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WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON? THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF WHITE UNION TROOPS FROM CIVIL WAR TENNESSEE

BY
PETER WALLENSTEIN*

BY NO MEANS DID ALL SOUTHERN SOLDIERS FIGHT FOR THE Confederacy. Twospokesmen from East Tennessee—white veterans of the Union army—looked back on the nineteenth century from early in the twentieth. Roane County's Wiley M. Christian, reflecting on the past and his part in it, remembered seeking "only to uphold and preserve the union of states and we did it." And from Charles Lafayette Broyles, of Greene County, came the assertion, "I am thankful that I am still alive and had the experience of helping to save the Union."¹

Southern Unionism: Historiographic Problem and Opportunity

The history of the Civil War continues to be told in terms of "North" versus "South." Such abbreviated notation suggests, indeed exemplifies, the premise that all southern troops wore Confederate gray. Masking a more complex reality, it ignores the fact that many tens of thousands of southerners, both white and black, wore Union blue. To find white southern troops in blue, one might look to Tennessee, which had the largest white population in the Confederacy. In fact, East Tennessee's white population by itself—380,292—outranked the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, South Carolina, and Florida.²

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¹All quotations from Tennessee soldiers are taken from Colleen M. Elliott and Louise A. Moxley, comps., *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires* (5 vols.; Easley, S.C., 1985), Volume 1.

²Among the eleven Confederate states, Virginia's white population, according to the 1860 census, was more than a million, but a third of that figure lived in what soon became West Virginia. Virginia's revised figure, 691,773, proved a distant second to Tennessee's 826,722. Following in order were North Carolina (629,942), Georgia (591,550), Alabama (526,271), and Texas (420,891). U.S. Census Bureau, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1864), 598. East Tennessee is defined here as the eastern 45 counties. See Map, p. 78. For more precise county boundaries, see William Thorndale and William Dollarhide, *Map Guide to the U.S. Federal Censuses, 1790-1920* (Baltimore, 1987), 321.

A minor theme in the historiography of the Civil War South recognizes the existence of widespread Unionist sentiment among white southerners. It recognizes that Union forces sought to recruit soldiers among non-elite white men, particularly in the upcountry,³ and that some pro-Union whites converted attitudes into behavior.³ But is it possible to "put a number" on that phenomenon? Do sources exist that might permit quantitative answers to questions of class, region, and loyalty? Perhaps it is; perhaps they do. This essay proposes, in a series of steps, to assess attitudes and behavior and to project absolute as well as proportional numbers for Tennessee Unionists.

Two sources, combined, permit a tentative reconstruction of Tennesseans' attitudes and behavior regarding slavery, secession, and Civil War. One source, *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, lists the names and military units of Tennessee men who fought on each side.⁴ The other, *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*, offers the recollections of Civil War veterans long after the event. Employed in tandem, these sources suggest some conclusions about the connections among class, region, and political loyalty in the crucible of Civil War.⁵

Only in recent years have the questionnaires become widely known and readily available.⁶ More than 1,600 of them exist, some of them

³Charles C. Anderson, *Fighting by Southern Federals* (New York, 1912), was an early statement regarding the enormous numbers of native southerners—some of them still residents of Kentucky or a Confederate state, others living in the North—who wore the blue. A more recent work, Carl N. Degler, *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1974), 169-75, emphasizes the Civil War Unionism of mountain southerners. Two more geo-graphically-focused studies are Charles Faulkner Bryan, Jr., "The Civil War in East Tennessee: A Social, Political, and Economic Study" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Tennessee, 1978), and Donald B. Dodd, "Unionism in Confederate Alabama" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Georgia, 1969).

⁴*Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel* (2 vols.; Nashville, 1965). Volume 1 supplies a history of the units; Volume 2 lists the men.

⁵Some readers, though finding the approach in this essay plausible in general, may wish to revise some definition, assumption, or method. I have sought to specify my procedures, and to provide sufficient data, so as to permit such revisions. Appendix 2 offers a "Summary Data Sheet" for the 106 free Federal troops from Tennessee whose stories are analyzed in the text. Appendix 1, "Commentary on the Questionnaires," offers a number of observations that spell out portions of my method. Those observations are designed to assist readers in assessing my approach and to facilitate further work in the questionnaires.

⁶The Elliott and Moxley compilation appeared in five volumes in 1985. The Tennessee State Library and Archives had earlier sought to call researchers' attention to those questionnaires with *Index to Questionnaires of Civil War Veterans* (Nashville, 1962). Already, Blanche Henry Clark (Weaver) had drawn

done in 1915 but the majority in 1922. Two directors of the Tennessee Department of Archives and History, Gustavus W. Dyer and John Trotwood Moore, distributed them to Civil War veterans living at the time in Tennessee.⁷ The veterans' questionnaires permit a reconsideration of social relations among white southerners in the 1850s and 1860s. More than 100 of the questionnaires came not from Confederate veterans but from Union soldiers. (See Appendix 1, Note 2.) Both groups of questionnaires permit an analysis of attitudes, of perceptions of opportunity—or at least of reports of recollections of perceptions. And they offer a window through which to view a society in which men had to make ultimate decisions about war and political allegiance.

In a recent book, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, Fred A. Bailey has analyzed the Confederate questionnaires. But what did Unionist veterans recollect? And how did Unionists compare with the Confederates? Did Union and Confederate veterans come from much the same social backgrounds and geographical areas, or did they tend to come from quite different families and regions? One can readily hypothesize that Union troops from Tennessee, much more than their Confederate counterparts, came from non-slaveholding families in the upcountry. But, if so, by how much?⁸

Tennessee's political geography tended to follow its social geography. Tennessee in 1860 can be divided into two predominantly-white areas comprising a combined total of sixty-five counties, with populations at least 70 percent white, and two blackbelt areas comprising a combined total of nineteen counties more than 30 percent black. (See Map, p. 78.) Most of Tennessee's white Union troops hailed from

on them for *The Tennessee Yeomen, 1840-1860* (Nashville, 1942). Subsequently putting them to effective use were Bryan, "Civil War in East Tennessee," and Stephen V. Ash, *Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South* (Baton Rouge, 1988). But only Fred A. Bailey has focused on them as a major tool, first in "Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation," *Journal of Southern History*, 51 (1985): 31-60, and then in more detail in *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation* (Chapel Hill, 1987).

⁷Ibid., 4-11.

⁸Bailey concludes that tensions characterized prewar white society, that non-slaveholders resented the structure of opportunity that left most of southern society's advantages in the hands of slaveowning families. And he shows that the men of slaveowning families continued to benefit from their wealth and educational opportunities long after the end of war and of slavery. But an analysis of the Union veterans' responses can provide a complementary perspective on prewar southern white society. And a comparison of Union with Confederate veterans provides a basis for reconsidering the reasons for the choices that free men made when the war came.

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the two predominantly-white sections of the state.⁹ The white counties of West Tennessee, though fewer in number and smaller in total white population than East Tennessee, supplied substantial numbers of Union soldiers. East Tennessee and the Northwest-Southcentral region supplied 36 percent and 19 percent of the Confederate troops, respectively, but 75 percent and 20 percent of Union veterans. Together, by contrast, the two blackbelt areas generated 45 percent of the Confederate troops but only 5 percent of the white Union forces from Tennessee.¹⁰

For two reasons, this essay emphasizes East Tennessee. That region supplied three-fourths of Tennessee's white Union soldiers, and it supplied a much higher ratio of men in blue than did the other predominantly-white region. This essay defines East Tennessee, much as Bailey did, as a block of forty-five counties among Tennessee's eighty-four in 1860. The region stretched west from Johnson County (in northeast Tennessee) to Macon County (on the Kentucky border) and Franklin County (on the Alabama border). These forty-five counties ranged in percentage white from 73 to 98, with all but five of them at least 85. East Tennessee contained 46 percent of the white residents of Tennessee but only 17 percent of the slaves.¹¹

⁹To judge from the questionnaires, at least, some counties in the predominantly-white areas were much more likely than others to produce men who wore blue. In East Tennessee, Greene County had the most recruits who, five or six decades later, became respondents. Ahead of Greene's ten, however, was Carroll County, in West Tennessee, with twelve. These were counties with substantial white populations, but only one respondent came from Knox County, the largest in East Tennessee, and only one from Gibson, the largest in the northwest. *Population of the United States in 1860*, 466-67.

¹⁰The figures for Confederate soldiers are derived from Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 147. Those for Federal troops, summarized in Appendix 1, are explained in the section below titled "Who Chose the Union Side?"

¹¹*Population of the United States in 1860*, 466-67. It is to be noted that the definition adopted here, and in Bailey's work, differs from the conventional use of three "grand divisions" in Tennessee—West, Middle, and East. To compare the two maps, see, for example, Daniel W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill, 1989), 42. As part of his careful analysis of the secession crisis in Tennessee (and in North Carolina and Virginia), Crofts supplies other maps—one showing slaveholding (*ibid.*, 43) and one displaying the vote on secession (*ibid.*, 343)—that show a four-region division of Tennessee, much like that employed here. Bailey's four sections and mine are identical, though he gives his percentages of slave and free populations, and mine are in terms of black and white.

Prewar Tennessee: Attitudes and Social Relations

The two men who gathered all the information, Dyer and Moore, hoped to demonstrate that prewar Tennessee society was characterized by white solidarity, that a democratic social ethos enveloped slaveholding and non-slaveholding whites alike.¹² Thus they asked questions like: Were the two groups "friendly" or "antagonistic" toward each other? Did the two groups "mingle freely" and "on a footing of equality?" Did some white men lead "lives of idleness" and "let others do their work for them?" (See Appendix 1, Note 3.) These questions were asked with optimism, not apprehension. The results are mixed, even among Confederate respondents, as Bailey has made clear. If anything, Union veterans proved less cooperative.

Dyer and Moore had in mind a prewar world characterized by white solidarity. Carroll County's James Taylor, however, offered no comfort to would-be mythmakers. Was "honest toil . . . considered respectable and honorable?"— "yes with the poor class of people But not with the rich." Did white men in his community "generally engage in such work?"—"the poor class did But the welthy did not." The two groups were "rather distant, not verry friendly." As for idleness and doing one's own work, "the rich whites had the poor whites to do the work."¹³

Dyer and Moore also conceived a world in which slaves, slaveholders, and non-slaveholding yeomen families lived more or less together. Some East Tennesseans, however, recollected a different social world. Jefferson County's John Brimer, for one, reported "no slaves

¹²Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 6-14.

¹³The question of social structure in antebellum Tennessee has received considerable attention from historians. Like John Trotwood Moore, some sought to dispel the notion that great class differences characterized the white South. A good introduction is Frank L. Owsley and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Structure of Rural Tennessee, 1850-1860," *Journal of Southern History*, 8 (1942): 161-82, much of which reappears in Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1949), 209-29. A fuller statement can be found in a dissertation done under Owsley's direction, Clark's *Tennessee Yeomen*. While the Owsley school emphasized the middling group of landowners, including small slaveholders, Clark conceded that a large minority of rural white families (more than 40 percent) that owned no slaves also owned no land (*ibid.*, 45). For a careful study of Georgia that emphasizes the large group of free families holding neither land nor slaves, see Frederick A. Bode and Donald E. Ginter, *Farm Tenancy and the Census in Antebellum Georgia* (Athens, 1986). For a reminder that even large slaveholders could also be found in the Appalachian South, see John C. Inscoe, *Mountain Masters, Slavery, and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina* (Knoxville, 1989).

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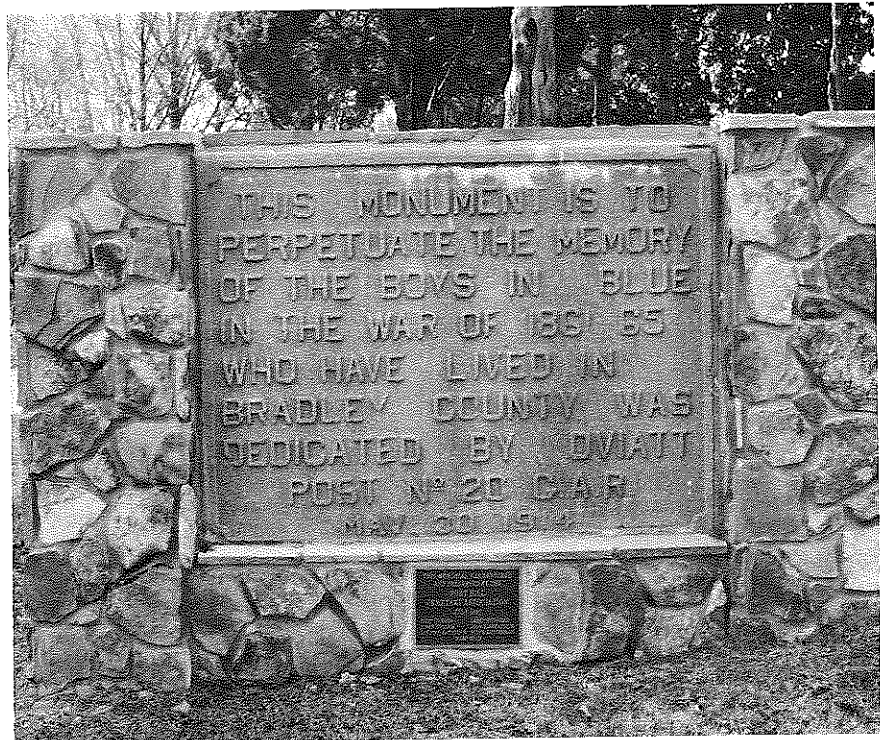
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in my community." And as for mingling freely, William M. Parker recalled that there "wasnt eny slave holders in the neighbor hood" in Gibson County. For other respondents, the wealthy owned slaves, regardless of whether they also, as James Taylor reported, worked whites. William Dickson, who had owned neither land nor slaves in 1860, recalled about slaveowners that "they felt biggety and above poor folk who did not have slaves," and "they would not mingle together at all." William Roberts, who "was a bound boy had no chance for school," reported that "the white men that owned slaves did not do much work[,] them that had no slaves did honest work," and "the men that owned slaves felt themselves better than the non slave holder[,] never had no dealings with them only on business."



This monument, dedicated to the "Boys in Blue" from Bradley County, Tennessee, was erected in 1914 by former comrades residing in the Cleveland area. *Courtesy Jennifer Leigh Toomey.*

Throwing back the language of the question, Anderson J. Roach, from a family that had owned only thirty-five acres and a one-room log house in Grainger County, said about slaveowners and non-elite whites that "They seemed to be on friendly terms but there was no particular association between them[,] and when a slave holder hired a non slave holder he was principally looked on as being no better than a slave and was treated as one." Other respondents gave no indication of class conflict or, at least, couched their perceptions in softer terms. DeKalb County's William H. George, for example, recalled a world in which the two groups were generally "friendly," but "the slav holding people mixed together and the non slaving people together." Wiley M. Christian, whose folks in Roane County had owned neither land nor slaves, wrote that slaveholders were "very few," and "had to associate with non slave holders or be quite lonesome."

On this question of the texture of social relations between slaveholding and white non-slaveholding families, some respondents displayed a sense of change over time. Tensions, previously latent, surfaced in the crisis of secession and war. William Franklin Duncan reported that in Washington County the two groups "did associate together as friend and citizens," "without Fricsun up to 1860," "Naborly and friends up [to] 1860." Similarly, Joab Helton of Grainger County remembered that "after the war opened faction of differences became so great that they did not [ease] until the war was over." John Pitts recalled that "Slave owners respected those who owned no slaves but at the opening of the war there was apparant differences," that relations had been "Friendly until war opened." William T. Wood wrote that "Just as the war was coming up there seemed to be a little coolness between them." George DeLaVergne recalled that "Not many owned slaves in our section & those were good friendly neighbors, until the war came on, then some estrangement." In fact, he cast his "first ballot for the State to remain in the Union; after this [he] was treated as an outlaw & was obliged to go north." After enlisting in New York as a Federal soldier, "At Parson Brownlows sollicitation" he went to Kentucky and "drilled & organized refugees."

In many ways, these questionnaires suggest, rural North and rural South were not so very different. The rhythms of agricultural life often resembled each other.¹⁴ And respondents who had been living in the

¹⁴Responses from Yankee informants provide a basis for a comparison of North and South. Samuel Shrader, for example, noted the seasonal nature of work: "My father made shoes during the winter months. During the summer he farmed and worked at the carpenter trade some." Speaking of rural life and gender roles, Carroll County's James M. Smith spoke for many when he wrote that his father "did general farm work—plowing & hoeing. My mother cooked, spun, weaved & did other general house work." Reflecting the essential similarity of rural South and rural North, George Washington Westgate

1850s in Ohio and New York noted, like some East Tennesseans, that their communities had neither slaves nor slaveholders. Yet Northerners could say, as Charles Henry Smart of New Hampshire did, "Slaves not owned in our state," and as George Washington Westgate noted, "There were no slave holders in my community as Illinois was a free state." George W. Loutham described his community in Ohio as "all wite people in neighborhood no colered." Surbetus Gerard wrote about his family's poverty in Ohio that his parents "didnt one [own] nothing," and about slavery that "we didnt no hardly what a slave was in ohio."

One respondent, who knew very well what a slave was, had a particularly harsh recollection of prewar life. Asked if he or his parents had owned slaves, Peter Collman replied, "no we was slave our self." Similarly, they "did not own no land at all," and they lived in a "log house one room stick and durt cimbey." Had they had servants?—"no whe was a serven"; "no we done all the work"; and "no thay was the boss." Collman's comments comprised a powerful indictment of the Old South, not, however, from a poor white but, rather, from a former slave. As for schooling in those days, he remembered he had "nun at all," and as to whether the teacher had been male or female he retorted "dont no." In the many years since slavery, little had changed: "work all the time and dont get a living"; "we aint aloud to say what we are worth we just work and the white people pay just what they want to pay." But he, too, had been a Union soldier from Tennessee.

Two brothers, who filled out their forms independently of each other, offer a means of assessing the reliability of these schedules with regard to objective information, and of their predictability regarding social attitudes. George W. Adair and his year-younger brother, James David Adair, were both born in Giles County and had moved as youngsters to Decatur County. Both had joined the Second Tennessee Mounted Infantry, USA, on January 6, 1864. As teenagers when they enlisted, neither owned property at that time. Their parents¹⁵ had owned no slaves, but they had a small farm with a log house—130 acres and a three-room house worth \$1,500, said George; 128 acres and a four-room house, worth \$700, according to James. As to the social relations

observed about sex roles in his family in Illinois that his father did "All kinds of farm work including plowing hoeing fencing rail splitting and every thing usually done on a farm. My mother did cooking, washing and general housework." Suggesting how thoroughly such chores were defined in terms of gender, Carroll County's John Wesley Carter reported that, in a family of seven sons, he was the one to help his mother: "I was her girl." For a discussion of Confederate respondents, see Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 26-30 and 34-38.

¹⁵The parents' names were Isac Adair and Susan Goats, said George, but Isaac Adair and Susan Ghoats, according to James.

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between slaveowners and their poorer neighbors, such as the Adairs, while George gave positive answers, characterizing relations as "friendly," James had less favorable recollections; opportunities were "very poor," and non-slaveholders "were discouraged by slave owners."

The questionnaires comprise a valuable means to get at the values and attitudes of nineteenth-century Tennesseans. But they offer a surer guide to behavior. They permit a means of measuring the probability that men of various social groups would choose to wear the blue or the gray when Civil War came. They enable observers from the late-twentieth century to reconstruct the behavior of a critical group of white southerners who, when they were asked—or asked themselves—"Which side are you on," responded, by their public actions, that they could be counted on the side that was trying, as Charles Lafayette Broyles put it, "to save the Union."

Wartime Experience

John W. Headrick wrote that "my experinge was a bout like all solders of the war." Perhaps so, but his statement emphasizes, rather than reduces, the importance that his and other questionnaires have in depicting Tennessee men's wartime experiences.¹⁶ Along the way, some told of how various other members of their families had fought too. Headrick himself reported that "my father Charles Headrick was a soldier in the federal army"—in Company A, 13th Tennessee Cavalry, USA, the same unit as the son. Irvin Hampton, to take another example, memorialized his father as having "volunteered into US Army in August 1862" and died after being "captured & sent to Andersonville."¹⁷

But this was a civil war within East Tennessee. Respondents reported divergent loyalties, divided families, and individuals who found themselves changing sides.¹⁸ Alfred Meigs Hocker, Union veteran, said of his father that "He was a Confederate Soldier." William Starbuck detailed one divided family: four brothers, in-

¹⁶For a sketch of military developments, see Thomas L. Connelly, *Civil War Tennessee: Battles and Leaders* (Knoxville, 1979).

¹⁷Several respondents wrote with horror about the prison camps. Samuel D. Miles, for example, recalled having spent time "In prison Richmond Bells Island . . . no food to be gotten. Most of them died—disease. then taken to Andersonville—the awfulest place was built for men to live in—Torment on earth."

¹⁸See James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill, 1934), Chapter 3. For a vivid recreation of one incident in the North Carolina upcountry, see Philip S. Paludan, *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War* (Knoxville, 1981).

cluding his own father, fought in the war, "equely Divided" two on each side, and only one uncle among the four survived. Two brothers of his mother also fought, one on each side, and both in the battle of Shiloh. Among men who wore the gray and then switched to blue, William Smith McCollum confessed that he had been "conscripted about May 1862 in Confederate and was in that for five months. I left and scouted a while and then enlisted in the federal army." John Pitts told how he had been conscripted into the Confederate military in January 1862 and then, home on furlough two months later, had "joined U.S. Army."

Any number of respondents recounted military experience against irregular forces. William W. Lowry's first fight was against "Confederate deserters and out laws"; Tom Davis' "last fite was with the Bush wackers." William Starbuck "was Not in Big Battles we fought gueriles Mostly." John Wilson Barnett reported that "we went to scouting over the country fighting guerillas," and Joseph Bozarth recalled being "in a continuel giriler fit all of the time in the comberland mountain contry."

The veterans were asked, too, about food, clothing, and camp life. William Dickson was unusual among Union veterans in complaining that, as a soldier, he had "starved most of the time." By contrast, William T. Mitchell said "We was well taken care of." Wiley Dotson spoke for most Federal veterans, as to quantity, quality, and menu, when he wrote that he had had "plenty to eat such as it was, fat meat and hard tack was the fare had good coffie and sugar." Wiley M. Christian remembered that he had generally been "well fed, . . . but I know what it is to be on half rations and what it is to be entirely out"; the food was "not always the most palatable but nutritious." William Alexander Wilkins, who "had plenty to eat but badly prepared," summed up respondents' impressions about the food. So did Samuel Arthur Brown, who had had "plenty to eat such as it was. Except at times when on a march and away from our supplies." George W. Adair, ever serene, recalled about his Civil War experience that he had "lived well in camp, had good clothes and plenty to eat." William C. Blair, more typical, said he had been "exposed to hungry and cold but we had good clothes." William A. Douglas remembered being "clothed pretty well until I got in prison" at Andersonville. Anderson J. Roach wrote, "While in regular camps we had plenty to eat plenty to wear and good treatment, but when we were on raids, as we were most of the time, we suffered untold agony from cold and exposure."¹⁹

¹⁹Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 80-86, discusses the food, clothing, and health of yeomen and elite Confederates. In a comparison of the reported experiences of Confederate veterans with those of

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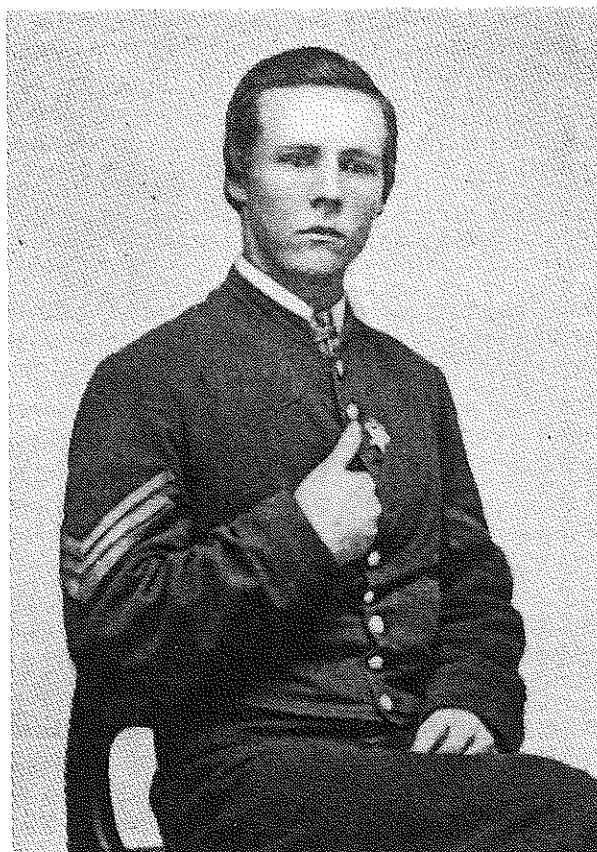
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James W. Pierce of Greene County was among the 106 Union veterans who responded to Dyer and Moore's Tennessee questionnaires. *From History of the Thirteenth Regiment, Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry, U.S.A. (Philadelphia, 1903).*

their Union counterparts, two variables are at work. Given that Union troops were more likely to come from poor families, it may be that the food and clothing were actually better than some were accustomed to. (Mart Wiks offered one example when he reported that "the first full Suit of close I ever out and out uncle sam gave me befre this my clothing come one at a tim.") It is likely that, bad as Union troops' food often was, it was more and better than Confederate troops typically encountered, and surely Union troops were better supplied with uniforms.

Several respondents, among them John W. Headrick, reported having been "ine the batill of Greenville when the noted general John H. Morgan was cild." Morgan was a Confederate officer, but he had gained the admiration of many of his foes. David Moss reflected the divided mind and divided heart of the upcountry South when he spoke of participating at Greeneville "when the galen John Morgan was Kild."²⁰

Who Chose the Union Side?

These and other vignettes of the lives of Union veterans from Tennessee offer fascinating glimpses into social tensions and economic opportunities in antebellum Tennessee, just as they recount political loyalties and the experiences of war. But the questionnaires can also be used, in conjunction with another source, to reconstruct the numbers of Tennesseans of various social groups from each region of the state who joined each side in the war. The compilation *Tennesseans in the Civil War* supplies 608 pages of names of soldiers, together with their military units. Calculating at 300 names per page, with 452 pages for Confederate troops and 156 pages for Union soldiers, we come up with totals of about 135,600 Confederates (74 percent of the total) and 46,800 Unionists (26 percent of the total), an aggregate of 182,400.²¹ A significant minority (roughly 22 percent, or 10,300) of the Union soldiers in the compilation were black troops in "colored" units—Peter Collman had a lot of company as a black Union soldier from Tennessee—with the other 36,500 (78 percent) white.²²

²⁰For a full account of a man his biographer calls "folk hero of the revolution," see James A. Ramage, *Rebel Raider: The Life of General John Hunt Morgan* (Lexington, 1986). The Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry, of which both Moss and Headrick, as well as a number of other respondents, were members, was at Greeneville and participated in the encounter in which Morgan was killed. Some mention each other in their questionnaires. For their story through the war and after, see Samuel W. Scott and Samuel P. Angel, *History of the Thirteenth Regiment, Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry, U.S.A.* (Philadelphia, 1903).

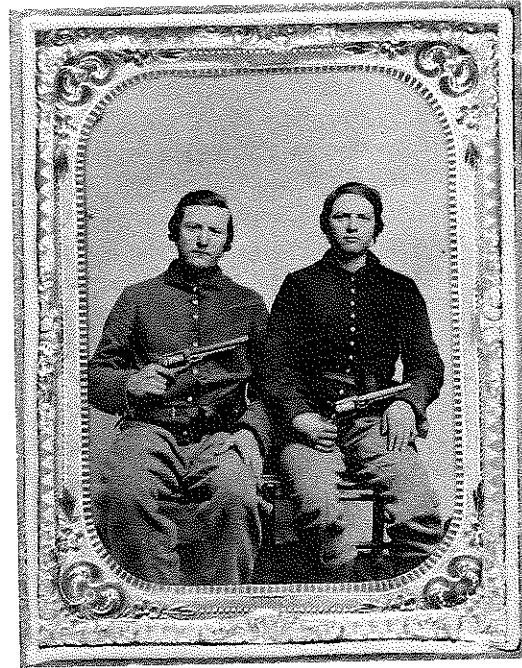
²¹I assume that Union soldiers are undercounted in this source. Many, having fled Tennessee, fought in units organized in other states. This point is developed below.

²²Among several samples drawn from the list of Federal troops from Tennessee, each proved to be at least 78 percent white. For more detail on the black units, see John Cimprich, *Slavery's End in Tennessee, 1861-1865* (Tuscaloosa, 1985), Chapter 6.

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Among the nearly thirty thousand East Tennesseans who enlisted in the Union army during the Civil War were the Adair brothers of Knox County, Robert A. (left) and John P. (right), who served together in Co. C, 1st Tennessee Cavalry, USA. Courtesy of David Babelay.

Of the 172,100 white Tennesseans who fought in the Civil War, then, we have 135,600 Confederates (79 percent of the total) and 36,500 Unionists (21 percent). How many of each group came from East Tennessee? The 1,250 white Confederate Tennessee veterans who responded to the questionnaires of 1915 and 1922 included 449 from East Tennessee (36 percent of all Confederates). The 106 Tennessee Unionists who also filled out questionnaires included 80 East Tennesseans (75 percent of all Unionists).²³ Given that Dyer and Moore wanted Con-

²³The figures for Confederate respondents come from Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 147. For purposes of my quantitative analysis of Union respondents, I have excluded a few of the 121 questionnaires from consideration. Since I am analyzing only free Tennesseans—members of white units—here, I have excluded Peter Collman, the former slave, from the quantitative work. And I have eliminated 14 men who had no connection with Tennessee except for having been engaged in battle there, or who settled there only after the war. I excluded as non-Tennesseans: Moses S. Carlisle, Surbetus Gerard, George W. Loutham, Cyrus Miranda, Courtland Latimore Morris, David Moss, Isaac R. Sherwood, Charles Henry Smart, Edwin A. Sprague, Joseph A. Stamps, Eli T. Walters, David U. Weagley, George Washington Westgate, and Francis Marion Wofford. For the same reason, Bailey (*Class*

federate respondents, not Federal veterans, Unionists were greatly underrepresented in the source, and thus we cannot simply assume ratios on the order of 80 Unionists and 449 Confederates from the area.²⁴ But we can reconstruct likely numbers if we go back to *Tennesseans in the Civil War*. From that compilation we estimated 36,500 white Unionists. If we apply the regional figures that we find among the 106 Unionist respondents, 75 percent of 36,500 amounts to 27,400 East Tennesseans. If we do the same thing with the figures on Confederate troops, and apply the 36 percent figure (from Bailey's work with Confederate respondents) to the total, 135,600, we come up with an estimate of 48,800 Confederate troops from East Tennessee. Thus East Tennessee supplied 27,400 white men to the U.S. Army and 48,800 to the Confederacy. These figures accounted for 36 percent of Confederate troop strength and 75 percent of Union troops among white Tennesseans, compared with 46 percent of Tennessee's whites who lived in the area.

We can go farther and ask about the class background of East Tennessee's white soldiers on each side. If we borrow Bailey's categories, we may directly compare the two groups. (See Appendix 1, Note 7.) But we will reconstruct numbers that should approximate the actual figures among Tennessee's soldiers, not just the numbers among those few who filled out questionnaires long after the event. We will apply, to the totals of each group (the Confederates and the Unionists among whites from East Tennessee), the percentages to be found among the respondents. Table 1 displays the results. Among those East Tennesseans who joined the Confederate Army, the group with the largest representation (34.7 percent) is the non-slaveholding yeomen, but nearly half (43.7 percent) came from families that owned slaves, and the families of one in six Bailey classified as "wealthy," in most cases the owners of at least twenty slaves. Among those East Tennesseans who joined the Union Army, by contrast, only 11.25 percent owned any slaves, and none at all owned as many as twenty.²⁵

and *Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 5) eliminated approximately one in six Confederate respondents from his analysis. At least six respondents appear to have served on both sides. I have included them here as Unionists (see Appendix 1, Note 2). Thus the total being examined is 106.

²⁴See, for example, Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 11.

²⁵See Appendix 1, Note 4. Bryan, "Civil War in East Tennessee," 26-29 (using the questionnaires), and Dodd, "Unionism in Confederate Alabama," 96-98 and 136-51 (working from the census schedules), have demonstrated that Federal troops from the upcountry typically had less land and fewer slaves than did upcountry Confederates.

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Table 1. Number and Percentage of East Tennessee Soldiers, by Army and Class.

Class	Army				Totals	
	Confederate (#)	Confederate (%)	Union (#)	Union (%)	(#)	(%)
Planters	8,150	16.7	—	—	8,150	10.7
Yeomen/SO	13,180	27.0	3,080	11.25	16,260	21.3
Yeomen/NSO	16,930	34.7	13,020	47.50	29,950	39.3
Poor	10,540	21.6	11,300	41.25	21,840	28.7
Total #	48,800		27,400		76,200	

Note: "SO" = slaveowners, while "NSO" = non-slaveowners. The Federal figures result from taking the distribution of the 80 East Tennessee respondents summarized in Appendix 1-9 slaveholders, 38 non-slaveholding yeomen, and 33 "poor" families—and projecting it against the total 27,400 Federal troops from the region. Similarly, the Confederate figures result from applying the distribution among Rebel respondents from East Tennessee (Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 147) to the estimated number of Confederate troops from the region.

We can see, in fact, that, not only did men from East Tennessee slaveowning families choose overwhelmingly to join the Confederate forces, but an absolute majority of white soldiers from poor families in East Tennessee joined the Union side. As Table 2 shows, according to these reconstructed figures, 100 percent of all soldiers from planters' families in the region joined the Confederacy. The figure drops to 81 percent among smaller slaveholders, 57 percent from families that owned no slaves but at least eighty acres of land (or a house and lot in town), and only 48 percent among the owners of no land at all or, in any case, less than eighty acres.

Table 2. Percentages of East Tennessee Soldiers, by Army and Class.

Army	Planters (%)	YSO (%)	YNSO (%)	Poor (%)	Totals (%)
CSA	100.0	81.1	56.5	48.3	64.0
Union	—	18.9	43.5	51.7	36.0
Total #	8,150	16,260	29,950	21,840	76,200

Note: "YNSO" = non-slaveowning yeomen; "YSO" = holders of 1-19 slaves.

The two sources, together, permit another procedure. The compilation *Tennesseans in the Civil War* understates the number of Union soldiers. To judge from the questionnaires, at least one in ten white Federal soldiers from Tennessee enlisted in a unit from another state. George DeLaVergne's enlistment in New York offers just one example. Let us assume that the missing Tennessee men were distributed by region—and also by class—in the same proportions as the respondents who appear in the compilation. Then, it is likely that, instead of 27,400 white Federal troops from East Tennessee, there were more than 30,000. The new numbers—new absolute numbers and, thus, new proportions—appear in Table 3.²⁶

Table 3. Adjusted Percentages of East Tennessee Soldiers, by Army and Class.

Army	Planters (%)	YSO (%)	YNSO (%)	Poor (%)	Totals (%)
CSA	100.0	79.4	54.0	45.7	61.6
Union	--	20.6	46.0	54.3	38.4
Total #	8,150	16,600	31,380	23,080	79,210

Source: Table 2, with the figures for each category of Federal troops multiplied by 1.11 to account for those Tennessee men who enlisted in non-Tennessee units. "YNSO" = non-slaveowning yeomen, while "YSO" = holders of 1-19 slaves.

According to these adjusted figures, men from slaveholding families in East Tennessee tended to go Confederate by a margin of 86 to 14, as planters went Confederate by 100 percent and smaller slaveholders, 79 percent. By contrast, men from non-slaveholding families—a combined group that, in East Tennessee, was more than twice as numerous—divided evenly at 50 percent. The non-slaveholding yeomen gave a

²⁶Among the 106 Federal respondents analyzed here, twelve enlisted in units from other states than Tennessee—four in Indiana, three in Kentucky, two in Illinois, and one each in Ohio, Missouri, and Kansas. David Moss, however, offsets one of those men, for he was a North Carolinian in a Tennessee unit. Thus the 106 number is missing a net figure of eleven Tennesseans, so only 89.6 percent appear in the compilation. Projecting such figures onto the entire compilation, we can produce a revised aggregate for white Union troops from Tennessee. The procedure calls for multiplying all Federal figures by the inverse of nine-tenths (ten-ninths, or 111 percent). The new figures are, to be sure, one remove farther from the original data. But the probabilities are that those figures are that much closer to historical reality.

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In sum, then, across the eastern half of the Confederate state with the largest white population, the lower third—or half, or even two-thirds—of the social order may have supplied more manpower for the Federal army than for the Confederate.

Regardless, two conclusions are evident from this analysis of the questionnaires. Among white Tennesseans, Union soldiers came overwhelmingly from the non-plantation counties. And, in stepwise fashion, the lower their economic standing, the more likely men were to fight for the Union. Slaveholding families in the Tennessee blackbelt provided men for the Confederacy. The men from non-slaveholding families in the Tennessee upcountry, of whom there were far, far more, could not be counted on to aid the rebellion. Rather, they played a crucial role in suppressing it.

After the War

Union veteran John Gray remembered about the last six months of the war that "I was on the go all the time after the Bulls Gap Stampede went to Knoxville drew new equipments horses & co went on by rail to Virginia. Destroyed the salt works burnt the bridge to cross new river had several scurmeshes. then back to Knoxville then joined the Stonman Raid south." In 1865 he was all of seventeen years old when he returned to Greene County: "Happy to get home. Went at once to farming on my fathers farm went to school for some time."

Some reported trying times at the end of the war. David Moss remembered that "my trip home was very disheartening I some times could get something to eat sometimes nothing . . . finding all Burnd Houses Deserted & Burned." Newton Smelcer tried "farming as best I could being wounden and broken down in health." William T. Wood wrote that, after his return home, "Didnt do anything for some time, because I was not able, owing to exposure and starvation in Andersonville prison." The most dramatic event in the repatriation process took place on the Mississippi River near Memphis in April 1865, when the steamboat *Sultana*, frightfully over-loaded and struggling upstream, exploded with many hundreds of Union veterans on board on their way home from Confederate prisons. Two of the 106 Union respondents reported the disaster.²⁸

²⁷ A similar procedure for the Northwest region shows the Federal army enlisting one in four of the soldiers there—13 percent among slaveholders (none among the "wealthy") and 34 percent among non-slaveholders.

²⁸ John Hoback had been only one of several members of his family to fight as a Union soldier. His uncle, George P. Hoback, had been "captured and

For most respondents, the trek home was memorable primarily in that the war was over and they were, as William M. Harrad wrote, "free to return home once more as a citizen of this our America country." At the close of the war, Samuel Arthur Brown was "the happiest boy you ever saw when I met my loved ones." George W. Norwood was reunited with his "dear wife and my little boy." John W. Headrick recalled returning "to our homes and dear ones that we had left 2 year be four. I went to work at anything that I cold get to doo to get miney to pay yp detes that my mother had mad to live."

Again and again, we find that the respondents, most of them still young men in 1865, returned home to pick up their work where they had left off, and to marry and start a family. Joel A. Acuff, for example, having been discharged in May 1865, made his way home to Grainger County and "went to work on the farm again just as I had dun before the war. In Nov. '65 I married and settled down to farming and after a hard struggle I finally succeeded in buying a farm and raised my family on it." John W. Headrick "maid [married] Mis Cordela Fletcher" six months after his return home to Carter County; they raised six children and lived "hapy to gather" until her death in 1910. William Starbuck married Nancy Jane Simmons in July 1865 and bought a farm in 1870. In 1922 he was 74 years old, and he and his wife had raised seven children who lived "to Be grown," had thirty-three grandchildren and twelve great-grandchildren, and still lived on that farm in Perry County.

served in Kahaba prison in Ala. he lost his life on the Sultana." When James T. Wolverton mailed back his questionnaire, he enclosed a great deal of information about the incident. Unlike more than a thousand others, among them George P. Hoback, he had survived the explosion and fire and had been rescued from the icy water. Regarding the *Sultana*, the fullest treatment is James W. Elliott, *Transport to Disaster* (New York, 1962), and the most recent is William O. Bryant, *Cahaba Prison and the Sultana Disaster* (Tuscaloosa, 1990), Chapters 9-10 (Bryant uses James T. Wolverton's questionnaire). *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 Vols., Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Volume 48, Part I, 210-24, placed the total number of repatriated passengers at 1,866 and the total deaths in excess of 1,100. Oliver P. Temple states that there were 2,000 Federal soldiers and officers on board and 1,235 lost, with 400 East Tennesseans on board and 332 dead. *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1899), 482-85.

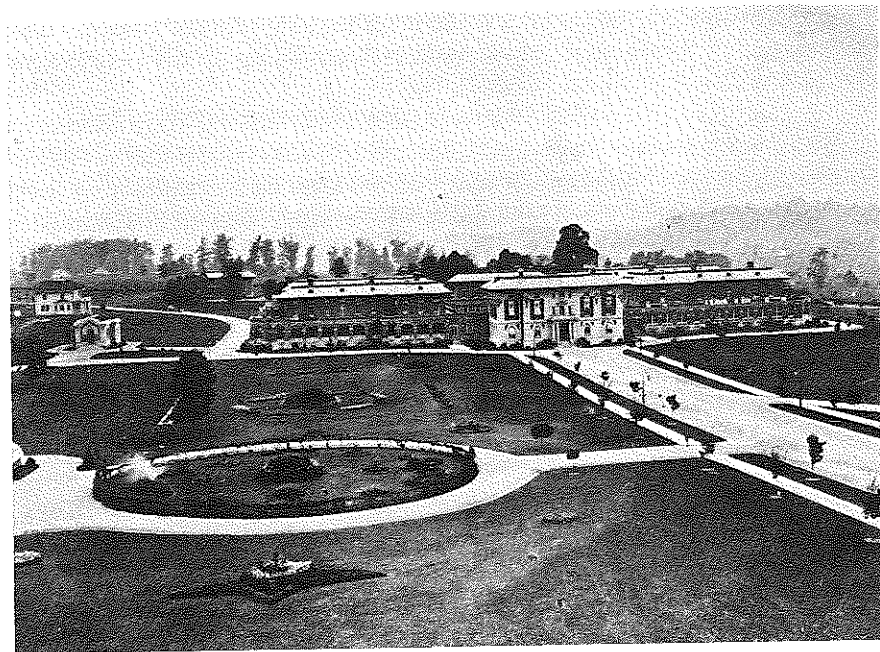
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William M. Harrad, one of the 106 respondents, resided for a time in the Mountain Branch Soldiers' Home, which had been established by Congress in 1901. Here, near Johnson City, Tennessee, thousands of honorably-discharged veterans of the Union army—as well as American veterans of subsequent wars—received medical care, lodging, and meals at the federal government's expense. *Courtesy Special Collections Library, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.*

Looking Back

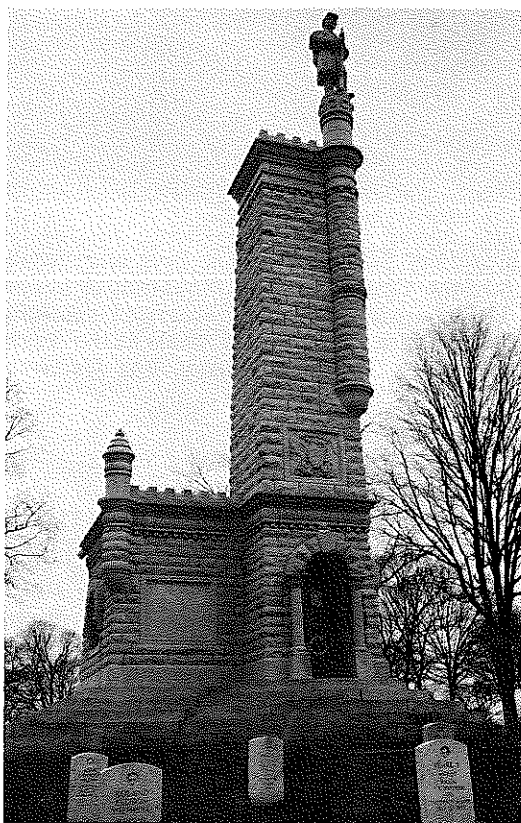
In contrast to their Confederate counterparts, these Union veterans were likely to identify as Republicans and to receive federal pensions.²⁹ David Moss, for example, declared "I am a Baptist and a Republican." He continued, defiant and proud, whatever John Trotwood Moore may have been expecting to hear: "I fought for my govmnt and I vote the way I shot." John W. Headrick wrote, "I ame now car[ed for] by the government I spent 2 years of my young manhood to save." William M. Harrad, raised an orphan in McMinn County, said, "I have bin a true republican true to my country," and, widowed now, he alternated between living with his grandchildren and "at the soldiers home."

²⁹Regarding federal pensions for Civil War veterans, see William H. Glasson, *Federal Military Pensions in the United States* (New York, 1918), Part 2.

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William Brewer, son of a propertyless farmer from Marion County, finished his questionnaire on a quiet note: Having grown "disable" and no longer able to continue "shoe coblin," "I am living on my pencion me and my wife wee have no children."

Aware of how the Civil War had been a war among Tennesseans as well as a war between Union and Confederacy, some respondents offered observations about the maintenance or retrieval of community in their localities. Despite all the tensions and changes, Oliver P. Chambers exhibited a steadfastness in one friendship; hiking home from the war, he "met one of my friends of befor the war who was a confederate soldier . . . and we were friends till his death." Finally, Irvin Hampton noted the postwar reconciliation of the families of wartime enemies: "I have lived to see my children & grandchildren married to the sons & daughter & neices of the boys who wore the Gray."



The Union soldiers' monument in Knoxville—the oldest and largest of such structures in Tennessee—overlooks a national cemetery.

APPENDIX 1
Commentary on the Questionnaires

Note 1:

The Tennessee questionnaires appeared in five volumes in 1985. The original manuscripts of the veterans' questionnaires are filed in folders at the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville. A microfilm copy is available, but the microfilm excludes some materials—photographs, for example—that respondents sent in with their questionnaires. In compiling the transcriptions, Elliott and Moxley used the microfilm copy (*The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*, 1: v, 112.)

Note 2:

Elliott and Moxley classified as Union veterans only 121 of the 1,648 total respondents. The Union veterans' questionnaires appear, in alphabetical order, in *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*, 1: 1-156. (The list [ibid., xx] has only 120 names but excludes William D. Atchly.) Several respondents, listed as Unionists, in fact fought first for the Confederacy and then for the Union. Frederick J. Jones, John Pitts, and William Smith McCollum all clearly served in both armies. Three other men appear to have been Confederates for a time: John Fain Anderson, Isaac Chatman, and William Whitaker. Anderson insisted that, though affiliated with the Confederate military and then with the Union, he "was never a soldier in either Confederate or US Army." I chose to include all six men in my quantitative analysis.

Note 3:

One batch of questionnaires was distributed in 1915, followed by a second series in 1922. The questionnaire forms—similar but not identical—can be consulted in either Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 137-46, or Elliott and Moxley, *Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*, 1: xi-xviii. It is evident from Bailey's version that Elliott and Moxley might better have differentiated their "Form 2" (the 1922 solicitation) into what could be called Forms 2a and 2b. Yet every single Union veteran who responded to Form 2 used Form 2a. (Bailey gives all 46 questions for Form 2a but only the first 41 of the 46 questions on Form 1.)

Note 4:

This study's approach depends on an ability to locate each respondent's county of residence on the eve of the Civil War. Not all respondents supplied such information. The 1915 questionnaires asked veterans what county they had been living in at the time they enlisted,

but the 1922 version asked no such question. Not all respondents to Form 2 were as helpful to later historians for this purpose as William Landon Babb, who related that in 1865 he had made his way "home to Greenville," or Creed Fulton Boyer, who wrote, "I have lived all my life in Cocke County." I have checked the prewar censuses in an effort to gather the necessary information. This task has been greatly facilitated by Byron and Barbara Sistler, comps., *1850 Census-Tennessee* (8 vols., Evanston, Ill., 1974-76), and *1860 Census-Tennessee* (5 vols., Nashville, Tenn., 1981-82).

Note 5:

The birthdates listed in Appendix 2 make it appear that the Civil War was a young man's war. Such was not the case. Rather, among the soldiers who survived the war, an even larger fraction of the older ones (those in their thirties and forties during the war) had died before the questionnaires went out. The years of birth listed in Appendix 2 are by no means all accurate; many are off by at least a year. I have determined the approximate years of birth from respondents' information, supplemented with data from the Free Population schedules of 1850 and 1860 (which give each person's age in years) and the Soundex of 1900 (an alphabetized guide to the U. S. census Population schedules for each state; it gives month as well as year of birth). Respondents were asked to state their age, but Form 1 respondents cannot be assumed to have given their ages as of 1915. Internal evidence makes it clear that some turned in their questionnaires later, and the census confirms that many more did so. In fact, of the 40 Form 1 questionnaires returned among the 106 analyzed here, no more than 5—and perhaps only 1—came back in 1915. A large majority were returned only in 1922, at about the same time as the Form 2 answers came in. It is a telling fact that, according to the dates listed in Appendix 2, the Form 1 respondents had a median birthyear of 1843, the same year as the Form 2 people.

Note 6:

The data on ownership of land and slaves comes from the respondents, except where (as with Uriah S. Allison), since they gave too little information, I consulted the census. In some cases, the data in Appendix 2 on the ownership of land and slaves relates to the respondent himself, but in most cases it relates to his father. Creed Fulton Boyer made the point when he stated that he was only a "miner" during the war and "was mustered out of service at 18th birthday." So did Samuel Arthur Brown, when he wrote, "I owned no property as was only 20 years old when I enlisted consequently I owned nothing." Some men had reached adulthood and headed their own families by the time the war came. William Smith McCollum had managed to accumulate 100 acres of his own by the age of 30. Newton

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Smelcer managed eventually to buy a farm: "I was about as poor as any of them and saved up enough to buy three hundred acres of land." William Dickson, however, the oldest respondent at 100 in 1922, had been only a renter, like his father before him, and thus was a good example of intergenerational upward immobility.

Note 7:

Definitions of social class are central to an essay on the "social origins" of Tennessee's Federal troops. In two ways, my categories may not be identical to those Bailey describes in *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 5: 1) I have placed in the "yeoman non-slaveholding" category respondents whose parents owned a town lot; Bailey does not specify how he handled that group; 2) In addition to "planters" (owners of at least 20 slaves), Bailey includes, among "the wealthy," members of "the professional class—merchants, attorneys, physicians, academy teachers, and ministers," but I have classified four people (who might have come under these categories) according to their ownership of land and slaves rather than occupation: William C. Blair, "farming and teaching," 200 acres and three slaves; John L. Moore, "farmer and school teacher," 184 acres, no slaves; Joel A. Acuff, "farming and preaching," 150 acres, no slaves; and William D. Atchly, "Minister of the Gospel" and "musical teacher," 140 acres, no slaves, property worth \$750 and thus the smallest amount among the four.

I offer two additional observations: 1) For some purposes, at least, it makes sense to divide Bailey's category of "the poor" into a) those who owned neither land nor slaves and b) those who owned from one to seventy-nine acres; alternatively, for purposes of classification, I would distinguish yeomen as those who owned any land at all (whether rural or town); 2) Bailey indicates that both categories of yeomen owned at least eighty acres of land, and that what distinguished them was slaveownership. It seems to me that the two groups should instead be described as a) non-slaveowners who owned at least eighty acres and b) owners of from one to nineteen slaves regardless of landownership. Except in the cases cited in the previous paragraph, however, I have used Bailey's definitions here in order to compare his data with mine.

Finally, since the analysis requires a reasonable reliability for the information about respondents' economic background, it would be helpful to check their testimony against another source. Did the respondents give reliable information regarding their families' holdings? A survey of the 1860 census schedules confirms that they did. Most indicated non-slaveownership, a status consistent with the census. Among the few who reported slaveowning status, Josiah B. Bewley recalled that his father had owned two slaves, and the 1860 Slave Schedule shows a figure (for Philip "Buly") of three. Thomas Mason reported three slaves, on the other hand, and the census showed his

father, Thomas T. Mason, as owning two. In some cases, the Free Population schedules showed significant ownership of personal property, consistent with the ownership of a number of slaves, and yet, when respondents denied such ownership, the Slave Population schedules support their testimony.

Note 8:

To supplement the information contained in the questionnaires regarding military service, I made use of Byron and Barbara Sistler, comps., *1890 Civil War Veterans Census—Tennessee* (Evanston, Ill., 1978). The 1890 veterans census was intended to pick up only Union veterans, but Confederate veterans comprised roughly 10 percent of the Tennessee respondents. The census gathered information on about 26,000 men who resided in Tennessee in 1890. Allowing 25 percent for men who had been Confederates or had been living outside Tennessee at the start of the Civil War leaves roughly 20,000 Union veterans, white or black, who had been living in Tennessee at the time of the war. About a hundred of these survived for another third of a century and turned in questionnaires. The special census schedule, taken by county along with the population schedule, supplies information regarding each man's military unit and term of service and his injuries and disabilities. The Sistler index, which specifies at which page of which county's census each entry can be found, includes that information.

Note 9:

Some respondents, or members of their families, appear to have sought compensation from the Federal government in the 1870s for damages they incurred as a consequence of their loyalty to the Union. Materials from their applications, though not used in this study, might prove of considerable interest. For an index to the Tennessee claimants, see Gary B. Mills, comp., *Civil War Claims in the South: An Index of Civil War Damage Claims Filed before the Southern Claims Commission, 1871-1880* (Laguna Hills, Calif., 1980), 94-119.

Blest be the memory of the grand army boys,
through danger and conflict they purchase our joys.
Though Kingdoms shall crumble like rocks into sand,
this union of states shall eternally stand.

Partial inscription on a 1925 monument dedicated to Union veterans of Athens, McMinn County, Tennessee.

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APPENDIX 2

Summary Data Sheet for 106 Union Troops from Tennessee

Name	Birth ¹	Slaves ²	Land ²	County ³	Form ⁴	Class ⁵
Region ⁺ 1: Southwest Tennessee (7 counties; <70 percent white): none						
Region 2: Northwest Tennessee (20 counties; >70 percent white): 21						
Adair, George W.	1846	0	130	Decatur	2	3
Adair, James D.	1844	0	128	Decatur	2	3
Birdwell, Albert	[1838]	0	150	Carroll	1*	3
Blair, William C.	1825	3	200	Carroll	1	2
Brown, Samuel A.	1842	0	600	Carroll	1*	3
Carter, John W.	1843	0	200	Carroll	1*	3
Giles, Cyrus G.	1841	0	120	Carroll	1*	3
Hampton, Irvin	1845	0	100	Carroll	1*	3
Hickerson, Wm. J.	[1843]	0	100	Perry	2	3
King, Wm. P.	1849	4	160	Carroll	1*	2
Parker, Wm. N.	1844	0	150	Gibson	1*	3
Pinkley, Richard K.	1841	0	[0]	Carroll	1*	[4]
Pitts, John***	1841	3	600	Hardin	1*	2
Robinson, Wm.	[1832]	0	240	Carroll	1**	3
Shelton, George W.	1843	18	250	Perry	2	2
Smith, James M.	1842	0	400	Carroll	1*	3
Starbuck, William	1848	0	1200	Perry	2	3
Taylor, James	1844	0	lot	Carroll	1*	3
Tucker, John W.	1843	0	yes	Carroll	1*	[4]
Wilkins, Wm. A.	1842	1	309	Decatur	1*	2

¹ Regarding year of birth, see Appendix 1, Note 5.

² "Slaves" and "Land" indicate ownership either by the respondent (if living on his own place in 1860-61) or by his father. See Appendix 1, Notes 6-7.

³ "County" indicates county of residence in 1860-61. See Appendix 1, Note 4.

⁴ "Form" indicated is either Form 1 (distributed in 1915) or Form 2 (distributed in 1922). See Appendix 1, Note 3. Form 1 is indicated "Form 1*" when the evidence (internal or in the census) suggests that it was filled out several years after 1915 (in most cases in 1922) and "Form 1**" in those cases when I have not determined whether the form was filled out in 1915 or 1922.

⁵ "Class" is indicated as "1" for planter (owner of at least 20 slaves); "2" for small slaveholder (1-19 slaves); "3" for non-slaveholding yeoman (a town lot or at least 80 acres of farm land); and "4" for poor family (no slaves and less than 80 acres of land). See Appendix 1, Note 7.

Wolverton, James T. 1845 0 lot [McNairy] 2 3

Region 3: Middle Tennessee (12 counties; <70 percent white): 5

George, S[amuel]	[1836]	0	0	Wilson	1*	4
Holmes, [Albert F.]	1831	0	100	Sumner	2	3
Ke[a]lton, James	1846	0	0	[Wilson]	2	4
Norwood, G. W.	1836	0	200	Giles	2	3
Wi[ks], Mar[t]	[1841]	0	0	Sumner	1**	4

Region 4: East Tennessee (45 counties; >70 percent white): 80

Acuff, Joel A.	1846	0	150	Grainger	1*	3
Allison, Uriah S.	1839	0	yes	Roane	2	[3]
Anderson, John Fain	1844	1	yes	Sullivan	1*	2
Atchly, William D.	1841	0	140	Sevier	2	3
Babb, Wm. Landon	1846	0	300	Greene	2	3
Bales, Harry	1824	0	100	[Jefferson]	2	3
Barnett, John Wilson	1847	0	160	[Bradley]	2	3
Bennett, Benjamin F.	1848	0	55	DeKalb	1*	4
Bewley, Josiah B.	1846	2	500	Greene	2	2
Blankenship, S. S. M.	1842	0	300	Macon	2	3
Boyer, Creed Fulton	1846	7	1000	Cocke	2	2
Bozarth, Joseph	1845	0	300	DeKalb	1*	3
Brewer, William	1847	0	0	Marion	2	4
Brimer, John	1846	0	0	Jefferson	2	4
Broyles, Charles L.	1844	0	155	Greene	2	3
Bullington, Marvin	1848	0	300	Putnam	1**	3
Chambers, Oliver P.	[1845]	0	lot	[Cocke]	2	3
Chatman, Isaac***	[1833]	0	0	Smith	1**	4
Christian, Wiley M.	1837	0	0	Roane	2	4
Cogdell, Joseph	1842	0	0	Cocke	2	4
Cox, Leroy Pate	1842	0	100	Macon	2	3
Davis, Tom	[1842]	0	0	DeKalb	1*	4
DeLaVergne, George	1840	0	300	Cumb'land	2	3
DEPEW, Robert E.	1842	0	0	Sullivan	2	4
Dickson, William	[1822]	0	0	Cocke	2	4
Dinsmore, John W.	1847	0	0	Hawkins	2	4
Dotson, Wiley	1847	[0]	[0]	Macon	2	[4]
Douglas, William A.	1843	15	400	Hend'son	1*	2
Duncan, Wm. F.	1842	0	100	Wash'ton	2	3
Finger, Marion	1844	0	0	Blount	2	4
Fox, Gilbert	1845	0	222	Sevier	2	3
Frank, George W.	1845	0	0	[McMinn]	2	4

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George, Wm. [H.]	[1840]	0	800	DeKalb	1*	3
Gore, Overton	1847	0	300	Overton	1*	3
GRAY, John	1848	0	150	Greene	2	3
Grindstaff, Isaac	[1842]	0	30	Carter	2	4
Hannah, Isaac A.	1843	0	150	Blount	2	3
H[arra]d, William	1844	0	80	McMinn	2	3
Hawkins, Carry N.	1846	0	75	Jackson	2	4
Headrick, John W.	1844	0	lot	Carter	2	3
Helton, Joab	1847	2	200	Grainger	1*	2
Hoback, John	1845	0	320	McMinn	2	3
Ho[ck]er, Alfred M.	1846	0	yes	McMinn	2	[4]
Johnston, William J.	1842	0	yes	Marion	2	[3]
Jones, Frederick J.***	1844	0	150	Sequ'chie	2	3
Jones, Henry H.	[1846]	2	200	Smith	1*	2
Knowles, John F.	1842	0	150	White	2	3
Krantz, Mike	1845	0	[0]	[Smith]	2	[4]
Lane, Moses E.	1838	0	500	Cocke	2	3
Layman, Asa	1840	2	175	Sevier	2	2
Layne, Charles	[1842]	0	200	Marion	2	3
Lowry, William	1843	0	160	McMinn	2	3
McCloud, Joseph	1840	0	50	Johnson	2	4
McCollum, Wm. S.***	1829	0	300	Greene	2	3
Mason, Thomas	1847	3	342	DeKalb	1*	2
Miles, Samuel D. ⁶	1838	0	0	Rhea	2	4
Miller, Moses	1844	0	80	Jefferson	2	3
Mills, Benjamin	1838	0	0	[Hend'son]	2	4
Mitchell, Wm. T.	1845	0	lot	Greene	1*	3
Mooney, John	1842	0	160	Hend'son	2	3
Moore, John L.	1843	0	184	Greene	2	3
Naugher, Jackson L.	1841	0	yes	Sevier	2	4
Patton, D. T.	1846	0	0	[Putnam]	2	4
Pierce, James W.	1846	0	0	Greene	1*	4
Prince, Martin V.	1837	0	100	[Bradley]	2	3
Roach, Anderson J.	1847	0	35	Grainger	1*	4
Roberts, William	[1837]	0	150	Greene	1*	3
Shelton, Mark	1841	0	22	Claiborne	1*	4
Shrader, Samuel	1844	0	75	Sevier	1*	4
Smel[cler, Newton	1842	0	3	Greene	1*	4
Spickard, Jacob	1831	0	0	Jefferson	2	4

⁶ Miles joined a "white" Federal company of free Tennesseans, but he and his parents and siblings are listed as mulattoes in the 1850 and 1860 Free Population Census schedules. According to the man who assisted Miles in filling out his questionnaire, "Mr. Miles is what we call here a Mohegeon."

Warren, Lot	1847	5	1800	[Marion]	2	2
Whitaker, Timothy	1840	0	200	Claiborne	1*	3
Whitaker, Wm.***	1837	0	100	[Jackson]	2	3
White, Jas. Lawson	1841	0	200	Carter	2	3
White, Stephen L.	1845	0	0	Macon	2	4
Williams, E. H.	1841	0	0	Jefferson	1*	4
Wilson, James	[1830]	0	0	[Hawkins]	2	4
Wilson, Jefferson	1846	0	yes	Jackson	2	4
Wood, Wm. T.	1844	0	0	Henderson	1*	4

+ = The regions are defined in terms of the Map, p. 78.

*** = Individual appears to have fought first for the Confederacy and then for the Union. See Appendix 1, Note 2.

[] = There is considerable uncertainty about the spelling of a man's name, the year of his birth, his (or his father's) ownership of slaves or land, or his county of residence on the eve of the war.

APPENDIX 2:

Summary Data Sheet for 106 Union Soldiers from Tennessee (cont'd) +

Name	Rank	Military Unit
Region 1: Southwest Tennessee (7 counties; <70 percent white): none		
Region 2: Northwest Tennessee (20 counties; >70 percent white): 21		
Adair, George W.	Private	Co. C, 2nd Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Adair, James D.	Private	Co. C, 2nd Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Birdwell, Albert	Private	Co. D, 7th Tenn. Cav.
Blair, William C.	Private	Co. G, 2nd Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Brown, Samuel A.		Co. F, 52nd INDIANA Inf.
Carter, John W.	Private	Co. F, 7th Tenn. Cav.
Giles, Cyrus G.		52nd INDIANA Inf.
Hampton, Irvin	Private	Co. G, 7th Tenn. Cav.
Hickerson, Wm. J.	Private	Co. E, 2nd Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
King, William P.	Private	Co. I, 7th Tenn. Cav.
Parker, William N.	Private	Co. M, 6th Tenn. Cav.
Pinkley, Richard K.	Corporal	Co. B, 7th Tenn. Cav.
Pitts, John***		46th OHIO
Robinson, William		7th Tenn. Cav.
Shelton, George W.	Private	Co. G, 2nd Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Smith, James M.	Private	Co. E, 7th Tenn. Inf.
Starbuck, William	Private	Co. E, 2nd Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Taylor, James		7th Tenn. Cav.

Tucker, John W.		7th Tenn. Cav.
Wilkins, Wm. A.	Corporal	Co. C, 2nd Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Wolverton, James T.	Corporal	Co. G, 6th Tenn. Cav.

 Region 3: Middle Tennessee (12 counties; <70 percent white): 5

George, S[amuel]	Private	Co. B, 5th Tenn. Cav.
Holmes, [Albert F.]		Co. A, 43rd MISSOURI
Ke[a]ton, James	[Private]	[Co. E, 4th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.]
Norwood, George W.	Corporal	Co. H, 13th INDIANA Cav.
Wi[ks], Mar[t]	Private	Co. D, 8th Mtd. Inf.

 Region 4: East Tennessee (45 counties; >70 percent white): 80

Acuff, Joel A.	Sergeant	Co. A, 2nd Tenn. Cav.
Allison, Uriah S.	Private	1st Tenn. Inf.
Anderson, John Fain***		
Atchly, William D.	2nd Lt.	Co. B, 6th Tenn. Inf.
Babb, William L.	Private	Batt. E, 1st Tenn. Light Art.
Bales, Harry	Private	Co. M, 1st Tenn. Cav.
Barnett, John W.	Private	Co. H, 12th Tenn. Cav.
Bennett, Benjamin F.	Private	Co. L, 5th Tenn. Cav.
Bewley, Josiah B.	Private	Co. A, 2nd Tenn. Cav.
Blankenship, S. S. M.	Private	Co. I, 9th KENTUCKY
Boyer, Creed Fulton	Private	Co. A, 3rd Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Bozarth, Joseph	Corporal	Co. C, 1st Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Brewer, William	Private	Co. D, 7th Tenn. Cav.
Brimer, John	Private	Co. F, 9th Tenn. Cav.
Broyles, Charles L.	Sergeant	Co. M, 1st Tenn. Cav.
Bullington, Marvin		1st Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Chambers, Oliver P.	Private	Co. A, 11th Tenn. Cav.
Chatman, Isaac***		
Christian, Wiley M.	1st Lt.	Co. B, 1st Tenn. Inf.
Cogdell, Joseph	Sergeant	Tenn. Cav.
Cox, Leroy Pate	Private	Co. I, 9th KENTUCKY Inf.
Davis, Tom		4th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
DeLaVergne, George	Lt. Col.	Co. I, 8th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
DEPEW, Robert E.	Private	Batt. E, 1st KY. Lt. Art.
Dickson, William	Private	Co. I, 1st Tenn. Cav.
Dinsmore, John W.	Private	Co. F, 1st Tenn. Light Art.
Dotson, Wiley		Co. D, 8th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Douglas, William A.	Private	Co. A, 7th Tenn. Cav.
Duncan, William F.		Co. M, 4th Tenn. Cav.
Finger, Marion	Private	Co. H, 5th Tenn. Inf.

Fox, Gilbert	Private	Co. A, 9th Tenn. Cav.
Frank, George W.	Private	Co. C, 11th Tenn. Cav.
George, William [H.]	Corporal	5th Tenn. Cav.
Gore, Overton		8th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
GRAY, John	Private	Co. H, 13th Tenn. Cav.
Grindstaff, Isaac	Private	Co. G, 13th Tenn. Cav.
Hannah, Isaac A.	Private	Co. H, 2nd Tenn. Cav.
H[arra]d, William	Private	Co. B, 7th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Hawkins, Carry N.	Private	Co. B, 8th Tenn. Inf.
Headrick, John W.	Private	Co. A, 13th Tenn. Cav.
Helton, Joab		Co. M, 9th Tenn. Cav.
Hoback, John	Private	Co. C, 3rd Tenn. Cav.
Ho[ck]er, Alfred M.		[Co. H, 5th Tenn.]
Johnston, William J.	Private	Co. E, 6th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Jones, Frederick J.***	Sergeant	Co. E, 6th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Jones, Henry H.	Corporal	Co. G, 4th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Knowles, John F.	Private	Co. F, 3rd ILLINOIS
Krantz, Mike	Private	Co. D, 8th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Lane, Moses E.	Private	Co. B, 3rd Tenn. Inf.
Layman, Asa	Private	Co. M, 2nd Tenn. Cav.
Layne, Charles	Private	Co. D, 1st Videt Cav.
Lowry, William	2nd Sgt.	Co. D, 5th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
McCloud, Joseph	Bugler	Co. G, 13th Tenn. Cav.
McCollum, Wm. S.***	Private	Co. F, 3rd Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Mason, Thomas	Private	Co. K, 4th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Miles, Samuel D.	Private	Co. E, 2nd Tenn. Cav.
Miller, Moses	Private	Co. F, 9th Tenn. Cav.
Mills, Benjamin	Corporal	Co. A, 48th ILLINOIS Inf.
Mitchell, William T.	Private	Co. E, 4th Tenn. Inf.
Mooney, John	Private	Co. C, 6th Tenn. Cav.
Moore, John L.	Private	Co. E, 4th Tenn. Inf.
Naugher, Jackson L.	Private	Batt. E, 1st Tenn. Lt. Art.
Patton, D. T.		Co. E, 9th Tenn. Cav.
Pierce, James W.	Private	Co. A, 13th Tenn. Cav.
Prince, Martin V.	Sergeant	Co. K, 12th Tenn. Cav.
Roach, Anderson J.	Private	Co. F, 8th Tenn. Cav.
Roberts, William	Private	Co. D, 6th INDIANA
Shelton, Mark	Private	Co. H, 1st Tenn. Cav.
Shrader, Samuel	Private	Co. F, 9th Tenn. Cav.
Smel[cler], Newton	Private	Co. E, 1st Tenn. Cav.
Spickard, Jacob		Co. A, 9th Tenn. Cav.
Warren, Lot	Private	Co. C, 1st Videt Cav.
Whitaker, Timothy		Co. I, 3rd Tenn. Inf.
Whitaker, Wm.***	Private	Co. C, 9th KANSAS
White, James L.	Private	Co. G, 13th Tenn. Cav.

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White, Stephen L.	Private	Co. D, 8th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Williams, Ezekiel H.	Private	Co. E, 8th Tenn. Inf.
Wilson, James	Private	Co. G, 13th Cav.
Wilson, Jefferson	Private	Co. B, 8th Tenn. Mtd. Inf.
Wood, William T.	Private	Co. A, 7th Tenn. Cav.

+ = I have used the information that the veterans supplied for themselves, and I have supplemented that with detail from *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, volume 2, as well as from the 1890 Census of Union Veterans. See Appendix 1, Note 8.