while J.L. Murphy was simultaneously organizing a new force in Jefferson County to oppose H. King White's martial law in the county.
paper. When two sources disagreed on the number of troops from a specific area, I have sought to offer a clear rationale as to why one source may be more reliable than another. At times, papers have also used vague terms to describe the size of a force. The most common term used was a “company” of troops. This could have meant anywhere from 100 to 250 troops depending on the circumstance. Analysis on why some “companies” have been considered only 100 troops while others have been considered well more than 200 has been provided when appropriate. Newspapers around the country also received information from Arkansas that was heavily slanted towards Baxter. Many Northern and Western newspapers relied on the *Memphis Avalanche*, which backed Baxter, in the early part of the conflict because there was no Associated Press agent in Little Rock. When the Associated Press finally established an agent in Little Rock, it was J. N. Smithee, an ardent supporter of Elisha Baxter.103 Because of this, there were only occasional reports on the men who composed Brooks’s army in the press outside of Arkansas. Therefore, evidence on Brooks's army is much harder to come by than Baxter's army. Despite this, a general understanding of Brooks's troops can be gleaned from examining the *Little Rock Daily Republican*, a Brooks-allied paper in Little Rock, while referring to other Northern newspapers when they publish any information on Brooks's force and contrasting it with the *Republican*’s reports. The number of troops Brooks had throughout the conflict and where they came from can tell us much about the army itself and help explain why Baxter's force was able to prevail over Brooks's army in Arkansas.

When the conflict began, Brooks mainly drew upon forces from around Pulaski County; after all he needed a starting force to eject Baxter from the State House in the

first place. It is possible that Brooks's first troops were members of the Light Guard who Secretary of Treasury Henry Page had so conveniently called to meet with him on the day of the coup.\textsuperscript{104} The Little Rock Zouaves, another militia unit, could have also been involved as they had been called to meet by Captain John Brooker, an officer in Brooks's army, in the same building as the Light Guard on the same day.\textsuperscript{105} A report from the Cincinnati Commercial stated that Brooks had “a force of several hundred men” on April 18\textsuperscript{th}, without ever reporting Brooks receiving reinforcements from outside of the city.\textsuperscript{106} This suggests that his troops probably came from within Little Rock, from the Light Guard or other Republican militias already in the city. In this early part of the conflict, from the coup on the 15\textsuperscript{th} to the truce on the 23\textsuperscript{rd}, Brooks drew the majority of his forces from Little Rock or counties east of Little Rock but not on the Mississippi River. On April 20\textsuperscript{th}, the \textit{Little Rock Republican} reported 275 men reinforced Brooks from townships in Little Rock, 50 from Eastman and 225 from Campbell.\textsuperscript{107} The \textit{Daily Arkansas Gazette}, a Baxterite paper based in Little Rock, confirmed the arrival of the Campbell troops, calling them the “Campbell township darkies,” though claiming they were no more than a “few colored reinforcements.”\textsuperscript{108} Though the size of this force from Campbell was not confirmed by Northern newspapers, an account from the \textit{St. Louis Democrat} summarized in the \textit{Cincinnati Commercial} did state that Brooks was drawing primarily upon men from the associated townships of Little Rock.\textsuperscript{109} During the Poland

\begin{flushright}
104 Henry Page announced the meeting three times in the \textit{Little Rock Republican}. April 13, 14, and 15, 1874.
105 “City Notices” \textit{Little Rock Daily Republican}, (Little Rock, AR) Wednesday, April 15, 1874
106 “The Arkansas War” \textit{Cincinnati Commercial} (Cincinnati, OH) Sunday April 19, 1874
107 “The Insurrection.” \textit{Little Rock Daily Republican}, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874
108 “The Rebellion.” \textit{Daily Arkansas Gazette}, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874
\end{flushright}
hearings in the House of Representatives, a George W. Aikins confirmed that blacks living in Eastman township firmly supported Joseph Brooks - “They were all for Brooks but seven.”\textsuperscript{110} Another witness, Solomon Miller, answered affirmatively when asked if he raised a company of troops for Brooks in his township of Cameron in Pulaski County.\textsuperscript{111} Even if the figures reported from the Republican were exaggerated, there is evidence from many different sources that Brooks relied on local townships, usually ones with large African-American populations, in Little Rock to provide troops for his army in the early phase of the war.\textsuperscript{112}

As Baxter was sending home his troops on the day of the temporary truce, April 23\textsuperscript{rd}, the Republican reported that Brooks was welcoming another 500 fighters to his cause. A. P. Walsh and Thomas Bass of the town of Hot Springs arrived with 100 black and 100 white troops, the Republican calling the force two separate companies. One hundred troops led by W. H. Winthrop were reported to have joined Brooks's force from St. Francis County from eastern Arkansas. John M. Clayton, the brother of former Arkansas governor Powell Clayton, also arrived from Pine Bluff with 200 black troops, mainly laborers from his plantation.\textsuperscript{113} Other newspapers acknowledged the Republican's report, though disagreeing on the number of soldiers. The rival Gazette held that Walsh's force was only 80 strong with only 16 white men and that John M. Clayton's force landed with “about seventy-five men,” though later admitted that he led a “company.”\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{110} House Report 2, “Affairs in Arkansas,” 43d Cong. 2\textsuperscript{nd} sess., 131
\textsuperscript{111} House Report 2, “Affairs in Arkansas,” 43d Cong. 2\textsuperscript{nd} sess., 133; “Cameron” may have been an error in the Congressional record. According to the 1870 census, there was no “Cameron” township in Pulaski County. It is possible Miller said Campbell in the hearing but was misunderstood.
\textsuperscript{112} The 1870 Census shows that large African-American populations resided in Campbell and Eastman townships.
\textsuperscript{113} “The Contest” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, April 24, 1874
\textsuperscript{114} “The Rebellion” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, April 24, 1874; “The Rebellion” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, April 25, 1874
*Cincinnati Commercial* also reported the arrival of John M. Clayton's troops, stating that he led a company to assist Brooks.\textsuperscript{115}

The different reports on Walsh's troops from Hot Springs and Clayton's troops show that the *Gazette, Commercial*, and *Republican* all agreed on the definition of a company. All of the articles from the three newspapers suggest that they defined a company as around 100 soldiers. The *Republican* and the *Gazette* explicitly said this, while the *Commercial* did not state the number of troops that arrived with Clayton but did print that when he left for Pine Bluff on April 29\textsuperscript{th}, he departed with his “one hundred” troops.\textsuperscript{116} While the papers agreed on definitions, they disagreed on numbers. The *Republican* held that 200 men came from Hot Springs for Brooks, while the *Gazette* said only 80 men arrived. The *Republican* counted Clayton's men at 200, while the *Gazette* and *Commercial* put it at 100 or less.\textsuperscript{117} Though it is difficult to know for sure which reports are accurate and which are the exaggerations of partisan papers, in certain circumstances determinations can be made. While both the *Commercial* and the *Gazette* held that John M. Clayton's force was no more than 100 troops, the *Gazette* stated that Clayton and his force, which was “brought up a few days ago,” left on the 29\textsuperscript{th} with 150 troops for Pine Bluff.\textsuperscript{118} Given the *Gazette*’s admission, Clayton must have at least mustered 150 troops for Brooks on April 23\textsuperscript{rd}.

A pattern begins to emerge when examining reinforcements for Joseph Brooks's army between April 20\textsuperscript{th} and April 23\textsuperscript{rd}. Brooks first drew upon local citizens, primarily

\textsuperscript{115} “Arkansas Troubles” *Cincinnati Commercial*, (Cincinnati, OH) Friday, April 24, 1874
\textsuperscript{116} “The Arkansas War” *Cincinnati Commercial*, (Cincinnati, OH) Thursday, April 30, 1874
\textsuperscript{117} It is important to remember that the *Commercial* usually received its reports from J.N. Smithee, a known Baxter supporter; thus, at times its reports could be as biased towards Baxter as the local *Daily Arkansas Gazette*.
\textsuperscript{118} “The Rebellion” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, April 24, 1874
blacks within the Little Rock area, to bolster his force. After a few days, however, he was accepting the aid of forces from other counties around Little Rock. Hot Springs was located just two counties southwest of Little Rock, while Jefferson County was directly southeast of the capitol. Only St. Francis was a long distance from Little Rock. This was the beginning of a major trend in the reinforcement of Brooks's army. The longer the conflict lasted the farther away from Little Rock Brooks and his allies tried to raise troops. In a war relying on volunteer armies, it would be logical to assume that people closest to the conflict who were willing to fight would be the first to join, while those willing to fight from farther away would arrive to the battlefield later in the war. At the same time, this suggests that by April 23rd, Brooks and his allies had already depleted the number of willing volunteers in the surrounding townships. This is why Brooks was willing to accept aid offered from outside of the county. As the truce expired, Baxter's recruitment accelerated in the last week of April and early May while Brooks's recruitment efforts stalled.

The 100 troops from St. Francis, who joined Brooks's camp on April 24th, would be the last troops to arrive for Brooks in Little Rock for the remainder of April. Recognizing the importance of gaining the support of black populations in the eastern lowlands, Brooks and his allies attempted to raise troops throughout eastern Arkansas. Brooks's supporters traveled to Phillips County, which is located on the Mississippi River. The county had a population that was 68 percent black, the highest percentage per-capita in the state. On April 28th, a large rally was held in Helena, the county seat

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119 As the St. Louis Democrat reported, Brooks, at first, refused help from any forces outside of the county. “The Arkansas War: An Account from the Brooks Party” Cincinnati Commercial, (Cincinnati, OH) Wednesday, April 22, 1874
120 Ninth Census. Library of Congress. (Washington D.C., 1870), 13
of Phillips County, in order to rally volunteers for Brooks's army. As a preacher and Republican politician, Joseph Brooks had consistently supported equal rights for African-Americans. There was reason to think that Brooks could gain hundreds of volunteers from the large black population in the county which had so much to lose if Reconstruction was overturned. The largest populations of blacks in Arkansas were in Pulaski (13,708), Jefferson (10, 167), and Phillips (10,501) Counties. Over three hundred blacks had rallied to Brooks's cause from both Pulaski and Jefferson Counties. A major force from Phillips County could help Brooks in the conflict while simultaneously showing the Grant administration his popular support in the state and his ability to hold power. However, this was not to be. Brooks was limited to only a few black volunteers from Phillips. A prominent black former congressman, J. T. White, urged the people of the Delta counties, “Phillips, Lee, and Monroe,” to stay neutral in the conflict. His speech in Helena was well-received and convinced the people to declare neutrality in the conflict.

Given the advantages that Brooks should have had in the region, why did the black population in the Delta refuse to join Brooks's side? They were, after all, ardent Republicans who voted for Elisha Baxter in 1872 and should have followed the Republican Party in supporting Brooks in 1874. In addition to a call for neutrality by J. T. White, a prominent citizen of the region, the weather may have also been a major factor for the people of the region. Throughout the entire war, the Mississippi River

121 Ninth Census. Library of Congress. (Washington D.C., 1870), 27
122 “The Rebellion” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Wednesday, April 29, 1874
123 “Baxter at Helena” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Wednesday, May 6, 1874
124 “Arkansas” Memphis Appeal, (Memphis, TN) Wednesday, April 29, 1874
flooded much of the Arkansas Delta, from extreme southeastern Chicot County all the way north to Helena. A report from Chicot County described the Delta as being, “one vast flood...From Helena through Louisiana,” and that “5 million acres of cotton [were] now submerged.” The *Memphis Appeal* described the destruction that the flood wrought on the people of the region. The paper stated, “[t]here is no doubt as to the great destitution among the inhabitants of the flooded country along the St. Francis, White, Arkansas and Mississippi rivers. Hundreds of men, women and helpless children have been driven from their homes to seek shelter wherever it could be found, and to live as best they could upon the charity of friends or strangers.” On April 24th, the *Appeal* ran an editorial on the front page pleading for donations to help people starving in New Orleans because of the flood. There were also reports of planters in Arkansas refusing to pay their sharecroppers while the fields were flooded. Under such circumstances, the population suffering the devastation of the flood, losing much of their crop, and the possible added hardship of losing their pay during this disastrous time, it is understandable that black men in the region would not jump at the opportunity to abandon their wives and children to go fight in a conflict in Little Rock.

In other plantation areas in eastern Arkansas, not located on the Mississippi, Brooks had limited success. J. L. Murphy was able to organize a force of 200 men in Jefferson County. This group, however, was crushed by H. King White and his men on

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126 “From Chicot County.” *Little Rock Daily Republican*, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 28, 1874
127 “The Overflow” *Memphis Appeal* (Memphis, TN) Tuesday, April 28, 1874
128 “Help the Starving!” *Memphis Appeal* (Memphis, TN) Friday, April 24, 1874
129 The note says that black farm laborers from Arkansas came to Mound City to settle in Memphis because their employer refused to pay them during the “overflow.” The account duly notes that they were beaten by a “posse”, who did not spare “even the women and children.” “Local Paragraphs” *Memphis Appeal* (Memphis, TN) Tuesday, May 5, 1874
April 29th, therefore failing to aid Brooks in Little Rock. To make the situation worse, John M. Clayton had just left Little Rock with his 150 soldiers for Jefferson County on April 28th. Clayton probably was concerned about protecting his plantation during King White's martial law. Another group was assembled by Captain Savage in Arkansas County, but yet again was dispersed by King White. Therefore, while Brooks did have success raising some troops in eastern and central eastern Arkansas, these militias never made it to Little Rock.

While Brooks was failing to recruit troops in eastern Arkansas, he received a new detachment of men from the far western city of Fort Smith on May 3rd. The *St. Louis Democrat* reported that the detachment was composed of “between two and three hundred white men,” while the *Little Rock Republican* stated the force was one company. The *Gazette* claimed that only 60 blacks and whites arrived. An *Inter Ocean* report put the force at 150 men. Regardless of the exact number, the detachment was a sizable force that could aid Brooks and newly-appointed General Fagan in the middle of the war. Fort Smith, located in Sebastian County, was a Republican stronghold. In the 1872 election, the county overwhelming supported Baxter. Even according to vote totals published by the Reform Party to dispute the result of the election, Baxter was awarded the majority vote in Sebastian County. Unlike counties

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130 “The Rebellion” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, May 1, 1874
131 “The Arkansas Imbroglio” *Inter Ocean*, (Chicago, IL) Thursday, April 30, 1874
132 “The Arkansas Disorders” *St. Louis Democrat* summarized in the *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Monday, May 4, 1874
133 “The Arkansas Disorders” *St. Louis Democrat* summarized in the *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Monday, May 4, 1874; “How Goes the Battle?” *Little Rock Daily Republican*, (Little Rock, AR) Monday, May 4, 1874
134 “The Rebellion” *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock, AR) Sunday, May 3, 1874
135 The Arkansas Imbroglio” *Inter Ocean* (Chicago, IL) Saturday, May 2, 1874
in the Arkansas Delta, the people of Sebastian County followed the leadership of the state Republican Party and switched their support to Joseph Brooks. The Fort Smith troops would be the last major detachment to join Brooks's army in Little Rock, except for John M. Clayton who returned on May 11th with a similar force of 200 men. The lack of troops for Brooks during this later section of the conflict proved disastrous for his chances for recognition by the administration, as was described in Chapter Two.

Brooks's army contained a diverse, but limited, coalition of soldiers. He received hundreds of white and black volunteers for his army. At least 990 blacks organized to support his army, while at least 160 whites joined his army in Little Rock.137 Despite this large force, only around 710 of these black volunteers ever reached Little Rock. Unless numerous small groups of ten to fifteen men came to Little Rock to support Brooks and were simply not recorded by newspapers, then it appears that Brooks's army never numbered much above 1,000 soldiers at any one time. Horace V. Redfield, the correspondent for the *Cincinnati Commercial*, confirmed this count when he claimed that Brooks's army was composed of about 800 people, “two-thirds black,” on May 10th, a day before the return of John M. Clayton's 200 black troops.138

Nearly all of Brooks's soldiers came from two distinct populations – whites and blacks from the west and northwest or blacks from major plantation areas located fairly close to Little Rock. These two populations composed the vast majority of Brooks's army. The first troops Brooks received were hundreds of black volunteers from

137 This count includes blacks who volunteered for Brooks's army but never made it to Little Rock, including the 200 black soldiers who fought at New Gascony, the 60 soldiers who were dispersed South of Arkansas Post, and the 20 blacks who organized in Memphis and attempted to take a train to Little Rock, but were thrown off by a force of Baxterites from Lonoke.

plantation areas around Little Rock. As the conflict escalated, Brooks received white and black troops from Hot Springs, a town southwest of Little Rock surrounded by the Ouachita Mountains, and black troops under J. L. Murphy who organized in plantation areas in Jefferson County and then Arkansas County to oppose King White's martial law. Lastly, a detachment of primarily white troops joined Brooks's army from Fort Smith, a western town located between the Ouachita Mountains to the south and the Boston Mountains to the north. Only a force of 100 troops under W. H. Winthrop from faraway St. Francis County contradicted this pattern of support.

While this coalition emphasizes the racial and geographical diversity of Brooks's army, it also shows the limits of his public support during the war and divisions among black Arkansans over his cause. The failure of Brooks and his allies to unite black Arkansans was a major blow to Brooks's campaign. The neutrality of the large black population on the Mississippi River, due to the influence of the prominent former state senator J. T. White and the destructiveness of the flood, stifled the ability of Brooks to field a large army that could match Baxter's forces later in the war. Similarly, the efforts of Brooks and his allies to recruit soldiers from areas far from Little Rock at the end of April show that friendly areas closer to Little Rock, primarily areas of large black populations in regions with large plantations, had already been depleted of willing volunteers for his army. The limits of Brooks's coalition proved fatal for his chances at recognition and retaining the governorship by the end of the conflict.

An examination of specific soldiers can provide a more detailed picture of who participated in Brooks's army. A list of fifty-eight names gathered from two newspapers in Little Rock, the *Daily Little Rock Republican* and the *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, offers
an understanding of the economic and regional background of some soldiers in Brooks's force.\textsuperscript{139} Reports written by white elitist newspapermen in urban centers who possibly felt threatened by the conflict raging outside of their offices tended to cover only certain types of people and rarely report about others. Those who worked in agriculture were greatly underrepresented in this list and were outnumbered by those working in industry, business, law, and other town-related professions. This data set shows a highly urbanized group of people in the context of Arkansas's population in 1874. White elites who were known in central Arkansas were much more likely to be listed in these papers. More rural and poor soldiers were significantly under-reported, both white and black. For the purposes of Brooks's force, this means that the hundreds of black individuals who organized in Arkansas, Jefferson, and Lincoln counties left few or no records of their personal involvement in this conflict and are noticeably absent from this data. Even with these discrepancies, this set of names can prove valuable for examining elite soldiers in Brooks's army and give an insight into the background of twenty non-elite soldiers who were more typical of Brooks's force. Number of soldiers by race and region can be found in Table 3.2.

\textbf{Table 3.2 - List of specific soldiers for Brooks – Race and region in Arkansas}\textsuperscript{140}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>North, Northwest, West</th>
<th>East, Southeast</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>South, Southwest</th>
<th>Northeast</th>
<th>Out of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (Louisiana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{139} Northern newspapers like the \textit{Cincinnati Gazette} and the \textit{Inter Ocean} also listed names of people involved in the Brooks-Baxter War, but they were almost always names obtained by looking at the Little Rock-based \textit{Gazette} and the \textit{Republican}. The Poland Report also lists some soldiers’ names, but yet again, they were often names that had already appeared in local newspaper reports.

\textsuperscript{140} Regions are based on Map 1 in the Appendix V.
While this list of fifty-eight soldiers is biased towards elites, it can still reveal the areas of Arkansas which were more willing to endorse Brooks over Baxter, and garner more insight into the troops who came from counties whose smaller contingents would not have been noticed or reported by newspapers. As established earlier in the chapter, the vast majority of Brooks's soldiers joined his army from western, northwestern, northern, and central Arkansas. This list largely confirms that finding. Thirty-eight out of fifty-eight soldiers came from these areas, or 64 percent of the sample. Twenty-two of the soldiers joined Brooks’s army from counties located in central Arkansas, while sixteen came from northern, northwestern, or western Arkansas. These soldiers did not just join Brooks’s army from Sebastian and Jefferson Counties; they came from many different counties, including Benton, Crawford, and Washington in the northwest and Yell, Conway, and White in central Arkansas. Another twelve of these soldiers resided in counties located in the south and southwest, areas where no large groups of soldiers organized for Brooks. These soldiers lived in Ouachita, Columbia, Union, and Calhoun Counties. Though large forces were only organized in Sebastian County in the northwest, Hot Springs in the west, and Jefferson and Pulaski Counties in central Arkansas, the number of soldiers who came from different counties all across Arkansas in this small list of fifty-eight soldiers supports the notion that smaller squads of troops went to Little Rock to join Brooks's army but were never reported in newspapers. Brooks even received individual soldiers from the Delta counties on the Mississippi River, though many less soldiers from there than other regions. Not a single soldier in this list was from Phillips County, confirming the effectiveness of the neutrality proclamation in the county
seat of Helena. This list of individual soldiers re-emphasizes the diversity of Brooks's army while providing further evidence that Brooks primarily relied on a coalition of whites and blacks from northern and western Arkansas and blacks from plantation areas near Little Rock.

This same diversity appears in the income categories of this list of primarily elite soldiers, as seen in Table 3.3. The average mean wealth of the group (N=53) was $4,435. Information on five individuals could not be determined from the 1870 Census.

Table 3.3 – Number and Percentage of Brooks’s Soldiers by Income Category (N=53)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No reported income</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1 to $200</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$201 to $1,000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,001 to $4,000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,001 to $10,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the 1870 Census, the average per-capita income of an Arkansan was $195.\footnote{Ninth Census. Library of Congress. (Washington D.C., 1870). Per-capita income can be calculated by dividing the total wealth of Arkansas by the number of people. Combined wealth includes the Value of estate and personal estate. The majority of it is based in real estate.} Because census information was reported by family units, the per-capita average does not accurately portray individual income levels for males. Since 19th century America was a patriarchal society, this meant that the entire income and worth of a family was reported as the property of the male head of the family, with a few exceptions.\footnote{For instance, the important Baxterite general H. King White had his income held under his wife and daughter possibly for tax-dodging purposes.} Therefore, the monetary value reported for someone with a large number of family members would appear to be lower than that for someone with only a few or no
family members, thus skewing the real income for the male head of the family. To use per-capita income as a baseline to determine class would suggest that the total value and worth of property owned by an average Arkansan family unit was only $195 while in fact male heads of households in larger families would have actually been worth much more than those in smaller families. Instead, a better tool for determining the monetary value of the men in each army is to divide Arkansas's GDP by the number of male citizens over 21. This gives a baseline of $941 per male citizen above 21, which therefore represents an average monetary value of approximately $950 per family as the head of the household.

Using this metric, this list of soldiers can be roughly divided into elites and non-elites. Forty-two percent of soldiers in this list possessed less than $1,000 in assets, while 59 percent had more than $1,000. Among this lower bracket, income was varied. Twelve out of the twenty-two people, 54 percent, had not a single penny to their names. Seven of these twelve were either agricultural or urban laborers, which explains their lack of land and/or valuable goods. Another seven out of these twenty-two non-elite soldiers had above $200 but below $1,000. Many of these individuals worked low-paying professional jobs or were small-town lawyers. For instance, J.G. Frierson and Henderson M. Jacoway were lawyers from northern Searcy County and central Yell County, each with less than $650 of property. While this list of reported soldiers is biased towards white-collar professionals, it does suggest that some non-elite professionals, what a Marxist might term members of the “petty bourgeoisie,” also supported Brooks's army. Thirty-two of these soldiers possessed more than $1,000, and most could be considered

143 This total rounds up to 101% because of the small sample size of the data-set.
144 Both of these counties were sparsely populated counties in northern Arkansas.
elites in Arkansan society. Only four of the thirty-two soldiers had less than $2,000, twice the average worth of an Arkansan. Many of these elite were farmers, planters, lawyers, or merchants. For instance, J. C. Mcauley, Henry Reutzel, and H. I. Falconer were merchants who had over $8,000 dollars in property and goods. The richest of Brooks's soldiers, though, was Albert Rison of Little Rock, whose father had $25,000 dollars.

Though black Southerners made up a majority of Brooks's army, white Southerners formed the majority of soldiers on this list. Only ten out of the fifty-eight troops on this list were black, 17% of the sample. Of fifty-eight soldiers, forty-six of them were born in Southern states. More surprisingly, the majority of whites backing Brooks came from the middle and lower South. Thirty-three white militiamen were born in states that seceded from the Union. In contrast, only three came from the upper South states of Maryland, Missouri, or Kentucky. Foreign countries were the birthplaces of another six soldiers, and the North was home to only seven others.

The Southerners that made up a large portion of this sample were strikingly not just of one race or one income level. The diversity, even with a very small sample size, is incredible. There were a total of three militiamen born in Georgia. Two were black, and one was white. John Agery was a black jailor who had $3,500 to his name, well-to-do for the time. He lived not far from Little Rock in Pulaski County. John C. Wright was a white farmer with $1,800 from El Dorado, a town in the southern part of Arkansas. The other black militiaman was Sam Williams, a common laborer from Camden, Arkansas with no money to his name. This same sort of diversity in income, race, and residence could be found among the eleven soldiers who were born in Tennessee and even the two
This army was not a clear coalition of poor black Arkansans and richer northern-born backers. Instead, the army was a coalition between many people from all types of backgrounds: freed slaves born in Georgia, a rich white planter born in South Carolina, a merchant from Ireland, and a well-off hotel-keeper born in Ohio. On this list of fifty-eight soldiers, the army was represented by people born in four countries and fifteen states.

Brooks's officer corps reflected the diversity of his soldiers. These officers were born in the South and the North, were black and white, rich and poor, and involved in many different occupations. A slight plurality of Brooks's officers came from former Confederate states, but a large number were born in the North. Lastly, though both Brooks's soldiers and officers primarily came from northwest and central Arkansas, Brooks's soldiers joined the war from Jefferson and Sebastian County while his officers were much more likely to be rooted in Little Rock. A closer look at Brooks's officer corps is necessary to determine from where Brooks drew his political and military support.

A variety of sources recorded the names of Brooks's officers, including the Memphis Appeal, the Cincinnati Commercial, the Little Rock Republican, Daily Arkansas Gazette, and the congressional Poland Report. Seventy-six of these names were found in the 1870 census. Census data can provide a better understanding of where Brooks's officers were born, where in Arkansas they lived, what their occupations were, and what class they were. A first important area to examine is wealth. Table 3.4 records the

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145 C. Thrower was a white lawyer from Camden with $2,000 to his name, while Godfrey Phillips was a poor black farm laborer from a small Delta town in Arkansas County.

146 While all of these sources recorded names of Brooks's officers, the majority of them were repeated. If a name appeared in any one of the newspapers, it was liable to appear in all of the newspapers.
income levels of Brooks's officers and in what income categories they fell. The average mean wealth of the group was $3,870.\footnote{This is not including the $50,000 of Henry Page's value of estate. This is because as the Secretary of Treasury Arkansas, it is possible that some state funds were recorded as his personal income temporarily in his possession. Though I have attempted to determine his wealth from other censuses, he has not been found in any census after 1870. Also, this does not include the wealth of John M. Clayton. John was Powell Clayton's brother who owned a plantation by Pine Bluff. In the 1870 census, though, he is recorded as a black small farmer owner. This was clearly not the case, and it is possible that a Democrat who hated Powell Clayton's policies as governor purposely tried to defame his brother's name in the census.} Information on eight individuals could not be determined from the 1870 Census.

Table 3.4 - Number and Percentage of Brooks Officers by Income Category (N=68)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No reported income</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1 to $200</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$201 to $1,000</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,001 to $4,000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,001 to $10,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 3.4, Brooks's officers were of many different and varied classes. A total of thirteen officers, out of sixty-eight listed, had no recorded wealth, while another ten had recorded total wealth above $10,000. An interesting statistic from this chart is the number of officers who had less than the average income of an Arkansan. Thirty-seven of the officers, 54 percent, had less than $1,000 in recorded wealth, close to the average recorded wealth of an Arkansan ($941). This number of officers from lower classes is striking. While elites still played an important role in leading the army, men of lesser means were able to elevate themselves to leadership roles in a ragtag paramilitary force. This is because individuals in Brooks's army became officers through their standing in their community, regardless of their wealth. An examination of the professions that officers held in 1870 can shed light on how poorer men were able to lead
their richer allies into combat.

Brooks's officers came from a variety of professions that were typical for urban dwellers in the 1870s, as can be seen in Table 3.5.

**Table 3.5 – Occupations of Brooks Officers by Number and Percentage (N=76)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agriculture – 20 (26%)</th>
<th>Law Enforcement – 7 (9%)</th>
<th>Other – 28 (36%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer – 11</td>
<td>Policeman – 2</td>
<td>Blacksmith – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planter – 2</td>
<td>Constable – 1</td>
<td>Bookkeeper – 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Laborer – 5</td>
<td>Sheriff – 1</td>
<td>Saloonkeeper – 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw Mill Owner – 1</td>
<td>U.S. Marshall – 1</td>
<td>Assessor – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller – 1</td>
<td>U.S. Deputy Marshall – 2</td>
<td>Surveyor – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Profession – 11 (14%)</td>
<td>Lawrence/Attorney – 9</td>
<td>Minister – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk Chancery Court – 1</td>
<td>Judge Police Court – 1</td>
<td>Clerk (different kinds) – 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers – 2 (3%)</td>
<td>Commerce and Industry – 6 (8%)</td>
<td>School Teacher – 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer – 1</td>
<td>Merchant – 2</td>
<td>Census Taker – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publisher – 1</td>
<td>U. S. Commissioner – 1</td>
<td>Hotel Proprietor – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rail Road Agent – 1</td>
<td>Physician – 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agent for Manufacturing – 1</td>
<td>Grocer – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Insurance Agent – 1</td>
<td>Accountant – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not Found – 2 (3%)</td>
<td>Carpenter – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arkansas State Treasurer – 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Railroad Worker – 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Farmers clearly did not participate in this conflict as much as urban professionals. Only nineteen out of the seventy-six officers were involved in agriculture, even when classifying a mill owner and worker as engaging in agricultural work. A plurality of the officers came from professions that are not easily classifiable, such as a bookkeeper or a blacksmith. That said these sorts of professions were common among people living in cities in 1870. For instance, a physician, W. W. Bailey came from Fort Smith, while the two bookkeepers, Henry K. Pinckney and Ed F. Stowell, were from Little Rock.

Many of these officers held professions in politics or law enforcement. These positions did not offer much pay, especially compared to an independent law profession,
but gave standing in the community. Robert F. Catterson and R. A. Donnelly, who worked as a U.S. Marshall and a Deputy U.S. Marshall respectively, are excellent examples of this. Catterson, while certainly not poor, was not that rich given his standing. He possessed only $3,000 in 1870, which would have made him poorer than 32 percent of Brooks's officers. If Catterson was just another officer, this would not be surprising, but Catterson was the undisputed head of Brooks's army from the beginning of the conflict on April 15th until to the beginning of May when former Confederate General James P. Fagan took the position. Catterson's profession as a U.S. Marshall gave him standing in the community and the gravitas to lead a large military outfit. Similarly, R. A. Donnelly was a key officer from the Fort Smith contingent, but as a Deputy Marshall only had $200 to his name. It is because Brooks's officers held these professions that gave standing in the community but paid relatively little that they were able to command the respect of rich merchants and lawyers and lead them in military outfits. Other officers also held professions connected with the government, including two school teachers, one census taker, a postmaster, two policemen, and others who held various professions relating to the legal system.

The elite of Brooks's soldiers more often worked in commerce than as government officials. While only two of the officers worked as merchants, a total of five soldiers were merchants. Only three soldiers worked in professions directly related to the government, a city recorder, a revenue collector, and a jailor. In Brooks's army, standing in the community was more important for determining leadership positions than wealth. This was not always the case in ad-hoc armies. A paramilitary force could easily have assigned positions of status based more on charisma or on wealth, as will be shown in

148 “Local Paragraphs” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Wednesday, May 6, 1874
Chapter Four on Baxter's army. Instead, it seems that a standing in the community and experience in government was more valued by Brooks's forces or that those who had standing in the community were the ones to organize forces on behalf of Brooks. In a sense, this is not that surprising. Republicans who still held their state positions had the most to lose by a continuing Baxter governorship. Baxter had been methodically replacing Republicans in the state militia with Democrats and by 1874 was dismantling key parts of Reconstruction.149 As the state government was slowly being infused with Democrats, it was only a matter of time until Baxter was able to engineer a Democratic takeover of the Arkansas government. Current officeholders would not be the only ones ruined by this change. Any northern-born Republicans who supported Reconstruction would see his influence diminish over the state as the Arkansas Democratic Party, almost wholly Southern in character, gained power. Given this, most white northern-born Republicans rallied behind Brooks.

While the *Gazette*'s charge that only “negroes” and “carpetbaggers” supported Brooks's army was inaccurate in describing enlisted men, it was a much closer description of the officer corps. Forty-three of seventy-six of Brooks's officers were born outside of the former Confederacy. Twenty-nine of these seventy-six officers were born in Northern states.150 Nine officers were born in New York alone. Nearly all northern-born Arkansans sided with Brooks in this conflict. Irish and English immigrants also joined Brooks's force. Two Irishmen and two Englishmen served as officers in Brooks's army. While some Southerners did serve as officers in Brooks's force, most notably

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150 This exempts Union states where slavery still survived right before the Civil War – Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware.
former confederate general James P. Fagan, non-Southerners composed the majority of his officer corps. This list of Brooks's officers also is representative of his officer corps. Officers were much more likely to be reported in newspaper reports and congressional hearings. Therefore, few officers probably escaped mention in either of the two Little Rock-based papers, Northern papers like the *Cincinnati Commercial*, or the Poland Report. The *Little Rock Republican* published one of the few lists of combatants in the war when it published a roster of commissioned Brooksite officers appointed by General Fagan on May 2\(^{nd}\).\(^{151}\)

When Fagan took command of Brooks's forces at the end of April, he reshuffled the command structure of the force, if it could be even called that. On May 2\(^{nd}\), only a few days after taking control of the force, he appointed no less than thirty-two new officers to the newly organized “First regiment of Arkansas state militia.”\(^{152}\) A roster like this was rare in a war that involved evolving coalitions and little organization on both sides. It can give a unique look into Brooks's officers corps and show the names of lieutenants and majors who fought in the army. Of the thirty-two officers, only a total of twelve were found in the 1870 census. Still, these twelve can reveal much about how Brooks's army operated.

In contrast to the racist arguments of the Dunningites and their proteges that black militias were always led by northern-born “carpetbaggers,” five officers out of the twelve of Brooks's officers were black. Three of these officers were assigned to Company A, with Captain Emmanuel Aiken, a black policeman, leading the entire force. Two other commissioned black officers, William Schears and Henry Clay, were assigned to

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\(^{151}\) “How Goes the Battle?” *Little Rock Daily Republican*, (Little Rock, AR) Monday, May 4, 1874

\(^{152}\) “How Goes the Battle?” *Little Rock Daily Republican*, (Little Rock, AR) Monday, May 4, 1874
Company H and K respectively. Clay served with a white man, Jesse Butler, as a fellow officer in the company, suggesting that black officers were not completely segregated into only black companies. Community standing was also important among these black officers. Three were school teachers, and another was a policeman. Only Schears was a common farm laborer and illiterate. Clearly, the professions of these black officers gave them standing in the black and white community and allowed them to assume leadership positions in the army. This group of black officers also hints at the divisions within the black community. Three of the five, Hugh Newsome, Aiken, and Clay, were reported in the 1870 census as “mulatto” not black. It is well-known in historical works on Reconstruction that lighter-skinned African-Americans dominated the political leadership in black communities during this time.153 In Arkansas during a quasi-war, this was clearly so. Because of their standing in the black community, their literacy, and their lighter skin, they were probably more acceptable for whites like Fagan to appoint to positions of power. Still, the fact that Fagan, a former general of the Confederacy, was willing not only to accept African-Americans into his army as common soldiers but also commission them as officers in companies with other white officers is remarkable.

The First Regiment of the Arkansas State Militia was probably more typical of the average Brooks soldiers and officers who participated in the conflict. While many other sources on soldiers and officers were likelier to list the names of elites or the upper middle classes, this basic roster list of officers can reveal more about the average soldiers who fought in Brooks's force. The twelve officers were much poorer than the other officers mentioned. They had an average of $1,231 each, similar to the $941 average for an Arkansas family. That said, this mean average conceals the real income of an officer

of the First Regiment. Out of the twelve, only two possessed more wealth than the average Arkansan. Both Kidder Kidd and William Bell were store clerks. Kidd had $1,500 to his name, but William Bell's father possessed $11,000 in wealth. Given the average of $1,231 each, the income of Bell's father clearly over-balanced the lack of income among the other officers of the First Regiment. Five of the twelve had no income at all. Of these five, two were black, and three were white. Interestingly, two of the whites were bookkeepers who were born in the North, while the third, George Jackson, was more typical of a poor Arkansan, working as a farm laborer. The other five possessed, or had fathers who possessed, between $150 and $800. What this shows is that if one had more than the average $941 of wealth for a family, he probably had much more than that $941, since there was a large income gap between those who possessed significant wealth and those who had little or nothing at all. In other words, the average officer in the First Regiment was much more likely to have no income than have much beyond the income of an average adult male in Arkansas.

The First Regiment mirrors the overall list of Brooks's officers in certain important ways. The importance of northern-born officers is apparent among the junior officers of the regiment. Three out of the twelve were born in northeastern states: Vermont, New Jersey, and New York. Three others of the twelve were whites born in the former Confederacy. Five others were blacks born in the former Confederacy. And the last was born in the border state of Missouri. Overall, this presents a picture of a diverse force. Northern-born and black Arkansans did support Brooks in much greater proportions than their population in the state. Southern-born white Arkansans did enlist with Brooks, though not in as overwhelming proportions as they supported Baxter.
While this list reveals more about the average soldier of Brooks's army, it is nonetheless a list of officers, albeit junior officers. As shown earlier in this chapter, Brooks's soldiers were composed of many more southern-born and poorer black and white Arkansans.

The army of Brooks was much more diverse than at first glance. It was composed of men who came from all classes and professions, from those who worked in agriculture as well as those who worked in urban occupations. While the majority of Brooks's force came from the northern, western, and central areas of the state, he still received recruits from all around Arkansas. While northern-born whites and southern-born blacks were overrepresented in the army compared to their overall population in the state, one cannot ignore the significant evidence that southern-born whites played a notable role in the army. After all, there were at least 160 white soldiers in Brooks's army from Fort Smith and Hot Springs. Thirty-three of seventy-six of Brooks's officers were also born in states of the former Confederacy. Therefore, while white Southerners were a minority in Brooks's army, many white Southerners did join Brooks's force.

Joseph Brooks's support among northern-born and black Arkansans was unequivocal. Nearly half of his officers were born in the North. Many of these Northern-born officers were the most influential in the army, like John Brooker of New York, Robert F. Catterson of Indiana, and John M. Clayton of Pennsylvania. Northern-born Arkansans who settled in Arkansas after the Civil War coalesced in mass behind Joseph Brooks.\textsuperscript{154} The significance of Brooks's support among African-Americans cannot be

\textsuperscript{154} I have consciously referred to Northern transplants who settled in Arkansas as Arkansans. Though it is useful, for the purposes of this work, to distinguish them from southern-born Arkansans due to their vastly different perspectives, I have included Northern transplants as Arkansans because they were Arkansans. As Current makes clear in \textit{Those Terrible Carpetbaggers}, northern-born people like Powell Clayton made lives for themselves in Arkansas after the war. By the time of the Brooks-Baxter War, many had been living in the state for a better part of nine years. To not describe them as Arkansans would be to adopt Southern Democrats' view of northern-born citizens of Arkansas, which was to treat
overstated. As shown by the First Regiment, blacks made up a large proportion of Brooks's junior officers, even under the command of a former Confederate general! Black soldiers were vital for challenging Baxter in the plantations east of Little Rock around Pine Bluff, where King White was forced to put down a major rebellion against his martial law. While blacks from central Arkansas, and the few blacks living in western Arkansas, streamed to Brooks's side, it is also clear that blacks living on the Mississippi River did not heed Brooks's call to arms. There was a distinct lack of enthusiasm for Brooks's army in the black population of eastern Arkansas, especially along the Mississippi River. It was this noticeable lack of military support from blacks in eastern Arkansas that damaged Brooks's campaign later in the war when he could not find willing volunteers to join his army in May.

The majority of Brooks's army fought to not only install Joseph Brooks as the governor but also to insure the protection of Reconstruction. In an interview with the Little Rock Republican, Joseph Brooks claimed he would fight for “securing equal civil rights to all men.” While the more cynical may dismiss such pronouncements as just rhetoric, there are substantial reasons to believe that Brooks was sincere. In 1872, Brooks ran as a Republican, not a Democrat. While he favored lifting the disenfranchisement clause, he still defended the civil rights amendment for blacks. As

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155 A small exception to this could be some of the white Southerners who sustained Brooks out of loyalty to him from the '72 election instead of intrinsic support for Reconstruction. That is not to say that all of the white Southerners who allied with him did not support his views. Many of these white southern-born Arkansans certainly were the few whites in Arkansas who believed in the goals of Reconstruction, including poor white Arkansans who certainly benefited from increased public education. Still, it is possible that a portion of his white troops backed him out of loyalty rather than his political goals.

156 “How Goes the Battle?” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Monday, May 4, 1874

a consistent radical, he was not hesitant about advocating radical policies on civil rights. As stated in Chapter Two, Brooks also had been a chaplain for a black Union division during the war. The majority of Arkansas's black population closest to Little Rock and not dealing with the effects of a disastrous flood rallied to Brooks's cause for a reason. Most black Arkansans presumably saw that Brooks and the Republican Party would continue to protect the gains of Reconstruction against the efforts of Democrats and their friendly quasi-Republican governor to tear it down.

Yet, Joseph Brooks was not successful in his attempt to assume the governorship. Elisha Baxter and his Democratic allies were able to counter Brooks's forces in Arkansas with a large and motivated army and win the political battle for recognition in Washington. This raises larger questions about the conflict and about redemption in Arkansas. Who were the people who won this war for Baxter? Who were the “redeemers” of Arkansas and what can they tell us about the general processes of redemption throughout the South?
CHAPTER FOUR: BAXTER'S ARMY

When Elisha P. Baxter was dragged out of the statehouse on April 15th by Brooks's militia and set up an alternate government in the Anthony House across the street, he called on “the people of the state to support the government of the state against shameless usurpation.” Many of Arkansas's people answered his call. But, who were these people? Where were they from? An examination of the Baxter's supporters can show whether the redemption of Arkansas was carried out by a radical, unified, homogeneous group of white supremacists, by a large coalition of different groups of Arkansans, or by a bit of both. How one envisions redemption changes his or her perspective on the rest of the history of Arkansas in the late 19th century. Was Arkansas quickly transformed into a segregated, white-dominated, racist regime by the end of 1874 or did the Brooks-Baxter War only represent a step in that direction? Understanding Baxter's army and its composition is vital for understanding the historical legacy of Arkansas's “redemption.”

In his dissertation Leadership of Arkansas Reconstruction, George H. Thompson dismissed the significance of the Brooks-Baxter War and held that the political maneuvers of Augustus H. Garland were more important for ending Reconstruction in Arkansas. However, Thompson never considered the composition of the armies of Brooks or Baxter. This oversight is important. While he was correct that Garland's excellent political skills served Baxter well and were important for gaining Presidential recognition for Baxter, he did not examine whether the political divisions he outlined

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158 “Our War Gov. Baxter Takes the Brindle Bull by the Horns.” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, April 17, 1874
extended to the general population. For instance, though Thompson relegated conservative Democrat Harris Flanagin to the margins of the conflict, it was his region, the southwest, that provided hundreds of troops for Baxter's cause.\textsuperscript{159} These troops were necessary at the end of the conflict to show Baxter's strength to the administration and to protect the meeting of the Democrat-dominated state legislature in Little Rock.

Thompson’s failure to survey which regions came to Baxter's aid caused him to overlook a major factor for Baxter's, and by proxy Garland's, success in the war. An examination of Brooks’s and Baxter’s troops, however, reaffirms Thompson's argument that David Walker and his constituency in northwest Arkansas continued to support Brooks throughout the conflict, as hundreds of troops came from the northwestern counties for Brooks. Thus, this chapter challenges Thompson’s interpretation of political coalitions in Arkansas but reinforces his assessment of the role of the Democratic Party in Baxter’s army.

As the conflict began, hundreds of men rushed to Little Rock to join Baxter's army. Newspapers struggled to accurately count these reinforcements for Baxter. By April 18\textsuperscript{th}, the \textit{Memphis Appeal}, \textit{Cincinnati Commercial}, and \textit{Inter Ocean} all reported that Baxter received troops from Batesville, Saline County, and Washington, though differed on their sources and numbers. The \textit{Commercial} printed that 100 men from Batesville reinforced Baxter in Little Rock.\textsuperscript{160} The \textit{Memphis Appeal} held that 500 men came from Batesville, basing this off of a letter from Batesville promising 500 troops.\textsuperscript{161} The \textit{Inter Ocean} claimed, ridiculously, 1,000 Batesville men arrived in Little Rock for

\textsuperscript{159} Thompson, \textit{Leadership in Arkansas Reconstruction}, 191

\textsuperscript{160} “The Arkansas War” \textit{Cincinnati Commercial} (Cincinnati, OH) Sunday, April 19, 1874

\textsuperscript{161} “Arkansas” \textit{Memphis Appeal} (Memphis, TN) Thursday, April 17, 1874
Baxter.\textsuperscript{162} If any of these reports had any validity to them, it was surely the

*Commercial's*. The *Appeal's* article was based on a letter promising troops, while the

*Ocean's* article suggested pure speculation. Still, it is quite possible that some troops from Batesville did arrive. This northern mountain town was the hometown of Baxter and would probably be the first to lend him support.\textsuperscript{163} The local *Arkansas Gazette*, furthermore, confirmed the arrival of a “good company” from Batesville on April 21\textsuperscript{st}.\textsuperscript{164}

\textsuperscript{162} “Civil War” *Inter Ocean* (Chicago, IL) Sunday, April 19, 1874
\textsuperscript{163} George H. Thompson, *Leadership in Arkansas Reconstruction* (PhD, diss., NY: Columbia University, 1968), 187
\textsuperscript{164} “The Rebellion” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874
Table 4.1 – Reinforcements for Baxter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Force</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Date Arrived / Date Fought / Date Left</th>
<th>Joined Baxter's army in Little Rock?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Pine Bluff</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>April 18&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 18&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Saline</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 18&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 18&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>Johnson+Pope</td>
<td>central/west</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 20&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 20&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>northeast</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 20&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~50</td>
<td>Hot Springs</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 20&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-300</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>April 23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Left Little Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 27&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 30&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>Half white/half black</td>
<td>April 30&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Fought in county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Perry</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>May 5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Lonoke</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 7&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 7&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Lonoke</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Faulkner</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>many different counties&lt;sup&gt;165&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>all over</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two parrot guns</td>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>May 13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>165</sup> The counties were not listed by the *Commercial* report. “The Arkansas War” *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday, May 12, 1874
The national press also provided inaccurate information regarding reinforcements from “Washington.” The Commercial, Appeal, and Inter Ocean all reported 1,500 men arriving from “Washington,” without specifying whether these troops were from the small town of Washington in Hempstead County in the southwest or from Washington County in the far northwest.\textsuperscript{166} The Gazette unfortunately did not publish a paper on April 19\textsuperscript{th} or 20\textsuperscript{th}. In their April 21\textsuperscript{st} issue, the first issue they ran since the reinforcements arrived on April 18\textsuperscript{th}, they printed a letter from J.W. Williams, a captain of the Hempstead County Guards, who refuted a charge from the Republican that the Hempstead County troops in Little Rock were dispirited.\textsuperscript{167} The letter suggests the troops which the national papers were referred to from “Washington” were these Hempstead County troops, even though J. W. Williams stated that they were organized in Hope, Hempstead County.\textsuperscript{168} Furthermore, there was never confirmation of troops from Washington County in the northwest ever joining Baxter’s army at any time in the war. J. W. Williams also led a company, not an army of 1,500 people. One would be safe to assume that if 1,500 troops had come for Baxter from one area, the Gazette would not have hesitated to emphasize it.

Nonetheless, in this early portion of the conflict, April 18\textsuperscript{th} to April 23\textsuperscript{rd}, Baxter received over a thousand men from various regions of Arkansas. H. King White's company of 300 black troops from Jefferson County arrived on April 18\textsuperscript{th}, as was confirmed by several newspapers.\textsuperscript{169} The fifty men from Saline concluded the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{166} “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Sunday, April 19, 1874; “Civil War” Inter Ocean (Chicago, IL) Sunday, April 19, 1874; “Arkansas” Memphis Appeal (Memphis, TN) Saturday, April 19, 1874
\item \textsuperscript{167} “The Rebellion” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874
\item \textsuperscript{168} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{169} “The Rebellion” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874; “Arkansas” Memphis Appeal, (Memphis, TN) Sunday, April 19, 1874; “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial
\end{itemize}
reinforcements for Baxter on April 18th.\textsuperscript{170} By the end of the day, Baxter had over 550 troops from various parts of the state – the north, the southwest, and central regions. Though Baxter's army outnumbered that of Brooks by two times on the 18\textsuperscript{th}, companies continued to arrive in Little Rock to join his army. Hundreds of new troops arrived on Monday, April 20\textsuperscript{th}. Soldiers arrived from Johnson, and Pope Counties in west central Arkansas, Clark County in southern Arkansas, and from Jackson County in northeastern Arkansas. The papers generally agreed on the numbers of men who arrived. The \textit{Commercial, Appeal, and Gazette} stated 350 men arrived together from Johnson and Pope Counties. The \textit{Appeal} described them as “three Baxter companies, numbering about three hundred and fifty men.”\textsuperscript{171} Only the Brooks-allied \textit{Republican} argued that less than this number arrived.\textsuperscript{172} Another 100 men joined Baxter's army from Arkadelphia in Clark County, southwest of Little Rock.\textsuperscript{173} Lastly, both the \textit{Republican} and the \textit{Gazette} reported the arrival of Phil Gatewood from Hot Springs, with eight men according to the \textit{Republican}, and “a company” according to the \textit{Gazette}.\textsuperscript{174}

The rapid growth of Baxter's army over the course of four days shows the wide support that he enjoyed over the state. Unlike Brooks, who during this period received reinforcements only from parts of Little Rock with large black populations, Baxter welcomed men from many different regions of the state. Much of his support came from

\begin{flushleft}(Cincinnati, OH) Sunday, April 19, 1874; “Civil War” \textit{Inter Ocean} (Chicago, IL) Sunday, April 19, 1874
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{171} “Little Rock” \textit{Memphis Appeal}, (Memphis, TN) Tuesday April 21, 1874; “The Arkansas War” \textit{Cincinnati Commercial} (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday April 21, 1874; “The Rebellion” \textit{Daily Arkansas Gazette}, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874
\textsuperscript{172} The paper stated that exactly 161 troops arrived. “The Insurrection” \textit{Little Rock Daily Republican}, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874
\textsuperscript{173} “The Arkansas War” \textit{Cincinnati Commercial} (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday April 21, 1874; “Arkansas Insurrection” \textit{Inter Ocean}, (Chicago, IL) Tuesday April 21, 1874
\textsuperscript{174} “The Insurrection” \textit{Little Rock Daily Republican}, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874; “The Rebellion” \textit{Daily Arkansas Gazette}, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874\end{flushleft}
white populations in central Arkansas, west of Little Rock. He received troops from
Johnson and Pope, counties located in west central Arkansas between Little Rock and
Fort Smith, and from Saline County, which is immediately west of Little Rock. He also
could count on men from Clark and Hot Springs, counties located southwest of Little
Rock. Baxter seemed to receive many of his troops from counties that were on the
eastern edge of the western mountain regions. Still, people in other regions of Arkansas
supported Baxter. Though temporary, 300 blacks from Jefferson County did march under
H. King White and Ferd Havis to join Baxter's force in Little Rock. Baxter also
commanded northeastern Arkansas, as he gathered troops from Batesville and Jackson
County. This wide support for Baxter across Arkansas gave him an early advantage in
manpower over Brooks. By April 20th, Baxter had an army of one thousand and fifty
troops, whereas Brooks's force stood at a paltry 475 men.

However, the truce on April 22nd reversed this balance of power. Baxter began to
send home a major portion of his force. The newspapers, unfortunately, only specified
one of the many individual units that Baxter sent home on the 22nd. As discussed in
Chapter Two, Baxter ordered H. King White and his troops to return to Pine Bluff,
probably due to the violence they caused the previous day.175 How many of King
White's troops disbanded after arriving at Pine Bluff, and how many remained in his
army? A certain portion of King White's black troops could have served in his force until
the end of the war. In a report on the Battle of New Gascony, the Memphis Ledger held
that King White's army contained “one company of colored infantry, numbering about
fifty muskets, in addition to the “one hundred white men” who served as his cavalry.176

175 “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Thursday, April 23, 1874
176 “Battle of New Gascony Memphis Ledger reprinted in Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR)
Nonetheless, when part of King White's force disbanded, some his troops chose to walk over thirty miles back to their homes instead of waiting for a river boat to shuttle them the next day, suggesting some disgust with the force. Even among those who left on the boat, the circumstantial evidence suggests that not many of them stayed in the force long enough to participate in the battle a week later. The simple fact that the composition of King White's force changed from a unit of 300 black soldiers to a unit of 200 white and black soldiers by the end of the war suggests that hundreds of black troops from his original force had dropped out over the course of the conflict.

King White's force was not the only unit sent home on April 22\textsuperscript{nd}. Over two dozen men from Hempstead requested transportation back to southwest Arkansas. The departure was an example of a larger exodus from the city, rather than an isolated incident. Estimates of Baxter's force from later in the war hint at a major reduction of troops on April 22\textsuperscript{nd}. The Commercial counted Baxter's force in Little Rock as only 300 men strong by May 1\textsuperscript{st}. Given that Baxter was reinforced by 200 total troops from Hempstead on April 27\textsuperscript{th} and April 30\textsuperscript{th}, this means that 900 of Baxter's 1,000 troops were sent home during the truce on April 22\textsuperscript{nd}. Because of this, the composition of Baxter's force changed substantially between the beginning and the end of the conflict. A different army fought for Baxter in May than in April, even if the two armies shared many of the same characteristics.
More troops from southwestern Arkansas joined Baxter's force in Little Rock after the truce. While troops who lived immediately east of the hilly regions of Arkansas filled Baxter's army before April 22nd, men from Hempstead County in the southwest and from different counties close to Little Rock joined Baxter's army after the truce. The consistency of Baxter's support from the southwest should not be understated. Unlike Brooks, who quickly depleted an area of willing volunteers for his army, Baxter could count on Hempstead County for troops throughout the conflict. Two companies arrived from there on April 27th and 30th, two more on May 7th and 10th. More white troops also joined his army from Lonoke County, east of Little Rock. Two companies of Lonoke troops arrived with the Hempstead troops on the 7th and 8th. Thus, though the composition of Baxter's army changed, Baxter still relied upon white men from central and southwestern Arkansas.

Black troops did join Baxter's army after the truce, though only at the end of the conflict. Numbering Baxter’s forces at around a thousand on May tenth, Horace Redfield noted that there were “no negroes with Baxter.” This ran contrary to another report from the Commercial that stated one hundred black soldiers had reinforced Baxter on May 5th from Perry County. What can account for this contradiction? By May 10th, Redfield had not yet seen Baxter's camp in the Anthony House. Once granted access into Baxter's lines on May 12th, Redfield found the black troops from Perry County interspersed with Baxter's white troops in large rooms in the Anthony House. Though

183 “The Arkansas Trouble” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Thursday May 8, 1874; “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Wednesday May 11, 1874; “Little Rock” Memphis Appeal (Memphis, TN) Tuesday May 12, 1874
184 Ibid.
186 “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday, May 6, 1874
Redfield stated that black troops were sent out to take shots at Brooks's forces, they had apparently not been sent out before the 12th; otherwise, Redfield would have seen them in the streets and reported that they were a part of Baxter's force. Therefore, Baxter's black troops probably were sequestered in the Anthony House since they arrived on May 5th.

This raises a larger question about the involvement of black troops in Baxter's force. While dozens of blacks died on Brooks' side throughout the war, not a single black soldier from Baxter's army was ever reported to be killed or wounded. This suggests that even when Baxter's army contained one or two companies of black soldiers (from April 18th to April 22nd and from May 5th to the end of the war) these soldiers were almost never ordered into combat. Redfield stated that the black soldiers in Baxter's army appeared to be around for “moral effect” rather than fighting. He might better have said “for political effect.” As William Gillette has argued, Baxter “began to recruit blacks in order to make a favorable impression on Washington,” and then only in May. This may be the truth, but it is not the whole truth. Baxter had no qualms with accepting King White's force of 300 black soldiers early in the conflict, until they threatened a clash with federal forces. One can hardly claim that recruiting 100 blacks from Perry County at the end of the war and allowing 100 black troops of King White's force to join him in Little Rock represented a major effort by Baxter to “make a favorable impression on Washington.”

Furthermore, if that was Baxter's goal, he did a poor job of informing his allies in

\[188\] Ibid.
\[189\] Gillette *Retreat from Reconstruction*, 141
the press. In the latter half of the war, the Little Rock *Daily Arkansas Gazette* had begun framing the conflict as one between whites on one side and “carpetbaggers” and blacks on the other. In the pursuit of this narrative, even the black allies of Baxter were not immune from disparagement by the *Gazette*. On the same day of the arrival of the black soldiers from Perry County, the *Gazette* attacked James T. White of Phillips County, who had so skillfully convinced the black population of the region to not raise troops for Brooks. Baxter's friends in the *Gazette* played on the racial fears of whites to rally them to Baxter's side. On May 2\textsuperscript{nd}, just one day after King White's victory at New Gascony, the *Gazette* published a letter from a person entitled “citizen” who claimed to have heard that Brooks's recruiters were “promising the colored people, as an inducement for them to enlist under Brooks's banner, that they should have the privilege of sacking and burning the city of Little Rock.” Another article in the same issue justified King White's attack on Brooks's supporters in New Gascony by claiming that Murphy and his black militia were seeking to “burn every house in [Pine Bluff].” These were chilling and significant statements, not because they were true – as they almost surely were not – but because they echoed the same kind of incitements to panic that the press elsewhere embarked upon as a preliminary to some massacre by whites of black Republicans. The pattern was so clear in past and future incidents that it is hard for one not to suspect an element of premeditation, a sort of preparing the ground by the white Democratic press for race war. Thus, while Baxter was open to recruiting black troops for his army, if

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{190} “Playing with Edged Tools” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*. (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, May 5, 1874  
\textsuperscript{191} “The Rebellion” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*. (Little Rock, AR) Saturday, May 2, 1874  
\textsuperscript{192} “The Rebellion” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*. (Little Rock, AR) Saturday, May 2, 1874. One can find very much the same kind of scaremongering in Louisiana in the spring of 1873 and summer of 1874, and in South Carolina before the Ellenton massacre in 1876. As the Chicago Tribune would comment some months later, “One day we are told that the negroes who are marching on Vicksburg or some other Southern city are of the most ferocious character and prodigious numbers; that they are impaling}
not deploying them, this was not a part of an overall strategy to appeal to the Grant administration. Instead, the opposite may have been true. The rabid Democrats of the *Arkansas Gazette*, who were the avid allies of Garland and supportive of Baxter, engaged the racial fears of Arkansan whites in order to corral them to Baxter's side.\(^{193}\)

Many commonalities can be seen between Baxter's army from before the truce and from his army after it. Both forces relied on whites, to one degree or another, from west central, central, and southwest Arkansas. Baxter had no problem recruiting soldiers from these regions, and they continued to stream into Little Rock even as Baxter was recognized by the legislature on May 11\(^{th}\).\(^{194}\) Certain regions also consistently supported Baxter throughout the conflict. Hempstead County sent him five companies of troops, arriving on April 18\(^{th}\), April 27\(^{th}\), April 30\(^{th}\), May 7\(^{th}\), and May 10\(^{th}\). In a conflict where keeping a standing army and showing one's presence is more important than winning battles, having a region that can consistently bolster one's force is a significant advantage. The lack of troops for Baxter from certain regions was also noteworthy. As argued in Chapter Two, the counties along the Mississippi River remained neutral in the conflict. Both Baxter and Brooks received very few troops from that region, and neither received an organized company for the area. Baxter also could not count on the northwest to support his cause. While Brooks received a company of troops from Fort Smith and ammunition from Fayetteville, not a single company was raised for Baxter from the

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\(^{193}\) George H. Thompson *Leadership in Arkansas Reconstruction* (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1968), 220

\(^{194}\) “The Arkansas War” *Cincinnati Commercial* (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday, May 12, 1874
northwest. Lastly, though Baxter received a few companies of black troops, they were never involved in significant combat and did not support him for the length of the war. Brooks's black troops, in contrast, were absolutely vital for him, if he was to maintain an army in the field. It would be misleading to argue that just because two or three hundred black troops supported Baxter at different points in the war that this represented a major commitment among black Arkansans to Baxter's cause. At most it showed some divisions among the black populations of the central counties. Taken as a whole, Baxter's army was composed of predominately white troops from southwest, central west, and central Arkansas.

Though it is useful to understand the regions that Baxter’s soldiers came from, it is also useful to understand who these individuals were. A list of 72 Baxterite soldiers can give more specific details about some of the combatants in Baxter's army. Out of the 72 soldiers, 44 came from states of the former Confederacy, and another eight came from Southern states of the Union. Among these 52 Southern soldiers, only one was black. Seventy-two percent of Baxter's soldiers, at least according to this list, were white Southern-born Arkansans. Though this probably underestimates the extent of white Southern support, considering those of foreign and Northern-birth were more likely to be counted because they lived in Little Rock, this data is probably much more representative of Baxter's army, than the data on Brooks's elite soldiers was for his army. While the data still overstates the role played by the elites, it can be said to be more representative of Baxter's force.

Though much of his army was composed of Southern-born white Arkansans, he had significant support from the small German-American community in Little Rock. On
May 5th, a volunteer all-German company was formed to aid Baxter. This German-American company was organized by Arnold Syberg, who had participated more significantly in earlier sections of the conflict. Syberg was an old member of the German community, 52 at the time of the conflict. Somewhat surprisingly, he was poor, having only $100, though he was an architectural engineer. He was respected throughout the community and had been involved in politics for seven years before the conflict, as a city recorder for the mayor of Little Rock and a candidate for justice of the peace in the 1872 election. Like the officers in Brooks's army then, Syberg gained his status in Baxter's army through his reputation in politics rather than simply his wealth. Syberg's fellow soldiers in the German-American Regiment had similar types of occupations as Syberg if not his same involvement in politics. Out of the eighteen soldiers found in the census, only one worked in agriculture, Martin Anderson, a farmer from Big Rock. Fifteen others were engaged in urban professions, while one lived at home. The last soldier kept house and was the only recorded female volunteer of Baxter's and Brooks's army. Tailors, shoemakers, grocers, and merchants were common in the company. The company had a strong urban character.

This force of German-American soldiers not only added diversity to Baxter's army. It was diverse within itself. The soldiers were born in many different regions of

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195 “The Rebellion: A Quiet Sabbath and a Serene Monday” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, May 5, 1874
196 He was reported to have been captured by Brooks's forces on May 1st. “The Contest” Little Rock Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, May 1, 1874
197 “Ordinance No. 50 Regulating the Size of Brick” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, March 21, 1867; “Election Returns, Pulaski County, November 5, 1872” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, November 7, 1872
198 S. Bloch, or Sarah Bloch, was a 46 year old woman and the only “S. Bloch” in all of Arkansas according to the 1870 census. Though it is highly doubtful that she fought in the conflict, it is interesting that the German community permitted her to be included in a publicly-recorded list of volunteers for the German-American company.
Germany and Central Europe, including Prussia, Hesse, Wurtenburg, Baden, Bohemia, and France (probably Alsace-Lorraine). A few were also born in Southern states but had fathers who were born in Germany. This does not even include the twenty-five other German soldiers who signed their names as volunteers for Baxter's army but could not be located in the census. It is possible that these Germans were not found because they had not immigrated to the United States by the time of the 1870 census.\textsuperscript{199} These soldiers also came from very different economic classes. Seven of the eighteen soldiers possessed less than $1,000 in wealth. But, another six were apart of households with more than $5,000 in wealth. Only two German soldiers sided with Brooks, while fourteen supported Baxter. The existence of this company for Baxter and the complete lack of German assistance for Brooks show a strong degree of German solidarity behind Baxter. The \textit{Republican} even subtly acknowledged this fact, writing many times of soldiers who fought “\textit{mit}” (the German word for with) Baxter.\textsuperscript{200}

\textbf{Table 4.2 - List of specific soldiers for Baxter – Race and region in Arkansas}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>North, Northwest, West</th>
<th>East, Southeast</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>South, Southwest</th>
<th>Northeast</th>
<th>Out of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 (Illinois and Louisiana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An examination of where specific soldiers resided reaffirms that Baxter was supported by white troops throughout the state, but especially from central Arkansas and a few counties in the southwest. In this list of soldiers, four came from Hempstead

\textsuperscript{199} The Franco-Prussian War might have led to temporarily increased immigration between 1870 and 1871.  
\textsuperscript{200} “Local Paragraphs” \textit{Little Rock Daily Republican}, (Little Rock, AR) Wednesday, May 13, 1874
County in the southwest and one from each of the nearby counties of Sevier and Lafayette, confirming Baxter's strong support from that region. Unlike the list of reinforcements at the beginning of the chapter, this list of specific soldiers suggests that Baxter may have received many additional troops from Little Rock. Discounting the twelve members of the German-American company from Little Rock who were reported in newspapers, another eighteen soldiers were from the city. The many soldiers from Little Rock in this list suggest that another company may have been organized there but never reported. It is possible that such soldiers were a part of the force of 600 men who reinforced Baxter at the end of the war. The list of soldiers also shows Baxter's wide support among whites throughout central Arkansas. Soldiers joined Baxter's army from Conway, Saline, White, Prairie, Dallas, and Pope, all counties close to Little Rock. It was due to such wide support among whites in the state that Baxter was able to bolster his army throughout the conflict.

The class structure of Baxter's troops overall is also worth examining. Baxter's soldiers were generally richer than the troops of Brooks's army. While the average mean wealth for Brooks's soldiers was $4,435, the average mean wealth for Baxter's soldiers was $7,118. A comparison of the wealth ranges of the armies of Brooks and Baxter can better show the major class differences between the two armies. As discussed in Chapter Three, many people from various classes made up Brooks's army. This was also the case for Baxter's soldiers. Table 4.3 shows a list of Baxter's soldiers' recorded wealth ranges. The average mean wealth of the group was $7,118. Information on five individuals could not be determined by the 1870 census.
Table 4.3 - Number and Percentage of Baxter’s Soldiers by Income Category (N=67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No reported income</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1 to $200</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$201 to $1,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,001 to $4,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,001 to $10,000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Soldiers of Baxter's army who were mentioned by name in the press were generally richer than those listed from Brooks's army. Twenty-one percent of this sample possessed more than $10,000 of wealth, while 15 percent of the sample of Brooks's soldiers had the same. Twenty-four percent of the Baxter soldiers had between $4,001 and $10,000 of wealth, while 23 percent of the listed Brooks soldiers had this much money. A starker difference between these lists of soldiers for Brooks and Baxter occurs at the lower income categories. Whereas eight of Baxter's soldiers had no income to their name, 12 of Brooks's soldiers also had no money. This divergence is solely due to the number of “farm laborers” in Brooks's force. Four of Brooks's soldiers were farm laborers with no money and none of Baxter's soldiers. Out of the eight Baxter soldiers with no wealth, only one of them was a farmer. Surprisingly, five of them held urban occupations: several clerks, a shoemaker, and one druggist. One would not associate druggists with poverty. It is much more likely that the census taker neglected to report income levels among these people. While certainly an average clerk living in Little Rock in 1870 was not rich, it is doubtful that he had no money to his name. In contrast to Baxter's soldiers, Brooks's poor soldiers were primarily laborers. Seven of his soldiers worked as laborers on farms or as urban laborers. It is much easier to imagine common laborers living day-by-day on wages, and therefore, having no real recordable wealth to
their name.

The implications of this analysis of the poor among Brooks's and Baxter's soldiers are important for understanding which classes supported each of their armies. As Chapter Three makes clear, the list of Brooks's soldiers highly overrepresented white elites in an army that also included substantial support from much poorer black Arkansans from Jefferson county who were not recorded in either newspaper. Nonetheless, the list of Brooks's soldiers and their income levels hints at the involvement of poor blacks in Brooks's army. The majority of the poor soldiers listed in the newspapers were, after all, black laborers on farms or in the city, and all of the poor soldiers listed worked jobs one would associate with the poor in 1870.\textsuperscript{201} Even an elite-biased data set can hint at the larger, and already well-proven, participation of poorer individuals. What is noticeable about the list of 72 soldiers is that it does not hint at a broader participation of poorer classes in Baxter's army. It is known that 300 black soldiers under H. King White did participate in Baxter's army, but as was discussed earlier, they largely disbanded only after a few days of being formed, and the closest they ever came to combat was marching in a rowdy parade through the streets of Little Rock. Because they left the army after only a few days, one cannot claim that these soldiers noticeably influenced or helped Baxter's cause in the war. In addition, a company of black soldiers from Perry County did participate in Baxter's army at the end of the conflict. But, according to Redfield's report and circumstantial evidence, they did not participate in any real combat. This raises an important question. If the only known contingents of poor soldiers abandoned Baxter within a few days or simply joined his army at the end of the war and a list of 72 soldiers does not hint at a participation of the poor in Baxter's army, is this elite-biased

\textsuperscript{201} Eight of the fourteen Brooks's soldiers with no money were black.
data a distorted sample of Baxter's army?

To answer this question it is necessary to look at where Baxter's forces came from in Arkansas. Hundreds of troops came from Hempstead County. Large contingents also were mustered from Johnson and Pope Counties. Only four of the individual members of the Hempstead forces and three of the Conway and Pope contingent appear in the list of 72 Baxter soldiers. This shows that the Gazette and the Republican probably recorded the names of Baxter's troops who lived in Little Rock more than those who came from outside the city. If there would be any hints of a mass of poorer Arkansans supporting Baxter, it would show up in the data of these soldiers who came from outside of the city. Three of the four soldiers from Hempstead came from households that had more than $2,000 in wealth, while the last soldier had $200. All four were predictably involved in farming. The three soldiers from Pope and Johnson Counties were both poor, though not destitute. The one from Pope County was a laborer with $100 in wealth. The two soldiers from Johnson held urban professions. One was a shoemaker with $100, while the other was a merchant with $220. Though this small slice of data does imply that poorer people were involved in Baxter's army than the evidence of the larger list, it does not imply that a mass of poor white sharecroppers rushed to Little Rock to aid Baxter. This bit of evidence does hint that large contingents of troops from counties outside of Pulaski probably included a much larger proportion of small farmers, though still not poor, than suggested by this list of 72 soldiers. Nonetheless, given the evidence, it can be concluded that elites played a much more important and larger role in Baxter's army than Brooks's force. This conclusion is only strengthened by studying the composition of

202 “The Insurrection” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, April 21, 1874; “The Rebellion” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, May 2, 1874
Baxter's officer corps.

Baxter's officers, like his soldiers, were rich compared to the general population.

The wealth of Baxter's officers is listed in Table 4.4. The average wealth of these officers was $7,931. The information of two individuals could not be determined in the 1870 census.

Table 4.4 - Number and Percentage of Baxter’s Officers by Income Category (N=67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,001 to $4,000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,001 to $10,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sixty-five percent of these Baxter officers possessed more wealth than the average Arkansan household, which was $941. This is in stark contrast to Brooks's officers, of who only 44 percent had more wealth than the average household in Arkansas. The number of rich Arkansans who led Baxter's army is particularly notable. Over one-fourth of the officers possessed more than $10,000, many much more than that. For instance, the infamous H. King White, the officer who imposed martial law on Jefferson County and won the largest battle of the conflict, held $28,500 in income and property. Augustus H. Garland, a former Confederate senator and prominent Democratic politician who held an officer’s commission under Baxter, had $13,000 of wealth. The wealthiest individual was Gordon N. Peay, a clerk in office courts, who had $80,000 to his name. Another 13 percent of Baxter's officers had between $4,001 and $10,000. In contrast, only 14 percent of Brooks's officers had or came from households with more than $10,000, and only 16 percent came from households with wealth between $4,001 and $10,000. While
roughly one-third of Brooks's officers had four times the income of the average Arkansan household, nearly one-third of Baxter's officers possessed ten times this average. The average mean wealth of Baxter's officers was twice the amount of the average mean wealth of Brooks's officers. Baxter's officers, on average, had $7,931 worth of property, while Brooks's officers had only $3,814. These elite among Baxter's officer corps were usually lawyers, farmers, or merchants. Four of his officers were farmers (though very rich farmers bordering on planters), four were lawyers, and five were merchants. These positions represented professions typical for the Arkansan elite. Therefore, while Brooks's officers gained their positions primarily through standing in the community or their level of involvement in the war, nearly all of Baxter's officers gained their positions through their elite status in society.

This comparison of wealth is vital for understanding the involvement of elites in Brooks's and Baxter's armies. While Brooks's army certainly had its share of wealthy elites, his officer corps had to rely on a large number of middle or lower class people to lead his army. As discussed in Chapter Three, over 50 percent of his officer corps possessed less than the average wealth of an average Arkansan family. Among Baxter's officers, only 33 percent had less than the average household income. Of those, the vast majority were small farmers or lawyers with small practices. John H. Thompson, a small farmer with $500 from Chicot County, was typical of these poorer officers of Baxter. The people who really ran Baxter's army and took positions of high command in the army were the white elite of Arkansan society, who were not coincidentally significantly involved in Democratic Party politics.

Robert C. Newton, a farmer with $9,500 to his name from Pulaski County, was
the general who coordinated Baxter's forces. He was the officer who commanded White
to act cautiously and insure the safety of the state treasury in Pine Bluff. Many of
Newton's aides were the wealthiest of Baxter's officers. Francis A. Terry, a planter from
Little Rock with $45,000 worth of property, was an aide-de-camp of Newton's staff.²⁰³  T.
J. Churchill, an insurance agent from Little Rock with $13,500 to his name, was
appointed Brigadier General in Baxter's army.²⁰⁴  W. H. Gibson was a dry goods
merchant from Conway County with $23,000 of wealth who was appointed both an aid
on Newton's staff and head of the state militia.²⁰⁵  Herbert H. Rottaken, a Prussian-born
liquor dealer in Little Rock with $16,000 of wealth, was appointed the inspector general
and the chief of ordinance, while Beall Hempstead, a lawyer whose household was worth
$10,000, was appointed assistant adjutant general.²⁰⁶  Roscoe G. Jennings, the richest
physician among Baxter's officer corps with $15,000, was granted the office of surgeon
general.²⁰⁷

This group of rich, influential Baxterites was also intimately involved with the
Democratic Party. Rottaken was the conservative candidate for the mayor of Little Rock
in the 1873 local elections.²⁰⁸  Gordon N. Peay headed the Democratic state central
committee, a position of significant power over the Democratic Party in Arkansas.²⁰⁹
And, of course, Augustus H. Garland was elected as the first Democratic governor after
Reconstruction. It is impossible to come up with the name of any prominent Republican
of equivalent rank in the Baxter army, nor, indeed, in any military capacity at all. As

²⁰³ “The Contest” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, May 1, 1874
²⁰⁴ Ibid.
²⁰⁵ “Items in Brief” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, April 30, 1874
²⁰⁶ “The Rebellion” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, May 7, 1874
²⁰⁷ Ibid.
²⁰⁸ “Progress of the Farce” Little Rock Daily Republican, (Little Rock, AR) Wednesday, May 6, 1874
²⁰⁹ “WE trust the attendance at the general meeting of the democratic state central committee...” Daily
Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, April 24, 1874
shown by these examples, Baxter's army was dominated and run by elite white Democrats from the wealthiest sections of society.

Most of these elite men, like many of Baxter's soldiers, came from central Arkansas, and specifically Little Rock. Out of the 141 soldiers and officers who were reported in newspapers, 54 came from Pulaski county, more than one third of the sample. Most of the Democratic elites, like Garland, Peay, Rottaken, Jennings, Hempstead, and Terry, came from Little Rock. A broader look at counties in central Arkansas shows that 76 of the 141 reported soldiers and officers came from this area, or a little more than half.210 Central Arkansas, and in particular Little Rock, was an important recruiting ground for Baxter.

There would have been no necessary reason why some wartime Unionists would not have supported Baxter; some of them, after all, had joined the Conservatives after the war. That only makes Baxter's lack of support among Arkansas Unionists and those who fought for the North more striking; the deficiency was most apparent among his officer corps. Whereas nearly half of Brooks's officer corps was composed of northern-born Arkansans, only one-tenth of Baxter's officers were. The bulk came from the South. Twelve were born in Missouri and Kentucky, and 46 were born in ex-Confederate states.211 Only one of Baxter's officers was black, Ferd Havis of Pine Bluff. He was involved in leading King White's army of three hundred blacks from Pine Bluff until they partly dissolved and were, for the most part, disbanded. The racial composition of the officer corps was the complete opposite of Brooks's force, where black officers probably led white soldiers and served alongside white officers. None of this, however, is

210 For definitions of what counties constituted “central Arkansas” refer to Map 1 in the Appendix.
211 This includes one from Indian Territory because the Cherokee Nation mostly sided with the South during the war.
surprising: as an article in the *Memphis Appeal* stated, “Baxter has appointed his State officers and military organization from the Bourbon Democracy and the chivalry of Arkansas.”\(^{212}\) Though Baxter's army was not solely a white Southern army, the white Southern elite gave it its distinctive tone.

The evidence presented in this chapter leads to a few important conclusions. First, Baxter's army did indeed come from a coalition of different groups of Arkansans. At the beginning and the end of the conflict Baxter even was able to count on some black recruits, largely from Jefferson County (early in the war) and Perry County (in the war’s closing phases). The German community of Arkansas also supported Baxter wholeheartedly. It provided no small amount of troops to Baxter’s force and earned the special thanks of the *Gazette* after Baxter's victory.\(^{213}\) With all that diversity, however, one particular group predominated. Some soldiers in Baxter’s army came from Pennsylvania or different kingdoms in what had by then become the German Reich. All the same, whites from west, central west, and southwest Arkansas formed the basis of Baxter's army. Rich and middle-class whites born in former Confederate states monopolized leadership positions in the army. Wealthier white Arkansans were much more likely to fight on Baxter's side, as opposed to Brooks's army where half of his officer corps possessed less than the average household income in Arkansas. Rich white Democrats held the major leadership positions in Baxter's army and dominated his officer corps.

In contrast to much of the literature on the Brooks-Baxter War, which portrayed it as a complicated conflict between two Republicans, conservative Democrats at the time

\(^{212}\) “Arkansas” *Memphis Appeal* (Memphis, TN) Sunday April 19, 1874

\(^{213}\) “Triumphant! Gov. Baxter Recognized!” *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock, AR) Saturday, May 16, 1874
knew just what was at stake and made no attempt to hide it. It was not the victory of one Radical over another, but the fate of Reconstruction itself.214 Baxter supporters declared on May 6th, “the first opportunity since reconstruction is now presented for the people to deliver themselves from the vandal oppressors.”215 The Van Buren Press in an article reprinted in the Gazette proclaimed, “Let there be no dilly-dallying, no cessation until the capitol of the state is once again occupied by one who has shown himself to be a true friend, of the manor born, and boldly declares for the redemption of the state from the tyranny that has so long bound her hand and foot.”216 For good reason, Arkansas Democrats backed Baxter without reservation and saw his victory as theirs, and, moreover, theirs for keeps. T. C. Flournoy, a Baxterite officer, implied the consequences of the war, saying that it represented the “political death-knell” of Baxter's opponents. John E. Burke of Helena was more direct, stating, “Clayton's followers are preparing to pack their carpet-bags.”217

These people celebrated Baxter's victory in the conflict as the end of Reconstruction because it was the end of Reconstruction. Past all of the smoke-screens and the complicated political dealings between 1872 and 1874, at its heart, Baxter's army was an army of “Redeemers,” seeking to thwart a desperate last attempt by Joseph Brooks and state Republicans to uphold Reconstruction. This was not an army of young

216 “Our Troubles Comments of the Press, with Random Comments of Our Own” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Friday, April 24, 1874
white supremacists, as in Louisiana, but primarily an army of white Arkansans led by the richest and most powerful Democratic politicians of the state who saw the war as the final battle to end Reconstruction. How fitting then that the leading Democratic paper in the state, the *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, printed the picture of a strutting rooster, the official emblem of the Democrats, below the headline - “Triumphant! Gov. Baxter Recognized!”

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CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

With the war won, Arkansas Democrats moved to consolidate their victory. H. King White and his subordinates maintained their control of Pine Bluff. A week after the end of the conflict, they arrested a few of Brooks’s supporters, including militia leader J. L. Murphy, who had been informally held since his capture after the Battle of New Gascony, and the sheriff of Jefferson County, James F. Vaughn, who sympathized with Brooks's cause but was not involved in the fighting of the conflict. Sheriffs Vaughn was accused of treason and jailed for a period of two weeks, while J. L. Murphy remained in jail until granted bail on June 24th. In Little Rock, the Democratic state legislature drafted a new constitution in July of 1874 and submitted it to a referendum in October. In the referendum, the people would also elect new state legislators for the General Assembly. Republicans decided to boycott the election, hoping for a federal intervention to sustain Brooks. Meanwhile, the Democrats swept into power.

Observing their own political destruction in the state, Arkansas Republicans desperately lobbied the Grant administration to intervene and sustain Joseph Brooks or Republican Lieutenant Governor Volney V. Smith. They hoped that President Grant would once again consider intervention in Arkansas or put pressure on the Poland Committee to decide in favor of Brooks. Though Grant had already ruled in favor of

222 William Gillette, Retreat from Reconstruction (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 145
Baxter, the current situation placed him in a dilemma. Arkansas was the second
Reconstructed state to rid itself of its “Radical” constitution (Tennessee being the first).
Arkansas Democrats ordered a new constitutional convention. The resulting document
carried that fall. This represented a major threat to Reconstruction because other
Southern states might learn from the easy success of the Redeemers in Arkansas and
follow its example, undermining civil rights for blacks and molding state institutions for
the benefit of Democrats.\footnote{Gillette, Retreat from Reconstruction, 145; “Bill Providing for a Constitutional Convention” Daily
Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Sunday, May 17, 1874} As Gillette notes, Democrats in North Carolina and
Mississippi “viewed Arkansas as a test case that would indicate the strength of the
administration's commitment to reconstruction and a Republican South.”\footnote{Gillette, Retreat from Reconstruction, 145}
Nonetheless, if Grant chose to intervene to prevent this political nightmare, he would have to fight
Northern public opinion and reverse his previous ruling sustaining Baxter. Time was of
the essence, as the Republicans would lose control of Congress by March 1875. Grant,
though, decided to wait for the decision of the Poland Committee.\footnote{Gillette, Retreat from Reconstruction, 146}

The committee, which had begun its work in June, 1874, was chaired by Vermont
representative Luke Poland, a lame duck in Congress.\footnote{“Arkansas Affairs” Daily Arkansas Gazette, (Little Rock, AR) Sunday, June 28, 1874; Gillette, Retreat from Reconstruction, 146}
The committee's purpose was to
determine who the real winner of the 1872 election had been. On February 6, 1875, the
Poland Committee finally reported. While the majority report admitted that Joseph
Brooks was denied his office in 1872 and held that the constitutional convention was of
questionable legality, it regarded the verdict of the referendum of the new Arkansas
constitution as conclusive, and the constitution itself as legitimate. The Poland Report
concluded, “the committee do not recommend any action by Congress, or by any other
department of the General Government, in regard to the State government in
Arkansas.” While J. D. Ward offered the minority opinion that maintained Brooks was
still the lawful governor of the state, the Poland Report dealt a major blow against
Brooks's supporters and Republicans advocating intervention in Arkansas.

Fearing that the replacement of the Arkansas state constitution would set a
precedent for like-minded Democrats in the South, Grant decided on one last-ditch effort
for intervention in Arkansas while he still commanded a Republican majority in
Congress. On February 8th Grant declared Brooks as the rightful governor of Arkansas
and declared that the Arkansas Constitution of 1868 had been unlawfully overthrown. He
encouraged Congress to take action. Newspapers across the North condemned Grant's
opinion and urged Congress not to heed it. Faced with questions from members of his
cabinet as to what the statement signified, Grant assured them that it was only a request
for Congress to clarify the matter not a declaration of a new military intervention in
Arkansas. Between press clamor and the able defense of the majority report by
Poland, the Republican-led House was brought to repudiate Grant's suggestion and adopt
the Poland Report. There would be no further intervention in Arkansas. In effect,
Republicans in Washington had recognized the legitimacy of the new constitution and the
authority of the newly-elected Democratic governor of Arkansas, Augustus H.

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227 House Report 127, “Condition of Affairs in the State of Arkansas,” 43d Cong. 2nd sess., 16
228 House Report 127, “Condition of Affairs in the State of Arkansas,” Minority Report. 43d Cong. 2nd
 sess., 70; Gillette, Retreat from Reconstruction, 176
229 Allan Nevins, Hamilton Fish: the Inner History of the Grant Administration Vol. 2 (New York, NY:
Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1936), 758
230 Gillette, Retreat from Reconstruction, 147
231 Nevins, Hamilton Fish, 759
Once federal intervention was ruled out and the Garland administration was recognized, Democrats wasted no time shaping state laws to increase their political power over the state and to give landowners more control over their primarily African-American labor. On March 6th, 1875, they approved a new labor law that accomplished exactly that. The law criminalized competition for labor, stating that employers could not “willfully interfere with, entice away, knowingly employ, or induce a laborer or a renter...to leave his employer, or the place rented.” Essentially, the law prevented plantation owners from participating in a free labor market. Ultimately, it benefited these plantation owners because it tied primarily black sharecroppers to their current employer, trapping them in a form of economic slavery.

The Brooks-Baxter War was responsible for the end of Reconstruction in Arkansas. However it was portrayed in the national press, however confusing the alignments seemed outside the state, the conflict really came down to a struggle between two forces, one that sought to preserve Reconstruction and another that sought to dismantle it. It was not a war between two factions of Republicans. As the racial make-up of the two sides helps corroborate, it was much nearer being a war between Democrats and Republicans. Each army had its own unique characteristics and represented alliances between many different groups and regions of the state. Brooks's army was diverse. Far from reflecting the conservative stereotype of Republicanism as the “Negro party,” that by 1874 had lost all native white support, it included soldiers and officers from many different backgrounds. Most black Arkansans firmly sided with Joseph Brooks because

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232 Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction*, 148
233 “General Assembly” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, (Little Rock, AR) Thursday, March 11, 1875
they knew the consequences of a continued Baxter governorship, and the northern-born Arkansans who joined Brooks's army accepted leadership roles because they knew this was their last chance to preserve Republican power in the state, as well as their Reconstruction programs. But it is well to note that Brooks could count on a substantial number of southern-born whites as well, particularly but not exclusively from the areas where wartime Unionism had been strong.

While Brooks's army was more diverse than portrayed in the historical literature, Baxter's army was less diverse. Historical literature has overstated how far black Arkansans supported Baxter. Most of the three hundred black troops who marched to Little Rock under the banner of H. King White seem to have fallen away from Baxter's cause after a few days and disbanded. Clearly, this was not their war. Only one hundred black soldiers from Jefferson County remained under King White's command, and they took no part in any fight after New Gascony. A company of black soldiers from Perry County reinforced Baxter later in the war but rarely, if ever, engaged in combat with Brooks's forces. The real heart and soul of Baxter's army were the rich white elite Democrats who monopolized its leadership roles and served in the ranks. Among those whose names can be found, which, as this paper has made clear, is a limited sample and one skewed towards the wealthier and more prominent participants, Baxter's white soldiers nonetheless were on average richer than their counterparts in Brooks's army. Baxter's officers were two times richer than Brooks's officers. Given the evidence, it is hard not to conclude that the Brooks-Baxter War was not only a political war, but one with racial and class dimensions.

Beyond dividing Arkansans by class, race, and birthplace, the war also divided
Arkansans by regions. The rich white elite of Little Rock, which included not just Southerners but also the mercantile German community, sided firmly with Baxter. Whites throughout most of Arkansas, with the exception for certain counties in northern and western Arkansas and a couple in southern Arkansas, joined the elite of Little Rock in supporting Baxter. Northern-born whites and a concentrated group of southern-born whites in Fort Smith and other western and northern towns leaned towards Brooks. While each side initially drew on the black population for central Arkansas, a clear majority of blacks there seem to have rallied to Brooks from the beginning to the end of the conflict – where they joined up at all (as the preponderant number did not). That support for Brooks was especially marked in the various townships around Little Rock. Had the black populations of the Arkansas Delta region not been persuaded -- sometimes forcibly -- to remain neutral in the conflict, the outcome might have been very different.

Still, the willingness of Baxter and his allies to recruit black soldiers to join the army and, more important, the success they had, limited though it was, both in the early and latter part of the conflict, suggest that Redemption in Arkansas differed from Redemptions elsewhere in the lower South. Whereas the Redemption forces in Louisiana were dominated by young white supremacists of White Leagues throughout the state and no serious attempt was made to break the color line in resisting Kellogg’s government after 1873, in Arkansas, the Redemption forces in Arkansas were led by white elite Democrats who were willing to recruit blacks for the war effort. While white elites in Baxter's army hesitated to use black troops in combat and may have meant them partly as a form of window-dressing and reassurance to the Grant Administration that a Baxterite

234 Justin A. Nystrom New Orleans After the Civil War (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 165
victory would not necessarily mean a rollback on Reconstruction, their presence in Baxter's army represents a key difference from Redemption movements in other Southern states, and the tone of the press only confirms that difference: elsewhere, where white supremacist rhetoric was more actively utilized. Nor were there the midnight attacks on blacks, the massacres of unarmed Republicans like those at Colfax and Coughatta, in Louisiana. They did not occur during the “war,” nor afterwards, when Democrats had undisputed control. Thus, in Arkansas, Redemption had a more moderate face than in Louisiana, Alabama, or Mississippi. This is not to say that Republican power in Arkansas lingered on. Its destruction was as complete as in many other Southern states. However, the willingness of Baxter and his allies to recruit black troops in order to overthrow Reconstruction and the lack of significant white supremacist rhetoric or the involvement of white supremacist organizations in Arkansas suggests a more moderate redemption.235

This thesis can point scholarship in new directions on the study of redemptions in the early and mid-1870s. The Brooks-Baxter War, the many divisions between Arkansans throughout the conflict, and the eventual redemption of the state raises questions about other redemptions throughout the South. What can be known about the rank and file in the paramilitary forces of Redeemers there? Did the elite white Democrats both control and fight in the Redemption forces as in Arkansas or were they less involved? Were the foot-soldiers of the Redeemers from a lower class than the organizers? What role did yeoman farmer whites play in other Redemptions? How far did the black population resisting Redemption in other states resemble those in Arkansas, where a minority of able-bodied men of military age mustered to defend Republican

235 Powell Clayton's successful campaign against the Ku Klux Klan in the Militia War of 1868 was probably a factor in the lack of involvement of white supremacist organizations in the Brooks-Baxter War.
leaders, while a majority, for reasons either within or beyond their control, took a more passive role? When there was armed resistance against the redeemers, who led this resistance and who were willing to actually engage in it? This work can provide a starting point for scholars to examine such questions in other Southern states.

The Brooks-Baxter War marked a major turning point in Arkansas. Some black Arkansans maintained the right to vote until the twentieth century and held a share of the local political offices in certain Delta towns, but through the 1874 constitution and the 1875 labor law, Democrats ensured the practical end of black political power in the state. After all, elite Democrats only needed to stack the deck against blacks, not disenfranchise them outright. In the end, white Arkansan Democratic elites opposed “negro and carpetbagger rule” not black voting. If blacks wished to vote the Democratic ticket, Democrats in 1874 would have gladly taken their vote. It was only with the coming of a nationwide belief among whites in scientific racism that Arkansan whites would change their opinion and fully exclude blacks from the political sphere. Still, the Brooks-Baxter War undoubtedly was the pivotal turning point in destroying the political muscle of African-Americans in the state.

Facing the imminent victory of Baxter's forces, J. L. Murphy, the Brooksite who led the failed rebellion against H. King White's martial law in Jefferson County, penned a desperate letter to President Grant. He said that the “alarm is indescribable” among the black community in Arkansas who worried that Baxter would be granted the governorship. Unfortunately for black Arkansans, their fears were well-founded.

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| Number of Forces | County       | Region | Race                   | Date Arrived / Date Fought / or Date Left | Joined Brooks's army in Little Rock?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>More than half black 238</td>
<td>April 18th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Pulaski – Eastman</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 20th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~225</td>
<td>Pulaski – Campbell</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 20th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 23rd</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~150</td>
<td>Hot Springs</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Half white, half black</td>
<td>April 24th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>St. Francis</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>April 24th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-150</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 29th</td>
<td>Left for Jefferson County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>April 30th</td>
<td>Fought in county 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~120</td>
<td>Sebastian</td>
<td>Northwest</td>
<td>Unknown, but possibly 60 white and 60 blacks.</td>
<td>May 2nd</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>May 4th</td>
<td>Dispersed in county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Memphis, TN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>May 7th</td>
<td>Organized but were dispersed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>May 11th</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

papers say the middle initial of Murphy's name is M. He was found in the census with a middle initial of L, and the article accusing him of treason stated his middle name began with a L.

238 A report from the Cincinnati Commercial describes Brooks's force as “mostly colored.” “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Sunday April 19, 1874

239 This table deceptively suggests that the army that left Little Rock on April 29th was the same force that fought in Jefferson County on the 30th. This is not the case. John M. Clayton led the force that departed for his plantation in Pine Bluff, while J.L. Murphy was simultaneously organizing a new force in Jefferson County to oppose H. King White's martial law in the county.
Table 3.2 - Number of Soldiers for Brooks by Race and region in Arkansas\(^{240}\) (N=58)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>North, Northwest, West</th>
<th>East, Southeast</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>South, Southwest</th>
<th>Northeast</th>
<th>Out of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (Louisiana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 – Number and Percentage of Brooks’s Soldiers by Income Category (N=53)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No reported income</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1 to $200</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$201 to $1,000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,001 to $4,000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,001 to $10,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 – Number and Percentage of Brooks Officers by Income Category (N=68)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No reported income</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1 to $200</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$201 to $1,000</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,001 to $4,000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,001 to $10,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{240}\) Regions are based on Map 1 in the Appendix V.
### Table 3.5 – Occupations of Brooks Officers by Number and Percentage (N=76)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Laborer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw Mill Owner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Profession</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer/Attorney</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk Chancery Court</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judge Police Court</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Enforcement</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheriff</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Marshall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Deputy Marshall</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and Industry</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railroad Agent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent for Manufacturing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Agent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Found</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeper</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saloonkeeper</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk (different kinds)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Censs Taker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel Proprietor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physician</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas State Treasurer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railroad Worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### List 3.1 – Occupations of Brooks Soldiers by Number (N=58)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Laborer</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill worker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Profession</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer/Attorney</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Enforcement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jailor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and Industry</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Merchant – 5
Revenue Collector – 1

Other – 14
Hotel-keeper – 1
Butcher – 1
Clerk (all kinds) – 3
Railroad Laborer – 1
Saloon keeper – 1
City Recorder – 1
Physician – 1
Grocer – 1
Carpenter – 1
Levee Worker – 1
Shoemaker – 1
Warehouse Worker – 1

Not Known/No profession – 10
underage – 8
occupation not listed – 1
unemployed – 1

List 3.2 – Residence and Birthplace of Brooks soldiers (N=58)

Place of Residence

Pulaski – 8 C
Ouachita – 5 S
Jefferson – 3 C
Sebastian – 6 NW
Yell – 5 C
Columbia – 3 SW
Crawford – 1 NW
Scott – 1 W
Benton – 1 NW
Union – 3 S
Drew – 3 SE
Ashley – 1 SE
Searcy – 1 N
Lawrence – 1 NE
Washington – 2 NW
White – 2 C
Calhoun – 1 S
Saline – 1 C
Madison – 2 NW
Desha – 1 SE
Arkansas – 2 E
Conway – 2 C
Independence – 1 N
Caddo, Louisiana – 1
Polk – 1

Birthplace

Former Confederacy Southern States – 42
Georgia – 3
Virginia – 2
Tennessee – 11
North Carolina – 3
South Carolina – 2
Arkansas – 17
Alabama – 3
Mississippi – 1

Non – Confederacy Southern States - 3
Kentucky – 1
Maryland – 1
Missouri – 1

Northern States - 7
New York – 3
Illinois – 1
Ohio – 2
Indiana – 1

Other Countries - 6
Hesse – 1
Prussia – 1
Ireland – 3
Switzerland – 1

List 3.3 - Residence and Birthplace of Brooks officers (N=76)

Place of Residence

Pulaski – 33 C
Jefferson – 4 C
Sebastian – 8 NW
Yell – 2 C
Columbia – 1 SW
Crawford – 1 NW
Union – 1 S
Drew – 2 SE
White – 2 C
Madison – 1 NW
Desha – 1 SE
Arkansas – 1 E
Conway – 1 C
Independence – 1 N
Izard – 1 N
Sharp – 1 N
Clark – 1 S
Hempstead – 2 SW
Prairie – 3 C
Hot Springs – 2 W
St. Francis – 3 E
Dallas – 1 S
Woodruff – 1 E
Boone – 1 N
Franklin – 1 NW

Birthplace

Former Confederacy Southern States - 33
Georgia – 4
Tennessee – 10
North Carolina – 1
South Carolina – 3
Arkansas – 10
Alabama – 1
Mississippi – 1
Cherokee Nation – 1
Louisiana – 2

Non – Confederacy Southern States - 8
Kentucky – 5
Maryland – 1
Missouri – 2

Northern States - 29
New York – 9
Illinois – 2
Ohio – 4
Maine – 1
Indiana – 2
Michigan – 1
Pennsylvania – 3
Vermont – 3
Massachusetts – 2
New Jersey – 1
Iowa – 1

Other Countries - 6
Ireland – 2
England – 2
Canada – 2
### APPENDIX II – DATA ON THE ARMY OF ELISHA BAXTER

#### Table 4.1 – Reinforcements for Baxter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Force</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Date Arrived / Date Fought / Date Left</th>
<th>Joined Baxter's army in Little Rock?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Pine Bluff</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>April 18(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 18(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Saline</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 18(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 18(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>Johnson+Pope</td>
<td>central/west</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 20(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 20(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>northeast</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 20(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~50</td>
<td>Hot Springs</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 20(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-300</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>April 23(^{rd})</td>
<td>Left Little Rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 27(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>April 30(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>Half white/half black</td>
<td>April 30(^{th})</td>
<td>Fought in county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Perry</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>May 5(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Pulaski</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 5(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Lonoke</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 7(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 7(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Hempstead</td>
<td>southwest</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 10(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Lonoke</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 10(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Faulkner</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 11(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>many different counties (^{241})</td>
<td>all over</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>May 11(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>parrot guns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>May 13(^{th})</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{241}\) The counties were not listed by the Commercial report. “The Arkansas War” Cincinnati Commercial (Cincinnati, OH) Tuesday, May 12, 1874
Table 4.2 - Number of Soldiers for Baxter by Race and region in Arkansas (N=72)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>North, Northwest, West</th>
<th>East, Southeast</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>South, Southwest</th>
<th>Northeast</th>
<th>Out of State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 (Illinois and Louisiana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 - Number and Percentage of Baxter’s Soldiers by Income Category (N=67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No reported income</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1 to $200</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$201 to $1,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,001 to $4,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,001 to $10,000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4 - Number and Percentage of Baxter’s Officers by Income Category (N=67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No reported income</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1 to $200</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$201 to $1,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,001 to $4,000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,001 to $10,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List 4.1 – Occupations of Baxter Soldiers by Number (N=72)

**Agriculture - 22**
- Farmer – 20
- Planter – 1
- Farm Laborer – 1

**Legal Profession – 4**
- Lawyer/Attorney – 4

**Law Enforcement – 0**

**Newspapers - 0**

**Commerce and Industry – 9**
- Merchant – 4
- Manufacturer – 1
- Dealer in Dry Goods – 1
- Accountant – 1
- Railroad Contractor – 1
- Dealer in Variety Goods – 1

**Other – 27**
- Boatman – 1
- Baker – 1
- Druggist – 1
- Clerk (all kinds) – 6
- Laborer – 2
- Saloonkeeper – 1
- Physician – 3
- Grocer – 4
- Carpenter – 2
- Engineer – 1
- Keeps House – 1
- Tailor – 1
- Boilermaker – 1
- Shoemaker – 2

**Not Known/No profession – 10**
- Underage – 6
- Occupation not listed/not known – 3
- Unemployed – 1
List 4.2 – Occupations of Baxter officers by Number (N=69)

Agriculture - 18
Farmer – 17
Planter – 1

Legal Profession – 12
Lawyer/Attorney – 12

Law Enforcement – 0

Newspapers - 3
Printer – 1
Editor – 2

Commerce and Industry – 14
Merchant – 7
Dry Goods Merchant – 3
Accountant – 1
Liquor Dealer – 1
Insurance Agent – 1
RR Contractor

Other – 19
Hotel Keeper – 1
Steamboat man – 1
Pilot – 1
Clerk (all kinds) – 5
Laborer – 1
Physician – 4
Book-keeper – 2
Barber – 1
Carpenter – 1
Works in Saw Mill – 1
Architectural Engineer – 1

Not Known/No profession – 3
At school – 2
Unreadable – 1
List 4.3 - Residence and Birthplace of Baxter soldiers (N=72)

Residence

Pulaski – 32 C
Ouachita – 2 S
Sebastian – 1 NW
Benton – 2 NW
White – 1 C
Calhoun – 1 S
Saline – 2 C
Conway – 1 C
Independence – 1 N
Randolph – 1 NE
Phillips – 2 SE
Boone – 2 N
Van Buren – 1 N
Prairie – 2 C
Hempstead – 4 SW
Lafayette – 1 SW
Sevier – 1 SW
Woodruff – 1 E
Carroll – 1 N
Jackson – 1 NE
Cross – 1 E
Illinois (Out of state) – 1
Louisiana (Out of state) – 1
Johnson – 2 W
Monroe – 1 E
Dallas – 1 S
St Francis – 1 E
Pope – 1 C
Mississippi – 1 E
Greene – 1 NE
Chicot – 1 SE

Birthplace

Former Confederacy Southern States - 45
Georgia – 2
Virginia – 3
Tennessee – 10
North Carolina – 1
South Carolina – 2
Arkansas – 22
Alabama – 3
Mississippi – 1
Louisiana – 1

Non – Confederacy Southern States - 8
Kentucky – 3
Maryland – 2
Missouri – 3

Northern States - 8
Maine – 1
Massachusetts – 1
Pennsylvania – 5
Indiana – 1

Other Countries - 11
Hesse – 2
Prussia – 4
Wurtenburg – 1
France – 1
Baden – 1
Bohemia – 1
Germany – 1

List 4.4 - Residence and Birthplace of Baxter officers (N=69)

Residence

Pulaski – 21 C
St. Francis – 1 E
Jefferson – 9 C
Columbia – 2 SW
Lawrence – 1 NE
Clark – 1 C
Chicot – 2 E
Drew – 1 SE
Saline – 2 C
Arkansas – 2 E
Conway – 3 C
Independence – 4 N
Woodruff – 4 E
Cross – 1 E
Johnson – 3 W
Monroe – 1 E  
Dallas – 1 C  
Pope – 1 C  
Hot Springs – 1 W  
Perry – 2 C  
Mississippi – 1 E  
Pike – 1 SW  
Fulton – 1 N  
Hempstead – 1 SW  
Washington – 1 NW  

Shelby, Tennessee – 1  

Birthplace  

**Former Confederacy Southern States - 46**  
Georgia – 3  
Virginia – 6  
Tennessee – 11  
North Carolina – 5  
Arkansas – 16  
Mississippi – 4  
Alabama – 1  

**Non – Confederacy Southern States - 12**  
Kentucky – 9  
Missouri – 2  
Maryland – 1  

**Northern States - 6**  
Maine – 2  
New Jersey – 1  
New York – 2  
Michigan – 1  

**Other Countries - 4**  
Canada – 1  
Prussia – 2  
Germany – 1  

unreadable – 1
### Comparison Table by Region in Arkansas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population of Armies by Region</th>
<th>Brooks’s Soldiers</th>
<th>Brooks’s Officers</th>
<th>Baxter’s Soldiers</th>
<th>Baxter’s Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North/Northwest/West</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South/Southwest</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East/Southeast</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of State</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>58</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Comparison Table by Birthplace

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace of Troops</th>
<th>Brooks’s Soldiers</th>
<th>Brooks’s Officers</th>
<th>Baxter’s Soldiers</th>
<th>Baxter’s Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Former Confederate States</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Confederate Southern States</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern States</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*one is illegible

### Comparison Table by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Brooks’s Soldiers</th>
<th>Brooks’s Officers</th>
<th>Baxter’s Soldiers</th>
<th>Baxter’s Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black or mulatto</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>58</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Comparison Table by Monetary Wealth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monetary Wealth of Troops</th>
<th>Brooks’s Soldiers</th>
<th>Brooks’s Officers</th>
<th>Baxter’s Soldiers</th>
<th>Baxter’s Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Wealth of entire group</td>
<td>$483,950</td>
<td>$263,145</td>
<td>$469,756</td>
<td>$531,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Wealth per troop</td>
<td>$4,435</td>
<td>$3,870</td>
<td>$7,118</td>
<td>$7,931</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX IV - METHODOLOGY

In order to reconstruct the composition of Brooks's and Baxter's armies, I have adopted a two-tiered approach. I, first, compiled a general list of reports of reinforcements for Brooks and Baxter. For this, I used multiple newspapers, both in Arkansas and around the country. I found the Cincinnati Commercial and, at times, the Inter Ocean to provide the most comprehensive coverage of the war among Northern newspapers. The Memphis Appeal also provided useful reports, especially at the beginning of the conflict. Lastly, I examined the Daily Arkansas Gazette and the Daily Little Rock Republican, both based in Little Rock, to find records of smaller detachments that may not have been recorded in other newspapers around the nation.

These two local Arkansas papers were also useful for finding specific names of soldiers and officers who participated directly in either Brooks's or Baxter's army.\(^{242}\) After locating these names in the papers, I attempted to find them in the 1870 census and recorded the income, race, birthplace, age, and residence of those found. From there, I divided the lists of participants into officers and soldiers. Dividing the names based on their support of Joseph Brooks or Elisha Baxter was clear, however, classifying them as officers or soldiers was not. For instance, should a doctor working for Brooks or Baxter be considered an officer or a soldier? What about a militiaman who entered the war as a soldier in the beginning of the conflict but was promoted to an officers' position by the

\(^{242}\) National newspapers only reported names that had already been reported first in the Republican and the Gazette. The Cincinnati Commercial and the Poland Report were useful for confirming the involvement of certain soldiers or officers, but were generally only useful in conjunction with the local newspapers.
end? How about soldiers or officers who switched sides in the middle of the conflict?

For the purpose of organizing this large list of names, I set two arbitrary rules for classifying a combatant as an officer or a soldier. If the person was a public figure in the local community and had held public office, or the person clearly held a leadership position during the war, then he would have been classified as an officer. For instance, a “John T. Bull” sustained Elisha Baxter and was the sheriff of Hempstead County. Because Bull held a public office and had a leadership position in the community, I classified him as an officer in Baxter's militia, even though there is no evidence that he commanded troops. Likewise, a Captain R. A. Donnelly of Fort Smith, who supported Brooks, did not have the clear and obvious public standing of John T. Bull, but according to reports was actively involved in the Fort Smith contingent of Brooks’s army, was granted the title of captain, and did lead men into battle. For classification purposes, he was listed as an officer in Brooks’ army. If either of these conditions were met, I considered the person an officer; if not, then he was categorized as a soldier. Thus, under this rubric, for example, although a physician would perhaps be a public figure, he would not be classified as an officer, unless he had been promoted to surgeon general of the militia or had held public office. Meanwhile, a regular militiaman promoted to a leadership position was considered an officer for the purposes of this data set. Lastly, for the few soldiers who switched sides in the middle of the conflict, I categorized them by which side they supported at the end of the conflict.

Throughout the war, the distinction between the rank of an officer and a soldier was loosely determined. Both sides easily and generously granted military ranks to their militias, sometimes formally, or informally. If a person brought fifty men with him, then
they would be granted the title of Captain or Colonel. In contrast, General James P. Fagan, a Confederate general in the Civil War, formally appointed officers and specifically set up a command structure later in the conflict. An excellent example of this was the First Regiment of the Arkansas State Militia. The appointment of thirty two officers of the First Regiment was announced in the *Little Rock Daily Republican* on May 4th.243 This sort of formal commission of officers in the war was rare but did happen. Still, it is not clear that even these officers ever commanded men or were simply chosen to be informal leaders in the regiment. Regardless of how well-known they were, or how they received their ranks, officers from both sides in the Brooks-Baxter War were similar to their soldiers in race, background, and income. In Baxter's army, where many soldiers were from more upper classes, the officers also were from these classes. In Brooks's army, where soldiers came from certain counties, the officers also lived in these counties. Though the differences between soldiers and officers were small they still existed. Officers in Baxter's army were richer than the soldiers, and officers in Brooks's army held more prestigious positions in society, either politically or professionally.

The German-American Regiment of Baxter's army raises another interesting methodological problem. It was stated in the *Gazette* that this regiment would elect officers.244 Because this regiment was raised in Little Rock and the Little Rock based *Gazette* was able to report on how officers in this specific regiment were chosen, it raises the possibility that officers were also elected in other regiments across the state. This democratic method of choosing officers would have been a natural way to determine


244 “The Rebellion: A Quiet Sabbath and a Serene Monday” *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, (Little Rock, AR) Tuesday, May 05, 1874
officers given the ad-hoc nature of the recruiting during the conflict. Using a democratic process also would have suggested a level of equality within the regiments, again reinforcing the earlier premise that the backgrounds of the soldiers and officers in this conflict were similar. Inferences made from the information obtained about officers in this conflict may, in some cases, be just as applicable to the average Brooks-Baxter soldier than what would be considered typical of larger wars and conflicts. Therefore, because the research suggests that officers were probably similar to the soldiers they were commanding, a larger data set can be used to profile the average Brooks and Baxter soldiers.

Every name on the list was not always found in the 1870 census, and in some cases, there were several people with the same name. Given the best information available, educated guesses were made to determine which person was the most likely between similar or identical names. For example, if the newspaper source identified that the person was from Jefferson County, and two people of the same name were found in the census from Yell and Pulaski Counties, the data about the person from Pulaski County was reported because of the proximity to Jefferson County as originally stated in the newspaper account. Careful consideration was given to the names found in the 1870 census to obtain the most accurate data for the purpose of analysis.
This map shows how the regions of Arkansas have been categorized for the purposes of this paper. Some of these regions may appear oddly shaped or created for the convenience of argument. This is not the case. The reasons for these divisions are primarily geographical. The reason for the North, Northwest, and West of Arkansas to be combined into one region is because all of these areas were dominated by mountain ranges, the Ouachitas in the West, the Bostons in the Northwest, and the Ozarks in the North. For instance, Hot Springs County, labeled HS on the map and in red, has been defined as a part of this region, even though it is closer to the center of Arkansas than Pope County. This is because Hot Springs was surrounded on all sides by mountains. Similarly, the East and Southeast have been combined because they both contain the Arkansas Delta. I have, lastly, combined the South and the Southwest based off of George H. Thompson's analysis of Arkansas geography.245

Map Key - Purple = Central Areas
Red = North, Northwest, and West
Orange = Southwest and South
Green = East and Southeast
Pink = Northeast

245 George H. Thompson, Leadership in Arkansas Reconstruction (PhD, diss., NY: Columbia University, 1968), 4
Map 1 – Region Map of Arkansas
Map 2 – Map of Brooks's and Baxter's Reinforcements

This map plots the reinforcements that Brooks and Baxter received over the course of the conflict. The map only plots based off the numbers of the soldiers not the percentages. In cases where both Brooks and Baxter gained soldiers from the same county, the county is colored gray, unless one claimant's soldiers outnumbered the other by two times. This was the case, for instance, in Pulaski County where Brooks's soldiers were more numerous than Baxter's.

Map Key -

- Pink = less than 100 soldiers for Baxter
- Light Red = 100-199 soldiers for Baxter
- Dark Red = 200 or more soldiers for Baxter
- Sky Blue = less than 100 soldiers for Brooks
- Light Blue = 100-199 soldiers for Brooks
- Blue = 200 or more soldiers for Brooks
- Light Gray = less than 200 soldiers for each
- Dark Gray = 200 or more soldiers for each side
Map 2 – Map of Brooks's and Baxter's Reinforcements
Map 3 – Map of Brooks's and Baxter's Officers

This map is like map 2 except it plots Brooks's and Baxter's officers from the data in the Appendices.

Map Key – Pink = 1-4 officers for Baxter
Red = 5-10 officers for Baxter
Dark Red = 11+ officers for Baxter
Sky Blue = 1-4 officers for Brooks
Light Blue = 5-10 officers for Brooks
Blue = 11+ officers for Brooks
Gray = 1-4 officers for Brooks and Baxter (but not two times either)
Dark Gray = 5+ officers for Brooks and Baxter (but not two times either)
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