CHAPTER FOUR

The Blue Raiders and the Gray Wizard

A Struggle with Memory and Identity

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The opening of Middle Tennessee State Normal School in 1911 promised to reinvigorate Murfreesboro's economy and rekindle its rich educational heritage that the Civil War had nearly extinguished. The town's selection to host one of the state's normal schools also offered the community a chance to reshape the town's identity from one of lost causes to new-found opportunities. Yet, lingering controversies over the use of Confederate iconography as part of the school's persona, most notably the infamous Confederate cavalryman Nathan Bedford Forrest, challenged the school's community allegiances and complicated the institution's transition from a rural teachers' academy to a nationally recognized research university.

Tennessee's present tranquility belies its violent past. The complex relationships between warfare and culture are embedded in nearly every community within its borders, a product of Tennessee's warrior-statesman tradition and the prodigious response of its citizens to any call to arms. Few places demonstrate the influence of these relationships more than Murfreesboro. Founded by veterans on Revolutionary War land grants, Murfreesboro stands in the heart of the Volunteer State and served for several years as the state's capital. By 1860, Murfreesboro was a burgeoning political, commercial, and educational center hosting a number of state politicians, a few thriving industries, and several renowned academies and colleges. But war irrevocably scarred Murfreesboro's physical and psychological landscape. Caught in the vortex of the Civil War, this strategically located town was the target of several Confederate raids and arguably the site of the conflict's bloodiest and most crucial battles.[1]

The Civil War dominated Murfreesboro's public memory and impeded its postwar recovery. Despite its strong antebellum record of educational development, Murfreesboro largely forgot the studies of a young James K. Polk and John Bell at the distinguished Bradley Academy and, after languishing throughout Reconstruction, the three colleges that had sprung up in the town's environs before the war teetered on the verge of dissolution. Murfreesboro's wartime tribulations also weighed heavily upon its residents' psyche. Many locals still harbored pro-Confederate proclivities 50 years after Appomattox, as they vividly recalled Federal "mutilations" upon them (or their relatives) and their town. Evidence of the war was still visible in 1909, when officials inspected potential sites around the town for a new normal school. Decades-old battle damage on buildings, the deteriorating earthworks of Fortress Rosecrans, as well as the public square's prominent Confederate monument served as constant reminders of the war's tragic effects upon Murfreesboro. With these specters of war hovering over them, citizens had made the conflict a centerpiece of the town's public memory and identity, even as a wave of reconciliation swept over the country in the 1890s.[2]

THE NAMING OF THE FIRST TWO DORMITORIES

Murfreesboro aggressively sought, and ultimately received, the opportunity to host one of the state's regional normal schools at the turn of the twentieth century. With an inaugural class comprised largely of aspiring local educators and little infrastructure to build upon, Middle Tennessee State Normal School (MTN) relied upon community support, and officials quickly began integrating the institution into the community. Normal's lone female dormitory was at capacity at its opening, and the male students were without campus housing. As a solution, administrators rented two houses near campus in 1912, and converted them into dormitories to accommodate the relatively small number of men attending the predominately female school.[3] MTN named these residence halls for notable Murfreesboro Civil War-era-related figures. Their choices appeared to be a way to link the town and the school, an important development given Normal's absence of traditions, the preponderance of local residents attending the school, and the concurrent Civil War golden anniversary celebrations.

One dorm was christened Craddock Hall in honor of local author Mary Noailles Murfree, whose pen name was Charles Egbert Craddock. Born in 1850, she was a descendent of the namesake of Murfreesboro and had gained celebrity as a "local color" author writing several fictional works, typically set in Tennessee. Among her first literary laurels was *Where the Battle Was Fought*, a Reconstruction-era novel that highlighted the Civil War's integral role in Murfreesboro's postwar identity and described Grantland, the Murfree's family home northwest of town that had been destroyed in the conflict. At the time, Murfree had recently returned to Murfreesboro where she lived until her death in 1922.[4]

The other dormitory was named Forrest Hall, in homage to Confederate cavalry commander and local legend, Nathan Bedford Forrest. Forrest had earned his laurels

as a wily and fearsome combat commander during his daring raid on Murfreesboro 50 years earlier. Curiously, Forrest's lack of formal education was among his most noted attributes. This "untutored genius" had emerged as one of the South's most prominent antebellum businessmen and slavetraders, and during the war this "wizard of the saddle" often defeated better-educated and West Point-trained opponents. His mercurial personality and popularity among the southern populace also earned him the enmity of the West Point clique within the Confederate Army, who often ostracized Forrest, and left him to conduct independent commands and raids. Forrest's role in the racial atrocities at the 1864 Fort Pillow Massacre severely tainted his postwar reputation, and a number of bad Reconstruction-era investments left him practically destitute. Until his death in 1877, he remained largely an unrepentant Confederate whose reported affiliation as the first Grand Wizard of the emerging Ku Klux Klan (KKK) saw him hauled before Congress to testify about the increasingly disturbing levels of southern racial violence. In hindsight, naming a college building after someone with little or no academic credentials and a controversial past may appear unusual and inappropriate, even if it was simply a dormitory. But the circumstances and timing of events surrounding MTN's establishment and the cultural imperatives of a lost cause ideology overrode any concerns about its potential legacy. It unknowingly set in motion a series of events that later clouded the school's identity and tested its bonds with community.[5]

MIDDLE TENNESSEE'S "BLUE RAIDERS"

Middle Tennessee State Normal changed significantly over the course of the next 20 years. The campus and community prospered in the 1920s and, as a result of this growth and the success of its graduates, MTN expanded, constructing numerous buildings and hiring more faculty to accommodate increasing enrollments. As the normal school concept gradually fell out of favor and a more comprehensive four-year curriculum for teacher training became the vogue in education, Middle Tennessee State Normal became Middle Tennessee State Teachers College (STC) in 1925. The new STC clung tenaciously to the lost cause identity prominent in the period. The 1930 *Midlander* yearbook paid homage to the Old South and the Civil War. The editor wrote that the "Old South is gone but today its ideals, culture, traditions, manners and chivalry remain…[and have] served as an inspiration to the student body since the birth of this college." Graduates of southern colleges, he continued, have an almost sacred mission "to live and work for a greater South and greater America." The foreword recalled that into "balmy Dixie came the deep-throated growlings and ravages of that monster called War" and afterwards "came new people to build a new and greater South." The endpapers featured slaves picking cotton on a plantation, and the borders of the pages included steamboats, cotton bales, and the flags of the Confederacy and United States. The yearbook also featured, interspersed with quotes from Henry W. Grady's 1886 speech lauding the "New South," images from the Stones River National Battlefield and paintings of Southerners standing

amidst the ruins of war. One image even depicted a white-hooded klansmen riding through a desolate, war-scarred forest at night. The staff dedicated the yearbook to Miss Katherine Monohan, the *Midlander* faculty advisor and history instructor, who was, they declared, the epitome of the Southern lady.[6]

The connection between the traditions of the Old South and the school may have served as a palliative for a campus suffering under severe economic distress. The Great Depression led to declining enrollments and financial retrenchment for STC, and students and staff looked for distractions to Depression-era hardships. Athletics served as one of those pleasant distractions in communities across the country, particularly at colleges. STC had the sports teams but lacked an official nickname to distinguish itself from its competition or to inspire the fan base. Other Tennessee schools had chosen nicknames, and the University of Tennessee "Vols" and Vanderbilt "Commodores" were already in use at the turn of the century. West Tennessee Normal had adopted the "Tigers" in 1914, and Tennessee Polytechnic had been the "Golden Eagles" since 1925.[7] Typically, reporters dubbed Middle Tennessee in the box scores simply as MTN or STC, and unofficial team names among the students such as "the Pedagogues," "the Teachers," or "the Normalites" failed to rally the faithful fans. Thus, late in the 1934 season Murfreesboro's newspaper, the *Daily News Journal*, sponsored a contest for a nickname more appropriate to a school of its stature. The paper narrowed approximately 240 entries down to about 25 and allowed the football team to choose the winner. Charles Sarver, a guard on the team, had submitted an entry based upon the successful Colgate University "Red Raiders" and simply substituted "Blue," one school color for STC, for Colgate's "Red" on the entry form. Since Sarver was one of their own, the team's choice was perhaps predestined. The "Blue Raiders" became the school's official nickname—though they lost the only game that season while using their new moniker. At least Sarver received some consolation by collecting $5 for his winning entry.[8]

The college's struggles sadly continued both on and off the field during the Great Depression. The 1936 *Midlander* commented that due to its mediocre record and poor attendance, STC athletics "lay at the bottom of the heap…the flowers had already wilted in the vase…the murky depths beckoned."[9] By 1938, STC had witnessed a precipitous decline in enrollments, while internal squabbling among the legislature, the faculty, and STC President P. A. Lyon over the institution's future compounded the anxiety around campus. After a contentious debate, President Lyon resigned, and a search began for someone who could rescue the foundering college.[10]

THE SMITH YEARS

Middle Tennessee Normal graduate and former Tennessee Polytechnic Institute President Q. M. Smith became STC's president in 1938. Smith had been Middle Tennessee Normal's second student applicant in 1911 and, during his academic career in Murfreesboro, he had served as class president, as the first campus newspaper editor, as a member of the first football team, and later as the first president of the

alumni association. In 1912, he was the only student representative on a committee which chose the official university colors of blue and white. Smith later attended the University of Tennessee and Peabody College. Almost everyone recognized Smith's "unrelenting spirit" and administrative ability, honed from over three decades of educational leadership, supplemented by service as a Navy officer in World War I and as an Army Reserve officer until 1942. However, his gruff, no-nonsense, uncompromising approach to campus governance was controversial and ruffled more than a few feathers, both on campus and in the community, during his tenure. Undaunted by his critics, President Smith set about revitalizing his alma mater even as the world stood at the brink of another world war.[11]

As the war clouds gathered, Smith launched a campaign to redefine the institution's mission and image as a move toward greater "respectability." He carefully managed a groundswell of support by the students, the public, and the legislature to redesignate STC as a state college with enhanced curriculum options. When the legislature approved this transition in 1943, discussions abounded about changing the institution's name in order to distinguish it from the variety of similar regional institutions. Suggested names for the new college included "Stones River State College" and "Murfreesboro State," but Coach E. W. Midgett, perhaps influenced by the America's entrance into World War II, vociferously suggested "Forrest State College," to reflect its community roots and connect the Raider nickname with that local legend, Nathan Bedford Forrest. President Smith and the state legislature eschewed this advice and eventually chose the less creative "Middle Tennessee State College" as the new title.[12]

World War II consumed the public's attention and, with the draft and romantic allure of wartime service, Middle Tennessee State College (MTSC) male enrollments significantly declined. President Smith recruited a number of campus-based wartime occupational training programs, particularly in aviation, to offset the loss of tuition revenue. When the war ended, many of these programs remained, positioning MTSC as an attractive option for the influx of new students under the auspices of the GI Bill program.[13]

Intensely anti-communist and heavily influenced by the Southern Agrarian movement based at nearby Vanderbilt, Smith also made the decision to strengthen MTSC's link with Nathan Bedford Forrest. He directed MTSC Public Relations Director Gene Sloan to offer suggestions for a mascot name. Sloan forwarded the names of Confederate "raiders," John Hunt Morgan and Nathan Bedford Forrest to the president. Smith unhesitatingly selected Forrest. He intended Forrest's allegedly oft-quoted maxim, "the First with the Most," to represent a spirit and a philosophy that would inspire students, particularly those in Middle Tennessee, by emphasizing the Southern Agrarian virtues of physical courage, loyalty to family and region, independence, initiative, and citizenship. The Southern Agrarians' manifesto, *I'll Take My Stand*, contained a series of essays denouncing the increasing role of nationalization, industrialization, and urbanization in American culture. The contributors' works advocated a return to the local, agrarian, and rural virtues of the antebellum South

to cure the ills of American modernity. This philosophy also contained tenets of the "Lost Cause" that mythologized the Confederacy. Lost Cause proponents explained that the Confederacy's defeat was from overwhelming force rather than innate skill and attempted to divorce the Confederacy from the preservation of slavery, while promoting the perceived chivalry and nobility of the antebellum South.[14]

Agrarians and Lost Cause supporters quickly latched onto Forrest as a symbol for their arguments, and they perpetuated these "myths" throughout the early twentieth century. The general became a resonant and daring symbol of southern society. According to two professors who have chronicled the Forrest myth, "the fact that an uneducated rube, an American plebeian, could so adroitly, so intuitively, master the art of warfare, indeed make it into an art form, was a reminder to the professional soldier and the aristocrat that much could be learned from a common man." Forrest's words were often preserved in Southern dialect with misspelled words to stress his uneducated background, as a literary device that utilizes local speech patterns to "maintain one's individual dignity in a homogenizing world."[15]

Newspaper editorials and advertisements highlighted the virtues of American citizen-soldier myth and superior capitalist values by employing Forrest's "First with the Most" philosophy during World War II and the Cold War era. During this period, Forrest's tactics and military maxims became synonymous with the popular perception of the "American Way of War" and American business acumen. One advertisement for *Business Week* magazine, just two weeks prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, displayed a Memphis statue of Forrest and the famous proverb, "Git thar furstest with mostest," proclaiming "Long, long ago this burly general had the secret of American success down pat." A 1960 Delta Airlines full-page ad in the *Chicago Tribune,* complete with an actor dressed as Forrest in an airliner, declared, "'Fustest with the Mostest' . . . Spare of Word and square of jaw, [Forrest] cut complicated strategy down to a simple formula…and one uniquely appropriate to Delta today." The corporate promotion of Forrest in modern American business practices was an irony the Southern Agrarians surely appreciated. Forrest by the mid-1940s was no longer a regional curiosity, the villain of the Fort Pillow Massacre, or the perceived leader of the KKK; instead, his image had been magically transformed into that of an American military and business icon. Given this cultural and intellectual atmosphere, it is not surprising that Memphians erected a statue to Forrest over his grave and turned the surrounding area into a local park, that the Tennessee General Assembly declared Forrest's birthday a state holiday in the 1920s and 1930s, and that Q. M. Smith mandated that the "untutored genius" Forrest be enlisted to represent MTSC's new status as a state college.[16]

The connection between Smith's Agrarian values and those of the community surrounding MTSC's campus were heightened by Murfreesboro native and leading Southern Agrarian Andrew Nelson Lytle, who wrote one of the most influential works celebrating the Forrest myth. *Nathan Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company* was an example of a culture seeking a usable past, and it emphasized the agrarian values of the protean folk hero Forrest as "an antidote to industrial modernism and

its inevitable spiritual corrosion." In one telling passage, Lytle romanticized Forrest's age as one "closer to Henry II's than it is to ours. They are centuries apart yet those centuries knew the orderly return of the seasons, saw the supernatural in the natural, moved about by foot, by horse, and at sea by the wind. We have put our faith in the machine." In 1944, another Forrest biographer, Robert Selph Henry, also used Forrest as "nature's soldier" to elaborate further on his character traits that Agrarians admired. Twenty years later, the 1964 *Midlander* used Henry's description of the intrepid Forrest to epitomize the Raider spirit saying, "[Forrest] is a man of great self-confidence, self-reliance, and reticence; man of quick resolves and prompt execution, of inexhaustible resource, and of ready and clever expedients . . . panic and fear flew and hid at his approach, and the sound of his cheer gave courage to the weakest heart." Smith and others in Murfreesboro almost assuredly knew both works. Lytle's and Henry's Forrest must have appeared as a natural choice for a college in a community steeped in the Forrest myth and so closely linked in geographical and intellectual proximity to the Southern Agrarians. Thus Smith, and MTSC Public Relations Director Gene Sloan, apparently began incorporating Forrest's myth into college official communications sometime in the late 1940s, though the first extant university-sanctioned image of Forrest remains the 1951 *Midlander*.[17]

By the 1950s, Confederate iconography became increasingly visible in campus traditions across the South, and MTSC embraced the latest Confederate kitsch and "flag fads." Confederate flags proudly waved at MTSC football games, and MTSC's band adopted "Dixie" as the school's fight song. These developments were the local manifestations of MTSC's integration of the Southern Agrarian / Forrest myth into campus traditions and the growing national incorporation of Confederate symbols into American culture. In 1948, Strom Thurmond and his Dixiecrats broke away from the national Democratic Party to protest the Democrats' support of civil rights. The Dixiecrats, emboldened by the Southern Agrarian philosophy, railed against the oppressive nature of the federal government as antithetical to the southern way of life. Thurmond's Dixiecrats quickly raised the old Confederate battle flag as a symbol of their party and ignored the desperate pleas of the United Daughters of Confederacy (UDC) and Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) to cease using Confederate symbols in what these Lost Cause organizations considered an ahistorical context. Although the Dixiecrat movement was short-lived and received only token support in Tennessee, its use of the Confederate battle flag ushered in an age of flag fads across the country. These flag fads transitioned Confederate iconography from embodying solely a political message to one with a myriad of meanings. The approach of the Civil War centennial accelerated the process of stripping these symbols of their historical context and turned them into a ubiquitous presence in American culture, emblazoned on every trivial and tacky souvenir imaginable. Strangely, the increased use of Forrest and other Confederate symbols during this critical period of growth allowed MTSC to sustain community involvement by emphasizing its local heritage, while simultaneously striving to become more relevant at the state and national levels without appearing too provincial.[18]

By the 1950s, the Forrest myth and the use of Confederate iconography had become "a microcosm of the larger national mythology." It seemingly embraced "individualism and rebellion, the conquest of frontiers, whether geographic or political, constantly recommitting itself to the idealized notions of democracy, and taking full advantage of practical politics and economics." Forrest, in particular, was the personification of "the paradox of the mythical American man, symbolizing both the common and uncommon," and therefore, he seemed a not-so-unusual choice to represent an institution of higher education that often attracted first-generation, low-income students. The fact that so many in the campus population were veterans accentuated Forrest's appeal among the student body and staff. MTSC warmly received Forrest back on campus, and his new college compatriots proudly wore Confederate hats and carried Confederate battle flags to athletic events as the band blared "Dixie." A bust of Forrest stood in the new student center.[19]

MTSC was one of several other regional schools that had also adopted Confederate-themed mascots or traditions. At least one similar school, Mississippi Southern College (later the University of Southern Mississippi), also used Forrest as a mascot for their team. Most interestingly, the MTSC athletic department resisted the adoption of Confederate iconography for its official use, although Forrest's seemingly omnipresent appearance at athletic events, the Stars and Bars waving in the stands, and the "Dixie" fight song tacitly sanctioned their use to inspire local support. Images or themes of Forrest and the Confederacy never replaced the standard "MT" on football helmets or other athletic gear, and the figure of Forrest rarely appeared prominently in official publications. The only extant athletic department use of any significant Confederate iconography was printed on the 1964 football media guide cover and, rather than Forrest, it depicted a simple cavalry trooper riding roughshod over its opponents. Interestingly, the man who originated the Blue Raiders, Charles Sarver, later remarked that the only unpleasant memory about his decision was when Smith and Sloan decided they "needed a reason for the name" and chose Forrest to represent the Blue Raiders.[20]

Beyond the athletic fields, the arrival of a Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) unit on campus in 1950 further embedded Forrest into MTSC's identity. The MTSC ROTC unit specifically trained in armored maneuver tactics and guerilla warfare, both similar to the widely heralded and much-mythologized aspects of Forrest's military career. Many officers believed studying this "Wizard of the Saddle" would be essential to US strategy for countering Soviet mass armored formations as well as Communist insurgents. Few were shocked then, in 1954, when the MTSC administration named their new ROTC building, Nathan Bedford Forrest Hall. Fort Lee, Fort Bragg, Fort Hood, Fort A. P. Hill, Fort Rucker, and Fort Gordon are just a few of the prominent United States military installations that had already been named to honor former Confederates and, given this trend, there was an immediate consensus about the appropriate name for the building to train future military leaders at MTSC. "There was no search made for a name for the ROTC building," said Dean of Students Belt Keathley in his 1958 Forrest Hall dedication speech; "the

name was simply present and at hand. The spirit of the man for whom the building is named resides on our campus." Later, the cadets formed several related student and professional organizations with local Confederate namesakes, such as the Sam Davis Rifles drill team and the Forrest Raiders, an elite cadet professional organization. Students also composed the Dixie All-Star Majorettes and the Track and Sabre Club.[21]

General Forrest had made his first formal appearance as MTSC's mascot on the cover of the 1951 *Midlander.* During the 1950s he appeared on the cover five times, but the 1956 *Midlander* stands out among all others, marking a significant change in the level of Confederate iconography associated with the campus. The 1956 *Midlander* staff commissioned *Nashville Banner* illustrator Jack Knox to create a unique Forrest image to symbolize the spirit of MTSC. Knox's illustration depicted a very aggressive, masculine Forrest astride his steed, King Phillip, with pistol in hand. That image became the standard visual logo of MTSC for over a decade. The 1956 *Midlander* also featured a cartoonish Confederate member of Forrest's cavalry wearing a MTSC belt buckle on his uniform. This stereotypical Johnny Reb guided readers around the campus making frequent references to being "furstest with the mostest." The commentary omitted the more controversial elements of Forrest's character and reputation, except for one rather disturbing image on the Campus Organizations page, which shows the Confederate character removing a KKK hood from a "C.S.A." haversack.[22]

The 1956 *Midlander*'s publication and Forrest Hall's dedication appeared in the tenuous period surrounding the 1954 *Brown* Supreme Court decision overturning racial segregation in education. Other than the aforementioned depiction of the KKK hood, there is little evidence suggesting that the student body or the administration at MTSC consciously chose to identify with Forrest as part of the massive resistance initiated by Southerners to thwart federal integration efforts. Instead, the increasing association of Forrest and Confederate iconography appears as part of the trendy Confederate kitsch of the Civil War centennial: "merely one of those fads which the American people eagerly like to grab up and promote and then drop just as quickly" when the commercial value fades. It remained to be seen just how quickly such a trend would fade in Murfreesboro, where the Civil War centennial ran alongside MTSC's 50th anniversary. The boundaries between campus and community had all but disappeared since 1945, as many local veterans returned to MTSC to embark upon new educational and professional opportunities. With the campus and community's public memory and identity tied inexorably with their martial heritage, Forrest rode boldly into Murfreesboro again.[23]

To celebrate its golden anniversary, MTSC unveiled a new flag, a new alma mater, and a new Forrest mascot. The new incarnation of Forrest emerged as a student astride King Phillip, the general's trusted steed, and dressed in full Confederate uniform with the instantly recognizable goatee to resemble Forrest's visage. The first student to portray Forrest was actually Connecticut native, Dick Schoonman. This "Connecticut Yankee in King Phillip's Court" proudly paraded down Main Street during Homecoming and patrolled the sidelines at sporting events, against

a backdrop of Confederate flags, for the next two years. The tradition continued throughout the 1960s as other students who resembled Forrest in physical stature volunteered to replace Schoonman. According to the campus newspaper, *Sidelines*, the Forrest mascot was indicative of the "honor, loyalty, courage, integrity, and 'stick-to-it-tive-ness'" of MTSC students and served as a "unifying symbol and as a builder of high goals." By 1968, Forrest and the college's identity were so intertwined that officials placed an eight-foot, 600-pound bronze medallion featuring Jack Knox's rendition of Forrest outside the new Keathley University Student Center (KUC).[24]

THE BATTLE FOR A NEW IDENTITY

The KUC medallion marked Forrest's zenith as the school's representative. Although the medallion evidenced the administration's desire to continue the school's affiliation with Forrest, it was increasingly apparent that students sought a reconsideration of the institution's image. MTSU's enrollments between 1959 and 1969 had ballooned from 2,363 to nearly 7,500, expanding at an average rate of 10 percent per year as a result of the "baby boom" generation. The baby boomers challenged traditional culture and sought a new identity of their own. Some began to question the utility of the past as a part of MTSU's image. They chaffed at MTSU's antiquated campus coed codes that dictated attire and behavior. As for the institution's past and traditions, these baby boomers noted that MTSU had "been enshrouded in the gloomy mist of underestimation," but remained optimistic that "our image is still in the formative state and we have the opportunity to make MTSU what we think it should be. As we continue to grow, much of our former personality will change."[25] Fewer campus publications made direct references to Forrest after the college's notably calm integration in 1962 and its transition to university status in 1965. The 1966 *Midlander* noted that the change to university status was "a birth of new era, with a new spirit but remaining with old traditions and holding to her heritage," yet the students made significant changes to the university's identity to diminish the use of Confederate imagery and references in campus publications. Though the core image of a Confederate, goateed cavalryman remained, it was increasingly referred to simply as "The Raider," and representations of the Raider also became less dignified and more caricatured as reverence for Forrest waned. Compounding the image problem, a string of disappointing football seasons and a plethora of new opportunities in the area for the growing numbers of car-mobile students caused officials to estimate that fewer than 30 percent of students had ever been to a Raider contest of any type.[26]

The success of the Nashville sit-ins and the Civil Rights Movement, and shaken confidence in authority stimulated by the escalating Vietnam War, as well as the assassinations of Civil Rights figures John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and Robert Kennedy, created a discernable inner restlessness and aura of change on campus in the 1960s. Furthermore, the proposed establishment of a University of Tennessee campus in Nashville, in 1968, had sparked a group led by Rita Geier to file a lawsuit claiming the new UT–Nashville campus would perpetuate a racially

segregated "dual system of higher education" in violation of the 14th Amendment and the *Brown* decision. In this period of heightened racial and generational tensions, MTSU students in late 1960s were developing "a growing concern for their university . . . a concern with its place in the South and as an American institution."[27]

On October 21, 1968, *Sidelines* published "*Dixie*: What Does It Mean?" an editorial by Associated Student Body senator Sylvester Brooks. Brooks, an African American student, condemned the school's Confederate-themed traditions by reminding readers that slavery was the Confederacy's cornerstone and of Forrest's culpability in the Fort Pillow Massacre, as well as his involvement in the Ku Klux Klan. He argued that, instead of unifying the student body, these symbols were divisive in an increasingly multicultural, progressive campus. "As long as these remnants of slavery and Black inferiority are allowed to persist on this campus," Brooks proclaimed, "I will never choose to be a full part of this school." He also expanded his attack to include the Murfreesboro community, charging that by clinging "passionately to the relics" of "America's worst yesterday" southern society would never move forward.[28]

Brooks's criticism for MTSU's use of "Dixie," Confederate flags, and the Forrest mascot unleashed a torrent of responses that filled the editorial pages for months. Supporters of these traditions rode to Forrest's defense by recounting his military prowess and revered character traits that reflected Southern values. Others steadfastly defended the use of "Dixie" and the Confederate flag as symbols of school spirit rather than symbols of white supremacy.[29] Former *Sidelines* editor, Tony Pendergrass, commented that the symbols represented "a fighting spirit which is appropriate for athletic squads and are symbols—not bigotry."[30] Joseph Smith, director of MTSU's Band of Blue, angrily defended MTSU's use of these symbols and vowed to keep playing "Dixie" until the administration declared an official ban.[31]

Brooks's editorial garnered support, too. Alumnus Jim Leonard appreciated Brooks's "moral firmness" in challenging the relevancy of these symbols to "a progressive institution in the New South." Several editorials called for greater communication to close the chasm between the black and white students. "If MTSU is to become a progressive university then [the] corroding tradition of a decadent South must be abandoned," student Karen Thomas said, and "If tradition impedes progress, then tradition must succumb." Thomas continued, "Until the students at MTSU emerge from the smallness of their environment and realize the boundaries of the world are not the boundaries of Tennessee and until they realize that white people are not the only people, there can be no solution."[32] A long-time Murfreesboro resident, with professed generational ties to Confederate veterans and an MTSU parent, recalled her first view of the Forrest mascot and Confederate accoutrements as shocking and offensive in a university setting. She begged, "Please let us keep their flag and hatred buried. Let us honor them by keeping their mistakes at rest along with their bones."[33]

The ASB debated the issue throughout the Fall 1968 semester. In December, they voted to reject any change in the school's symbols. Although many students had argued that their support of Forrest, "Dixie," and the Confederate flag as MTSU symbols was based upon the lack of "racial overtones or undertones" in their original

selection, it quickly became obvious that some racial connotations did indeed exist. *Sidelines* editor in chief David Mathis wrote shortly after the ASB vote, "the student voice was heard to keep things as they are, thus the issue did not receive any of the changes that a 'minority' sector of our population desired."[34] But the administration overruled the ASB. Subsequent MTSU presidents, M. G. Scarlett and Sam Ingram, prohibited Confederate flags and the playing of "Dixie" on campus.[35] The university discharged Forrest from further service as the university mascot and formed a special committee to choose a less controversial, "more generic" mascot, "more palatable to minorities on campus and in the community." Their choice, apparently a compromise between the traditionalists and those that favored change, was a St. Bernard dog named "Beauregard" attended by a Blue Raider that resembled a hybrid Yosemite Sam–Zorro-inspired infantryman. This new mascot, even with its reference to another Confederate general, failed to inspire, and it too was quickly retired. Animosities over Scarlett's summary actions in this issue lingered and, in 1970, an unknown group burned a cross on campus, apparently in protest of the university's growing diversity.[36]

MTSU's subsequent attempts over the next two decades to find a distinctive identity fell flat. Homer Pittard, a revered faculty member and local historian, chaired a committee to find yet another image to represent the university "that would maintain an area of identification and a student relationship." Beginning with the 1976 football home opener, a Tennessee walking horse, ridden by a blue-and-white uniformed caped horseman, became the new MTSU mascot. The mascot came fully equipped with its own specially decorated horse trailer. Its choice was intended to showcase Middle Tennessee's famous equestrian tradition, and "the whole habilitation ties in with the tradition of heroic figures on horseback," supposedly to satisfy those still pining for Forrest's return. Of course, the horse's unique gait took its toll on the field and surrounding track and was impractical for indoor sports such as basketball. After just four years, officials replaced this mascot with another, a character nicknamed "Old Blue" outfitted in blue-dyed dog costume. MTSU administrators had struggled to find "a more popular figure that the crowds would respond to," so they chose Old Blue, a figure invented by an unofficial booster club, the Raider Roadies. The new mascot received a rather unenthusiastic review in the 1980 *Midlander*, and Old Blue, with its close resemblance to Ol' Smokey, MTSU's Knoxville-based rival's Blue Tick hound mascot, gradually disappeared from the scene.[37]

By 1989, MTSU had dramatically improved its organization and garnered new resources to accommodate another period of extraordinary growth. The university had established six colleges and had begun offering doctoral-level degree programs. Its black population had increased to about 10 percent of the now more than 10,000 enrolled students, and students elected their first African American Homecoming Queen, Barbara Gibson, in 1978. MTSU and Rutherford County had swelled as a result of the new Nissan auto plant, and this growth began to break the Civil War's hold on the campus and the community. Despite this success, the university still had no distinctive identity. An innocuous new logo was adopted in 1978, simply

featuring the letters, "MTSU," in a futuristic font, with no mascot. Only two campus vestiges of Forrest remained: the KUC medallion and Forrest Hall.[38]

Students returned in January 1990 to find a large circular void where the Forrest medallion had once been. MTSU officials had removed the plaque while students were away on Christmas break. Again, controversy erupted, though it is hard to tell how much of the controversy came from the removal of Forrest's image or from the manner in which it was done. A few citizens and students protested the university's covert action as an attempt to erase their heritage. Those who specifically mentioned their objections to the removal did so using the standard defense: Forrest's veneration as mascot had more to do with his purported character virtues and endearment to the community than to commemorate slavery. Some even hoped to mollify the connection to slavery by claiming the figure was not Forrest at all, but a generic representation of a Civil War-era cavalryman. Others claimed the removal damaged the historical integrity of the building since the medallion was an original architectural embellishment.[39] But most shared the sentiments of Norman Dasinger Jr. who wrote to Interim MTSU President Wallace Prescott to defend his Confederate relative's honor, charging, "In removing this plaque you have denied Southerners and their history rightful remberance [sic] at your institution."[40] Three years later, local physician Dr. Richard Soper inquired through his state senator about the circumstances of the plaque removal, presumably to protest its removal as a violation of state policy or law. MTSU's first African American president, James Walker, disputed such charges. He responded to allegations that MTSU was abandoning its community ties by removing the image, or that his race had anything to do with this decision, by saying pointedly, "Though there appears to be concern of the removal of the plaque, I do want to inform you that we have a building on our campus named for Nathan Bedford Forrest. Forrest Hall houses our Military Science Department and is centrally located on our campus."[41]

The Forrest Hall debate was indicative of a broader national movement challenging the use of controversial symbols and buildings depicting Native American or Confederate themes, as many southern universities, like MTSU, shed their regional distinctiveness for increasingly national recruitment and recognition. Indeed, Confederate-related names or images were retired at a number of southern higher education institutions in the late twentieth century. In the early 1970s, the University of Southern Mississippi changed its image from a Forrest-themed mascot, General Nat. Their athletic teams were known as the "Confederates," and later as the "Southerners." In a runoff referendum on a new mascot, students and alumni chose to replace their Southerners nickname with the "Golden Eagles." The University of Mississippi, often criticized for its use of Confederate flags and the plantation owner Colonel mascot, has endured decades of turmoil over its identity. Although Ol' Miss retains the "Rebels" as their nickname, they have banned the Confederate flag from athletic events and, in 2010, students chose to supplant Colonel Reb with a black bear figure. Officially, Colonel Reb, dating from 1936, was banished in 2003; however, the university redesignated their former logo of an antebellum plantation

owner as a "historical trademark" to satisfy some of the Colonel Reb loyalists. Yet the controversy continues, and some Ol' Miss alumni have created a Colonel Reb Foundation that continues to promote the use of the traditional logos.[42]

A 2002 decision to rename Confederate Hall embroiled the home of Southern Agrarianism, Vanderbilt University, in a bitter debate on the value of public memory and the Confederacy's legacy. The United Daughters of the Confederacy, who had donated a substantial portion of the funds to construct the building in 1933, sued the university. Rhetoric around this decision turned vitriolic, and Vanderbilt officials later accepted a legally nuanced compromise requiring them to keep the Confederate Hall inscription on the building's facade and memorial plaque in the lobby, but officially changed the name to "Memorial Hall," and established a lecture series to discuss "issues of race, history, memory, and the Civil War."[43]

MTSU also determined to change its identity to reflect its evolution from a regional to national institution while attempting to retain its established community connections. In the early 1990s, the university began its rebranding campaign by redesigning its official academic logo to incorporate the ubiquitous "swoosh" visual element, perhaps intended to convey a sense of motion or progress for the fastest-growing university in Tennessee. In 1998, MTSU prepared to enter Division I-A athletics (now the Football Bowl Subdivision, or FBS), and choose a new visual identity to represent its teams. Chosen by a committee of students, alumni, and community leaders, the new image featured the long-established "MT" alongside a mythical winged horse, nicknamed "Lightning" for the belief that this creature carried lightning bolts for Greek gods. Possessing "superior cunning and speed," the new Lightning mascot would represent the school's character, talent, and strength. This latest incarnation of MTSU's institutional identity according to the official description, recognizes "the soaring school spirit" and traditions of excellence in a number of academic and extracurricular endeavors, "including historic preservation, teacher training, aerospace, political science, horse science and the recording industry."[44]

In a strange twist of fate, the Lightning reference even has a connection to Civil War Murfreesboro to enhance its suitability to represent the university and community. Shortly after the battle of Stones River, Union commander Colonel John A. Wilder formed the Lightning Brigade in Murfreesboro, using the fresh supply of local horses and the newly acquired Spencer repeating rifles. Federal forces deployed the powerful new unit that married firepower and speed as the army's offensive punch during the Tullahoma campaign and in a key defensive role at the Battle of Chickamauga. The importance of the Lightning Brigade is often underappreciated by the general public, particularly those in Murfreesboro still harboring Confederate sentimentalities, though among professional military leaders and historians this unit of Blue Raiders served as a model for reintroducing maneuver warfare to the US military doctrine following the Civil War.[45]

Despite the popularity and commercial success of the Lightning mascot, the specter of Forrest and the Confederacy still looms over the institution's public

memory and identity. Some still insist that Forrest remain a part of campus traditions and perpetrate myths, half-truths, and outright lies concerning Forrest and his connections with the Blue Raiders even when the elements of these tales contradict the historical record to support their case. Among the most popular are the myths that Forrest commonly confiscated the blue uniforms of his Federal enemies to outfit his command—hence the "Blue Raiders"—and that Forrest's cavalry often donned blue uniforms to trick Union forces into holding fire until it was too late, or that the school named their ROTC Building "Forrest Hall" in memory of Forrest's great-grandson, Memphis native and US Army Air Force General Nathan Bedford Forrest III, who was killed in action during a B-17 bombing raid over Germany in 1943.[47] These types of stories probably stem from earlier attempts to divorce the Forrest name from the more negative aspects of the Civil War's and slavery's legacy. In the fierce, albeit misguided, defense of those seeking to keep Forrest and similar Confederate iconography as part of the Blue Raiders image, the deeply enmeshed nature of the community's and college's identities is clearly evident in the public's memory. Even into the twenty-first century, the MTSU community still debates the contested legacy of Forrest and the Confederacy. In 2006, calls to rename Forrest Hall generated passionate comments from both sides on the issue, compelling the university to convene a special forum discussing the relationship between the community, campus, and the Confederacy. The 2012 Sons of Confederate Veterans national convention scheduled to be held in Murfreesboro will certainly renew similar discussions about the complex relationships of heritage, history, memory, and identity throughout Middle Tennessee.[47]

MTSU drew from the community for its strength and identity during its tumultuous early decades. By the late 1930s, college officials cemented this connection by identifying the institution with a local legend, Confederate cavalryman Nathan Bedford Forrest. This identity with the community became more ensconced as national cultural trends and Civil War centennial commemorations popularized and secularized Confederate iconography, largely stripping Forrest and other Confederate symbols of their historical context. The campus and the community that sponsored it struggled to retain their strong regional identities with the past as both developed a national and global presence. As William Faulkner once wrote, in the South, "the past isn't dead. It isn't even past." On the eve of Rutherford County's bicentennial and MTSU's centennial, the ghosts of those old Civil War soldiers, like Forrest, are finally fading away from prominence, but will forever remain a part of public memory and identity.

NOTES

1 For a survey of Tennessee history, see Paul Bergeron, Steven Ash, and Jeannette Keith, *Tennesseans and their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

2 Homer Pittard, *The First Fifty Years: Middle Tennessee State College, 1911–1961*, (Murfreesboro: Middle Tennessee State College, 1961), 15–16.

3 For the selection of Murfreesboro as site for a state normal school see chapter One by Jan Leone and John Lodl, in this volume. Pittard, *First Fifty Years*, 85; *Signal*, 1912, 35.

4 Alice Fay Taylor, "Mary Noailles Murfree: Southern Woman Writer" (PhD thesis, Emory University Graduate Institute of the Liberal Arts, 1988); Richard Carey, *Mary N. Murfree* (New York: Twayne Publishing, 1967), 115.

5 Walker Library Special Collections, *Bulletin* 20 (Murfreesboro: Middle Tennessee Normal School, 1912.), The *Bulletin* served as the catalog containing information about the institution and its course offerings. Of the many Forrest biographies, two recent works stand out above the rest: Brian S. Wills's *The Confederacy's Greatest Cavalryman: Nathan Bedford Forrest* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998) [Originally published under the title, *A Battle from the Start,* in 1992], and Jack Hurst's *Nathan Bedford Forrest: A Biography* (New York: Vintage Press, 1994).

6 *Midlander* 5 (Murfreesboro: Middle Tennessee State Teachers College, 1930), in the Internet Archive database, http://www.archive.org/details/middletennesseestateuniversity. The *Midlander* yearbooks (1926–2004) are available through the Internet Archives as digital images or in hardcopy at the MTSU Walker Library Special Collections or the Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee. The *Midlander* ceased publication in 2004.

7 References to the University of Tennessee's football team as the "Volunteers" began in 1902, and Vanderbilt's mascot has been portrayed as a naval officer since the 1880s due to the connection with its namesake, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and the shipping industry. The University of Memphis used the motto, "We fight like tigers!" after a football game in 1914, and Tennessee Tech's student body voted for the nickname, "Golden Eagles," in 1925. See James R. Montgomery, Stanley Folmsbee, and Lee S. Greene, *To Foster Knowledge: A History of the University of Tennessee, 1794–1970* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 350–51; Austin Wheeler Smith, *The Story of Tennessee Tech* (Nashville: McQuiddy Printing, 1957), 194–96; University of Memphis Athletic Department—Traditions, http://www.gotigersgo.com/trads/mem-mascot.html; Vanderbilt University, http://www.

vanderbilt.edu/spirit/mascot.html.

8 Pittard, *First Fifty Years*, 150–51; Matt Bolch, "Name Chosen In Contest: Raider Name Evolved, But Not Without Controversy," *Daily News Journal*, undated, Forrest Mascot Controversy File, Gore Research Center; "Economy Dictated Colors; Sarver Suggested 'Raider,'" *Mid-Stater Alumni Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (Spring 1960):1–3; Bobby Newby, *They Bled Raider Blue* (self published, 1996), 25–26; "Everything But Confederate Money: Old Bed's in Trouble," *Mid-Stater* (Winter 1968) 8.

9 *Midlander,* 1936, 67.

10 Pittard, *First Fifty Years*, 152–59.

11 Pittard, *First Fifty Years*, 160–66. In 1995 Regina Forsythe interviewed 138 people about Quintin Miller Smith during his association with Middle Tennessee State University both as a student (1911–1913) and as president (1938–1958). These interviews of students, staff, friends, and classmates are in the Q. M. Smith Collection housed at the Gore Research Center. "Quintin Miller Smith: A Brief Biography," Smith Collection.

12 Pittard, *First Fifty Years*, 170–74.

13 Pittard, *First Fifty Years*, 177–84; Joe Nunley, *The Raider Forties* (New York: Vantage Press, 1977), 43.

14 Pittard, *First Fifty Years*, 151; Bloch, "Name Chosen in Contest"; Paul Ashdown and Edward Caudill, *The Myth of Nathan Bedford Forrest* (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield Press, 2005), 5. According to Gene Sloan, MTSC's public relations director, he submitted the names of Forrest and John Hunt Morgan to Smith for final approval. Despite Morgan's Murfreesboro connections and that he was considered "more of a Raider than [Forrest]," Forrest's "first with the most" philosophy had a greater appeal to Smith. Sarver later said he opposed Smith's and Sloan's decision, "Economy Dictated Colors," *Mid-Stater* no. 2 (Spring, 1960):1, 3.

15 Ashdown and Caudill, *Myth of Nathan Bedford Forrest*, xvii–xviii; Eva M. Burkett, *American English Dialects in Literature* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1978), vii.

16 *Chicago Tribune*, 26 November 1941; *Chicago Tribune*, 1 March 1960; Court Carney, "The Contested Image of Nathan Bedford Forrest," *Journal of Southern History* 67 (2001):601–30; "Everything But Confederate Money," 8.

17 Ashdown and Caudill, *Myth of Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 109; Andrew Nelson Lytle, *Bedford Forrest and his Critter Company*, (New York: McDowell, Oblensky, 1960), xv; Henry, XX; or Field Marshal Viscount Garnet Joseph Wolseley, *The American Civil War: An English View* (2002), p. xxxiii, or "General Forrest" United Service Magazine 228 (1892), 1–14, 113–24; Henry quote cited used in *Midlander,* 1964, 2; Pittard, *First Fifty Years*, 149–50.

18 John Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (New York: Belknap Press, 2005), 112.

19 Paul Ashdown and Edward Caudill, *The Mosby Myth: A Confederate Hero in Life and Legend* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002), xxv, 141.

20 Bloch, "Name Chosen in Contest"; Gayle McCain, "Biggers, Smith, and Gracy Direct New Student Center," *Sidelines*, 4 March 1968. The University of Southern Mississippi's evolution, as well as their struggle with identity and memory, parallels that of MTSU's in many ways. See Chester M. Morgan, *Treasured Past, Golden Future: The Centennial History of the University of Southern Mississippi* (Jackson: The University Press of Mississippi, 2010).

21 Dedication of the Murphy, Forrest, and Todd Buildings, 25 March 1958, Dedication of the Nathan Bedford Forrest R.O.T.C. Building by Belt Keathley, http://content.mtsu.edu/cdm4/audiofiles/fifthieth/Dedication%20Forrest.mp3.

22 *Midlander,* 1956, 50.

23 Ruth Danehower Wilson, "Confederate Flag-Wavers," Crisis 59 (April 1952), 242, as quoted in Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag* 112. Constructed in 1953–54, the Forrest Hall dedication was delayed until 1958, as was customary, until all buildings in that particular funding outlay, including the library in 1958, had been completed. Thus, there is no evidence that the *Brown* decision affected the timetable for the dedication in order to make a political statement or avoid controversy. Although, curiously, the only image of the the Raider that appears in the 1964 *Midlander*, appears on the same page as Olivia Woods, MTSC's first African American graduate who enrolled in 1963. *Midlander*, 1964, 226.

24 "Yankee, Dick Shoonman, Plays Role of Southern General, 'Blue Raider" *Sidelines*, 7 November 1962; *Midlander*, 1962, 221.

25 "Does MTSU have an Inferiority Complex," *Sidelines*, 19 April 1966.

26 *Midlander,* 1966, 3–9; and "School Spirit A Must," *Sidelines*, 21 March 1968. For examples of the dramatic change to a caricature-like appearance of the Raider, see the *Midlander*, 1966, 6 and 23, or "Raider's Raider on Display in Library," *Sidelines*, 16 May 1968.

27 *Midlander*, 1969, 83.

28 Sylvester Patrick Brooks, "*Dixie*: What Does It Mean?" *Sidelines*, 21 October 1968.

29 David C. Hooven, "Author Proud Of Heritage," *Sidelines*, 28 October 1968.

30 Tony B. Pendergrass, "Former Editor Looks For Hidden Question," *Sidelines*, 28 October 1968, 3

31 Ron Thompson, "Smith Comments On 'Dixie'," *Sidelines*, 24 October 1968.

32 Karen Thomas, "Rebel Flag Called Treasonous," *Sidelines*, 7 November 1968.

33 Margaret Lowe Hibbett, Letter to the Editor, "Local Citizen Scorns Use Of Confederate Flag," *Sidelines*, 23 October 1968, 5.

34 David Mathis, "As I See It A Joke Ended 'Dixie,'" *Sidelines,* 19 December 1968, 4.

35 "Forrest to Stay: Pres. Scarlett Sent Decision," *Sidelines*, 19 December 1968, 1; Matt Bloch, "Many Mascots Have Cheered Fans," *Middle Tennessee State University Diamond Anniversary*, MTSU Collections, 7 September 1986, 10–11; Fact Sheet on MTSU Nathan Bedford Forrest/"Dixie" Controversy, 1990, Forrest Mascot Controversy File, Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

36 "Cross Burning Initiates Protest by Blacks at President's Home," Sidlelines, 11 December 1970, 1, 3.

37 "New Mascot and Symbol Debut on September 25," *Mid-Stater* (Fall 1976), 17.

38 *Midlander*, 1978.

39 Albert H. Baxendale, "Stand up for the cause: Removal of a plaque is another example of how our Southern Heritage is belittled," *Tennessean*, 17 May 1992. Sue S. Kolbe to Ed Murray, 22 February 1990; Ed Murray to John Bragg, 12 March 1990; "Fact Sheet on MTSU Nathan Bedford Forrest/"Dixie" Controversy," 1990, Forrest Mascot Controversy File.

40 Norman R. Dasinger Jr. to Wallace Prescott, 25 February 1990. John Bragg Collection, Nathan Bedford Forrest folder, Series 16 Box 2, MTSU Collections.

41 James Walker to Richard G. Soper, 25 February 1993, Forrest Mascot Controversy File; Wallace S. Prescott to Ned Ray McWherter, 26 March 1990; John Bragg Collection, Nathan Bedford Forrest folder, Series 16, Box 2, MTSU Collections.

42 David Sansing, *The University of Mississippi: A Sesquicentennial History*, (Hattiesburg: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 275–76; "Ol' Miss Mascot Selection Committee," http://mascot.olemiss.edu; Rick Cleveland, "Colonel Not Exactly a Longtime Tradition," *Clarion Ledger*, 19 June 2003.

43 *Vanderbilt Ledger*, 2 September 2002, 5 May 2005, and 25 July 2005. Critics have also decried the use of Native American mascots and nicknames in collegiate and professional sports since the 1960s. In 2005 the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) directed member institutions to reassess their use of Native American symbols and names, resulting in numerous schools rebranding themselves, although there were a few high-profile holdouts, including Florida State University and the University of Utah.

44 "The Legend of Lightning," MTSU Athletic Department, 18 August 2003, http://www.goblueraiders.com/content.cfm/id/2171.

45 For a history of the Lightning Brigade, see Richard A. Baumgartner, *Blue Lightning: Wilder's Mounted Infantry Brigade in the Battle of Chickamauga* (Huntington, WV: Blue Acorn Press, 1997); and Robert S. Brandt, "Lightning and Rain in Middle Tennessee: The Campaign of June–July 1863," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 52 (Fall 1993):158–69.

46 Biography of Brigadier General Nathan Bedford Forrest, III at http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/forrest.htm.

47 Byron Hensley, "'An Educated Debate' on Forrest," *Daily News Journal*, 30 November 2006; Scott Broden, "MTSU Will Hold Forums to Discuss the Life of Forrest," *Daily News Journal*, 5 December 2006; Andy Harper and Josh Daugherty, "Forrest Battle Persists: City Sponsors Lecture, Hall Vandalized Over Weekend," *Sidelines*, 11 April 2007.