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**‘Liberty is the word with me’
The Ideologies and Allegiances of Civil War Soldiers in Hamilton
County**

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Departmental Thesis

The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

History

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March 31st 2014

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“That you and my children may enjoy the blessings of freedom is my first wish. My first duty is to do my part in securing these.”

- David M. Key, February 2, 1862¹

“tell them when I come hom I intend to bee independent.... Liberty is the word with me”

- James N. Levi, June 8, 1863²

Ideas of freedom, liberty, patriotism, community, and family were of the upmost importance to the soldiers of Hamilton County, Tennessee fighting in the Civil War. Though they all shared a strong belief in the significance of family and a strong connection to the founding fathers, fundamental differences in their understandings of patriotism, community, freedom, and liberty drew them to opposing armies with often disastrous consequences for themselves and the city of Chattanooga. Identifying those men who fought and the reasons why they wore the blue or the gray is essential to gaining insight to the nature of conflict and secession in East Tennessee. More importantly, however, that knowledge sheds light on the shared beliefs as well as the deep divisions in identity and society of a county at war with itself.

David McKendree Key and James N. Levi were two such men who found themselves in opposing lines of battle. Though both men conveyed deep concern for and longing to see their families through the war, they understood their identities and ideas of liberty in radically different ways. Key was a wealthy Chattanooga lawyer whose identity, rooted in a sense of southern nationalism, led him to fight for freedom

¹ David M. Key to Elizabeth Key, February 2, 1862, Key Papers, Chattanooga Public Library.

² James Levi to Nicey Levi, June 8, 1863, Private Collection of James Douthat, Signal Mountain, Tennessee.

from federal government oppression as a lieutenant colonel in the Confederate Army of Tennessee. His part in the war and his efforts to secure the Confederate notion of freedom for his family ended after he was wounded and later paroled following the surrender at Vicksburg in July 1863. Ironically, he represented East Tennessee in the United States House of Representatives after the war. Unlike Key, James N. Levi was a poor farmer from Waldens Ridge whose fight for liberty from the oppression of wealthy southern elites had begun by walking for thirteen days and nights through Confederate lines to enlist as a private in the Union Army in Kentucky. His war also would end before Appomattox after his capture at Rogersville, Tennessee, in the fall of 1863, and his death at Andersonville Prison on June 3, 1864. In Key's success after defeat and Levi's death before victory, these men embodied the powerful consequences of the war for the fighting men of Hamilton County.

These men who risked so much in their decision to fight, represented two of the three main groups of soldiers from Hamilton County who fought in the Civil War. The first included residents of the more urban parts of the county, and included both remarkably wealthy and extremely poor people whose livelihoods linked them with the southern economy. That connection fostered identities and ideas of nationality more in tune with that of other southern soldiers in 1861. The second group consisted of the men who lived in rural parts of the county or who were otherwise isolated from railroad commerce with the rest of the South. These men retained a strong sense of American patriotism that was less altered by their southern neighbors; but unlike their brothers in arms in the North, local forces greatly affected their decisions to serve. The third group of Hamilton County soldiers was up made of the former slaves who

filled the ranks of the 42nd and 44th Regiments of U.S. Colored Troops (USCT). Whether they volunteered or were conscripted, these men risked both their lives and their liberty when they donned the U.S. Army uniform. They could also rest assured knowing that they would lose both if they were captured or failed to win the war. Regardless of how they understood liberty, Hamilton County's men in uniform would have to kill their fellow citizens in an effort to attain it.

War's ability to bring forth what was most important to the societies and the men who fought them provides historians with an excellent opportunity to better understand who the people of Hamilton County were and what they believed. The white people of Hamilton County shared a common culture that included the importance of family, deep religious faith, honor, white supremacy, and a reverence for and desire to emulate the example of their revolutionary forefathers. But they also were a community divided by the economic opportunities provided by the railroad, as the identities of citizens who lived closest to this mode of transportation assimilated into the identities of people with whom they traded throughout the rest of the South. Meanwhile, the more rural residents retained a point of view less influenced by their fellow southern states than by their pioneering and revolutionary forefathers. Regardless of differences, the values and beliefs held by the fighting men of Hamilton County were critical in keeping them in service through the drudgery of garrison life as well as the crucible of combat. This thesis will argue that differences in degree of connection to the greater South led to a divergence in ideology that outweighed a shared cultural heritage of urban and rural Hamilton County citizens, motivating them to join either the Confederate or Union army.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

After the sounds of cannon fire and bugles had faded across what was once again the United States of America, veterans of the Civil War like Samuel R. Watkins and John D. Billings began to pen memoirs of their experiences. Those remembrances, sometimes written decades after their authors had heard the first miné ball zip past their heads or cased their regiments' colors forever in 1865, were some of the first writings after the war to attempt to make sense of what they had seen and explain why men fought in it. While these memoirs are certainly interesting reads and valuable sources of information regarding how soldiers viewed their time in service, historians cannot rely on them entirely to provide objective assessments of why men first picked up a rifle and marched to war. Since those memoirs were penned, the question of why men fought in the Civil War has inspired volumes of scholarly debate as historians have argued over which motivations were most central to soldiers' decisions to serve, endure the privations of military life, and face the specter of death in battle again and again through years of war.

Knowledge of national, regional, and local events, as well as the motivations that led most Civil War soldiers to defend or dissolve the Union, is critical in understanding the roots of allegiance in Hamilton County. This study relies on three categories within the field of Civil War history to provide the context required to make sense of men's choices in a divided nation, state, and community. The first category is comprised of studies on a national scale encompassing both Unionists and Confederates by historians such as Bell Irvin Wiley, Gerald Linderman, and James McPherson. In their analyses of soldiers' experiences and motivations to fight, they

debate whether ideological or sociocultural reasons were most important for inspiring them to enlist and then, after years of war, to stay the course. The works of Phillip Pauldan, Kenneth Noe, Todd Groce, Joseph Glatthaar, and John Inscoe comprise the second group of writings that also are focused on soldiers' motivations. These works, however, provide studies of specific groups of soldiers ranging from later enlisting Confederates throughout the South to small pockets of Unionists in rural North Carolina.³ Daniel Crofts, Noel Fisher, Charles Bryan, and Stuart McGehee provide regional studies that narrow in geographical scope from the Upper South, to East Tennessee, and to the city of Chattanooga. Though the historians in this last group do not focus extensively on soldiers' motivations to fight, they do provide insight to what those soldiers experienced in a region where local events and community differences had great effects on men choosing to wear the blue or the gray.

Modern study of Confederate and Union soldiers began in 1943 with Bell Irvin Wiley's *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, and *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* in 1952. Both books describe the full spectrum of the common soldiers' wartime experiences, from the monotony of camp life to the reasons they fought, and have served as a foundation for future study.⁴ Primarily using letters, diaries, statistics drawn from muster rolls, and studies of World War II soldiers for evidence of enlistees' motivations, Wiley argues

³ The start of conscription, the impressment of men into the army or navy, marks the division between early and late enlisting soldiers. Confederate conscription began April 14, 1862, and Union conscription began on March 3 1863.

⁴ James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 184.

that Civil War soldiers were not particularly spurred on by their ideologies.⁵ Instead, Wiley proposes that antipathy towards northerners' criticism of the "peculiar institution" of slavery, community pressure, and desire for adventure led many young men to enlist in the Confederate Army. In the North a groundswell of patriotism after the firing on Fort Sumter brought the first surge of men into the Union Army, to be followed by a mere trickle of enlistees induced to join by promises of bounties or the threat of conscription.⁶ Although his argument that ideology was not a significant inducement to fight is no longer widely accepted, Wiley's works still serve a foundational role in the study of Civil War soldiers' motivations.

Gerald Linderman, in his 1987 book *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War*, claims that the *rage militaire*, patriotism, and romantic ideas of combat that Wiley describes were significant enough to make men enlist, but that over the course of the war other factors would gain primacy as reasons to fight. Courage, Linderman asserts, was at the center of a constellation of values and beliefs that initially drew men into line of battle; but repeated baptisms of fire washed away its importance to the veteran soldier.⁷ By 1864, many soldiers saw combat not as an opportunity to demonstrate their courage, but as a brutal, bloody, and destructive endeavor in which courage simply increased chances of death.⁸ Linderman goes on to suggest that growing cynicism led to an increasingly negative

⁵ Ibid., 184, 189.

⁶ Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943), 15, 17; Bell Irvin Wiley *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Louisiana State University Press, 1952), 17, 20.

⁷ Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 7, 214.

⁸ Ibid., 214.

view of the men who had stayed at home during the war.⁹ Although Linderman makes a compelling argument about the effects of battle on Civil War soldiers, both James McPherson and Joseph Glatthaar note that Linderman draws most of his evidence from published accounts written after the war, sources that are extremely susceptible to the fading memories of old men.¹⁰ Still, *Embattled Courage* provides interesting perspectives on the experiences of men on the field of battle, and is particularly useful in understanding how combat may have changed them.

Published in 1997, James McPherson's Lincoln Prize-winning book *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* makes a clear break with previous thought on soldiers' motivations to serve. In place of courage or antipathy towards northern insults, McPherson places ideology as the most central reason that men fought in the war.¹¹ His definition of ideology is inclusive of patriotism, nationalist sentiment, and liberty.¹² He argues that ideology paired with the concept of primary group cohesion sustained those citizen-soldiers through nearly five years of war.¹³ In stark contrast to Linderman's work, *For Cause and Comrades* is supported by a massive number of unpublished sources in the form of correspondence and diaries written during the war. Although McPherson openly dismisses the ideology and contributions of later enlisting soldiers, his argument for the significance of ideology in the minds of Confederate and Union soldiers justifiably

⁹ Ibid., 220.

¹⁰ McPherson, *Cause*, 186; Joseph Glatthaar, Review of *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War*, by Gerald Linderman, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 112 no. 1 (January, 1989): 115-116.

¹¹ McPherson, *Cause*, 34.

¹² Ibid., 85, 168.

¹³ Ibid., 85, 168.

holds the position as the most widely accepted explanation of why men served in the bloodiest war in United States history.¹⁴ This thesis has adopted McPherson's concepts of ideology, *rage militaire*, religion, and honor to situate it neatly into the existing historiographical debate.

The regional differences in slave labor, economy, and society that divided the nation were also at work within the South. The region was far from a monolithic bloc for secession. The Mountain South in particular was home to die-hard Unionists, fire-breathing Secessionists, and men with every viewpoint in between. From such a significant variance in beliefs for and against secession came soldiers whose desire to fight spanned the spectrum from the most eager Confederate and Union volunteers of 1861 to the malingerers and conscripts forced into service later in the war. Recent historical debate has focused on these groups of men who do not fit quite so neatly into the molds cast by Wiley, Linderman, and McPherson.

When Philip Paludan published *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War* in 1981, he was clearing a new path towards understanding the Civil War through the study of small groups that – due to their atypical nature – had been repeatedly ignored in previous historians' attempts to create a broader understanding of the Civil War. *Victims* focused on a small community in the rural town of Shelton Laurel in western North Carolina. Although the geographical scope of the book is quite narrow, the depth of understanding it creates in terms of explaining the roots of southern Unionism sheds light on communities far from the remote valleys of North Carolina. Paludan posits that the degree of economic connection that communities had to the

¹⁴ Ibid., 51.

greater southern economy, previous political affiliation, and extremely local factors such as relationships among families were key determinants of whether groups supported secession or fought against it. The same appears to be the case in Hamilton County.¹⁵ In *Victims*, Paludan makes extensive use of modern psychological and sociological research, as well as interviews with descendants of the men and women he describes in Shelton Laurel during the Civil War. Historians successfully have built upon his arguments regarding the nature of Unionist and Confederate support in the Upper South.

John Inscoe also has written extensively on Unionism in the Upper South, and specifically in southern Appalachia. In *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South* published in 2001, he reasserts the importance of microhistories in the study of southern Unionists living in the South because of those people's ability to "defy generalization in terms of their identities, their motives, and their experiences."¹⁶ He also posits several motivating factors that may be loosely applied to this diverse segment of the southern population. Inscoe argues that despite the many differences between the pockets of Unionist support across the South, family affiliation was the most reliable determinant of allegiance.¹⁷ Opposition to slavery, however, was not important in how men decided their allegiance, according

¹⁵ Phillip Paludan, *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), xi.

¹⁶ John Inscoe and Robert Kenzer eds., *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

to Inscoe; but previous affiliation with the Whig Party and feelings of local oppression were correlated with Unionist sentiment.¹⁸

Studies of smaller groups of soldiers within the South are not limited to pockets of Unionist sentiment in southern Appalachia, Atlanta, or Texas. Joseph Glatthaar's 2008 *Civil War History* article, "Everyman's War: A Rich and Poor Man's Fight in Lee's Army," again narrows the scope, in this case from all soldiers to only those in the Army of Northern Virginia, to permit a more in-depth study of Civil War combatants. This article effectively puts notions of a Confederate "rich man's war and a poor man's fight" to rest, asserting that wealthy Confederates were actually overrepresented in Lee's army.¹⁹ Glatthaar's nuanced approach to family wealth in his population analysis of Civil War service records and 1860 census data provides a compelling argument and shaped the use of statistics in this thesis.

Kenneth Noe addresses yet another subset of the Confederate population in his 2010 book *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates Who Joined the Army after 1861*. Although James McPherson clearly had given the men who did not enlist early in the war short shrift – casting them as "sneaks" and unwilling soldiers "unmotivated by duty, honor, or ideology," – Noe chose to focus on them, because without an understanding of these men "scholars and general readers alike would never truly understand the full range of the soldier experience."²⁰ Through his extensive use of soldiers' correspondence and emphasis on quantitative measures to "count and

¹⁸ Ibid., 5,7.

¹⁹ Joseph Glatthaar, "Everyman's War: A Rich and Poor Man's Fight in Lee's Army," *Civil War History* 52, no. 3 (September 2008): 245.

²⁰ McPherson, *Cause*, 102,168; Kenneth Noe, *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates Who Joined the Army after 1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), xii.

categorize rigorously and systematically” the contents of those letters, Noe avoids the potential trap that Glatthaar identifies as “cherry pick[ing] qualitative information from Civil War letters and diaries in order to produce almost any desired finding.”²¹ This methodology led Noe to conclude that later enlisting soldiers may have been less verbose about their feelings on ideology, but that their desire to defend their families, property, and community was just as great as any early enlisting soldiers when faced with the prospect of an invading northern army.²² Even more than its findings, the methodology proposed in *Reluctant Rebels* significantly influenced the approach taken in this study of Hamilton County soldiers.

Todd Groce addresses the minority of Confederate soldiers in East Tennessee in his 1999 book *Mountain Rebels: East Tennessee Confederates and the Civil War, 1860-1870*. These soldiers, Groce argues, were in the unenviable position of being disliked by the majority of their Unionist neighbors and untrusted by the rest of the Confederacy who identified them with the stalwart Unionism expressed by men like prominent Knoxville Unionist William Brownlow.²³ The effects of the railroad on the society and economy in East Tennessee are of central importance to Groce’s assertion that the Confederates in the region were primarily younger urban dwellers who found themselves more economically and ideologically aligned with the rest of the South when the secession crisis began.²⁴ Groce supports this argument with voluminous correspondence as well as 1860 census data. Hamilton County’s position

²¹ Noe, *Reluctant*, 13.

²² Noe, *Reluctant*, 60.

²³ Todd Groce, *Mountain Rebels: East Tennessee Confederates and the Civil War, 1860-1870* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), xv.

²⁴ Groce, *Mountain*, xiii.

as a railroad nexus connecting the southern Atlantic states to Virginia and the West makes *Mountain Rebels* an indispensable resource for interpreting the actions of the people East Tennessee.

Daniel Crofts bridges the gap between works defined by which communities within the South they study and research delineated by their geographic scope in his 1987 book *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis*. This “quantified study of secession” in the Upper South points out the deep divisions that secession created within Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, and the importance of slaveholding status as well as political affiliation in support for secession.²⁵ Crofts also sheds light on the nature of support for the Confederacy in his explanation of how Abraham Lincoln’s call for 75,000 troops in April 1861 led to feelings of resentment and betrayal from Upper South conditional Unionists.²⁶ While the connection between slaveholding status and support for secession that Crofts identifies does not hold true for the soldiers of Hamilton County, his analysis of the links between political affiliation and support for secession helps to explain how and why Hamilton County was divided.

Noel Fisher’s 1997 study of East Tennessee, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869*, addresses not only the effects of politics on Unionist and Confederate sentiment, but also the importance of local factors such as county railroad taxes in determining support for secession.

²⁵ Daniel Crofts, *Reluctant Rebels: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 131, 376.

²⁶ Crofts, *Reluctant*, xviii, 334; Conditional Unionists were people in the southern states who adopted a “wait and see” approach to Lincoln’s election as President, and did not immediately advocate for secession.

Using advanced population analyses of social, political, and economic data, Fischer describes a deeply divided region that experienced an additional layer of conflict in the form of intermittent guerilla warfare that simmered below the massive troop movements, battles, and sieges of the conventional war. An understanding of this aspect of the war in Hamilton County is crucial to discovering why men fought in a county that was home to both Unionist bridge burnings in 1861 and a surge in Confederate guerilla attacks in 1864.

Charles Faulkner Bryan's 1978 doctoral dissertation, "The Civil War in East Tennessee: A Social, Political, and Economic Study," serves the same type of foundational role for historians of the region that Bell Wiley's *The Life of Johnny Reb* and *The Life of Billy Yank* do for understanding the Civil War soldier experience. Citing a wealth of correspondence and period newspapers, Bryan describes a region that in 1861 the editor of the Chattanooga newspaper *The Daily Rebel* called a "disunited section of a factional state in a country rent asunder by civil war."²⁷ Bryan also describes the difficulty that commanders of both Union and Confederate armies faced in attempting to control such an ideologically and geographically fragmented region. Bryan's comprehensive study of the war's events – as well as its effects on local governments, churches, and other social institutions – is critical in building context for the events and people described in this study.

"Wake of the Flood: A Southern City in the Civil War, Chattanooga, 1838-1873" is Charles McGehee's 1985 dissertation that chronicles the city from its

²⁷ Charles Faulkner Bryan Jr., "The Civil War in East Tennessee: A Social, Political, and Economic Study" (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1975), 33.

founding, through its rise to prominence and divergence with the rest of the county, and finally its experience during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Its detailed descriptions of the decision to make Ross's Landing the site of the Western & Atlantic Railroad terminus, the city's first citizens, and the growing friction between the city and the surrounding countryside makes "Wake of the Flood" indispensable in any Civil War study of Hamilton County.²⁸ The real strength of McGehee's work, however, lies in his use of census data and information on local businesses drawn from newspapers and government records in describing the economic and social aspects of the city, to which he ties urban soldiers' motivations to join the Confederate cause.

Despite its relative geographic isolation as a part of East Tennessee, Hamilton County was still a community subject to the effects of national and regional events and ideas. The potential for significant diversity in the economic, political, and social experiences of Hamilton County residents, as well as the complicated nature of events that occurred during the secession crisis, necessitate an understanding of a wide variety of perspectives on Civil War history. Although none of the studies described above are a perfect fit in providing comprehensive explanations of the nature of Unionist or Confederate sentiment, they all contribute to an appreciation for the maelstrom of forces pushing the men of Hamilton County to war.

²⁸ McGehee, Charles S., "Wake of the Flood: A Southern City in the Civil War, Chattanooga, 1838-1873" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1985), 13, 15.

METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND

The purpose of this thesis is to understand what motivated the men of Hamilton County to give up the safety and familiarity of home, march to war, and fight for years on opposing sides of the bloodiest war in American history. Initially the study was limited to correspondence from the men of Hamilton County to wives, sweethearts, family, and friends. Though the few surviving letters that soldiers sent home reveal a great deal about their views on family and the war, it quickly became apparent that a broader understanding of the men who served was required. With Joseph Glatthaar's analysis of the Army of Northern Virginia in mind, this study looked to the 1860 United States Federal Census and the National Archives' *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee* and the *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee* to put soldiers' letters into proper context. Census data and service records offer insights into whether they deserted, how many slaves they owned, how many children they had, how much property they possessed, and where they first "saw the elephant." Although all of this information paints a remarkably detailed picture of who these men were and what they experienced, it alone cannot explain why they took up arms. Therefore, understanding why these men fought in the Civil War is possible only through a combination of analyses of their socioeconomic statuses, their actions during the war, and their own words in letters written home.

Hamilton County in 1860 encompassed approximately 500 square miles of land divided by rivers and ridges and tied together with roads and rail lines. All of

those barriers and connections affected where and how people lived as farmers, professionals, and laborers. Pieces of information such as wealth, occupation, number of children, slaves owned, and place of residence within the county become critical pieces in creating the socioeconomic mosaic that depicts who these people were both individually and as a community living in such a varied landscape. Historians, particularly Groce, Crofts, and Fisher, frequently have cited elements of socioeconomic status and geographical location as indicators for differences in support of or resistance to secession. Accordingly, this information is required to evaluate whether the themes identified in broader investigations apply to Hamilton County. To ensure that this information was available for all soldiers represented in this study, appearance in the 1860 Hamilton County census became the key criterion for inclusion in this project's sample of soldiers.

Finding any Hamilton County resident in the census is a relatively straightforward process; however, the lack of a register of all men who lived in Hamilton County in 1860 *and* served in the war made identifying soldiers a much more complex task. Determining which of the county's men wore gray was greatly simplified by Nathan Hughes Jr. and John Wilson's book *The Confederate Soldiers of Hamilton County, Tennessee*. Although it contains Confederates who moved to the county after 1865 and thus could not be included in this study, the book was an invaluable resource in identifying not only soldiers, but also additional materials that proved to be extremely important in building the sample. One of these sources was *Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel*, which lists several Union and Confederate

regiments and companies known to have men from Hamilton County in their ranks.²⁹ It was common in the Civil War to organize military units by where their soldiers came from, and all of a community's military aged men often filled a single regiment. Although that practice proved disastrous to communities that had almost entire generations of their young men killed at places like Gettysburg and Shiloh, it makes the historian's task of identifying where those men came from possible. This is particularly true of Unionists like Private James Levi, who "travailed thoug the mountains 13 days an nites" to enlist in a company of Hamilton County men who had fled to Kentucky in the fall and winter of 1861 and 1862.³⁰

In order to ensure that the great number of Hamilton County men who enlisted early in the war were adequately represented, units like companies A and I of the 19th Tennessee Confederate Infantry – initially organized in Chattanooga – were included. But because the Confederate Army first occupied Chattanooga until September 1863, identifying early enlisting Unionists proved extremely difficult. In 1861 a group of 800 Hamilton County men under the leadership of Unionist William Clift attempted to form the 7th East Tennessee Infantry Regiment (U.S.A) but were forced to disband by Confederate authorities and thus left no written records. The administrative papers of Company I of the 2nd Tennessee Infantry Regiment (U.S.A), which also organized in 1861, were captured and destroyed during the war.³¹ This leaves the earliest enlisting Unionists like Private Levi underrepresented. Men from Hamilton County

²⁹ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel* vol. 1, Nashville, 1964, 418.

³⁰ James Levi to Nicey Levi, April 24, 1863, Private Collection of James Douthat, Signal Mountain, Tennessee.

³¹ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 418.

who wished to join the Union Army were forced to sneak through Confederate lines as they traveled north to Kentucky, where many enlisted in early 1862.³² Had they been able to enlist in Hamilton County, it is likely that many of those Union soldiers would have signed a muster roll in 1861.

Tying a soldier's military records to the correct census entry required multiple sources and considerable use of judgment. Robert Alexander Hooke is an excellent example of the complicated nature of this process. Hooke was a son of Judge Robert M. Hooke, who supervised Confederate enlistments in Chattanooga; he also was the brother of two soldiers fighting for the Confederacy. Oftentimes census takers used only one spelling for a surname, and middle initials were included intermittently; so there is a "Hook, Robert" and a "Hook, Robert A." in the 1860 census, and no record of anyone with the surname Hooke. Although the "Hook, Robert A." entry was very likely the Robert Alexander Hooke identified in service records and correspondence, his date of birth found in *The Confederate Soldiers of Hamilton County, Tennessee* text was used to confirm that Robert Alexander Hooke and "Hook, Robert A." were one and the same. There also is evidence of a "Robert Hooke" and "R.A. Hooke" within the Confederate military record. To identify which one is actually Robert Alexander Hooke of Hamilton County, information from his letters was used to determine that he was the shipping clerk R.A. Hooke identified in records from Dalton, Georgia, where his family resided as refugees. Generally, if there was doubt in linking a particular soldier's military records to a census entry, that soldier was left out of the sample rather than risking the inclusion of incorrect information. For

³² Bryan, "Civil War," 6.

example, there are eight John Smiths of military age in the 1860 Hamilton County census, and five in Carter's 1st Tennessee Cavalry (C.S.A.) alone; but only two are included in the sample, because soldiers whose records did not include birth dates were omitted.

After a soldier met the criteria for inclusion within the sample, his status as head of household, wealth, marital status, occupation, and listing as a deserter often required additional interpretation of evidence. In the 1860 census, the head of household usually was listed at the top of each family entry, with their dependents listed below. Adult men occasionally lived at the home of their employers. In these cases, men with different surnames than the head of household, normally with occupations such as clerk, farm laborer, or prisoner, were considered to be their own head of household. Several entries list a woman as the head of household with an occupation of domestic or farmer. In these cases, men sharing her surname were not considered to hold that position in the home even if they had an occupation listed next to their names.

Determining the appropriate family wealth data also required interpretation of multiple sources in a few cases. Occasionally, the sons of wealthy elites lived with their employers, and census takers identified them as having no real estate or other personal property. In such cases, these young men were entered into the sample with the wealth figures of their parents. This decision prevents a young man who had no wealth of his own, but who came from an extremely wealthy family, from being listed as a pauper, and was only applicable in very few instances. Unfortunately, marital status was not included in the 1860 census. Only if a man was married within the

past year was he identified as such; marital status therefore was determined by whether the head of household lived with a woman of similar age just below the entry of his name. Occupation often was recorded on military records as well as in the census, and when those documents differed, both occupations were included in the sample.

Finally, many soldiers on both sides went absent without leave (AWOL) or deserted during the war. Only soldiers who were positively listed as deserters were marked as such in the sample. But in a very few cases, these soldiers had been captured or killed and were listed erroneously as deserters. In these instances, particularly when a soldier had been killed, dates of desertion were compared carefully with dates of casualty and prisoner rosters to judge if a soldier actually had deserted. Often Confederate soldiers' status as deserters were confirmed by their taking oaths of allegiance to the Union without any record of their capture.

Comparison of census data and soldier records yields not only individuals' socioeconomic profiles, but also critical information about their service by analyzing dates of enlistment, ranks, bounties paid, presence at major battles, and reports of desertion. Just as census data makes it possible to evaluate the validity of Groce, Crofts, and Fisher's arguments on a county scale, service records provide ample opportunities for comparison with the findings of McPherson, Linderman, and Noe. They are particularly useful in understanding changes in motivation as the war progressed and differences between men who enlisted before and after the start of Confederate conscription in 1862 and Union conscription in 1863. Only when the two bodies of information are compared, however, do interesting trends emerge, such

as the significantly lower average but higher median wealth of Union soldiers; the nearly equal desertion rates of early and late enlisting Confederates; or the fact that 73 percent of soldiers who were farmers fought for the Union. The predominance of support for the Union among farmers is clearly represented in the letters used in this study, with three of the four Unionists (who wrote twenty-seven letters) and none of the Confederates identifying themselves as farmers in the 1860 census.

A search of the Tennessee State Library and Archives, the Chattanooga Public Library, the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the Special Collections and University Archives of Lupton Library at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, and private collections yielded a total of forty-seven letters and one diary written by Hamilton County soldiers identifiable in the 1860 census. Although weighted towards upper-class authors, this sample of correspondence includes a full spectrum of men on the socioeconomic scale, from Unionist Private James Levi and Confederate Sergeant William Brown with as little as \$150 to their names, to one of the county's wealthiest men William Clift with \$64,000 in real and personal estate holdings. Fortunately the authors' ranks are more closely aligned with the soldiers represented in the broader demographic sample, with five privates, two soldiers of unknown rank, and one First Sergeant, First Lieutenant, and Colonel. This means that despite its small size, this sample of Hamilton County correspondence still manages to capture the thoughts of each category of rank (lower enlisted, noncommissioned officer, company grade officer, and field grade officer),

with the exception of general officer.³³ However, more than 50 percent of soldiers from Hamilton County owned less than \$1,000 in property of any kind, and only William Brown's diary and the three letters written by Private James Levi represent this group. But that does not mean that the attitudes of these men are not represented in the letters of higher ranking and wealthier soldiers. The majority of commissioned and non-commissioned officers in this sample initially were elected to their positions by the men of their regiments and companies, which suggests that there was some degree of shared belief across socioeconomic lines. Kenneth Noe acknowledges in *Reluctant Rebels* that "a truly random and representative sample of men long dead is impossible this side of heaven"; nonetheless, this collection of letters indeed represents the thoughts and beliefs of men across a wide spectrum of socioeconomic and military strata.³⁴

In the introduction to *Enemies of the Country*, John Inscoe quotes Revolutionary War historian Jean B. Lee's position that "wars are flash points that provide unusual access to past communities. They throw into graphic relief the

³³ Private was the only commonly held lower enlisted rank in the army during the Civil War. Sergeant, Quartermaster Sergeant, and First Sergeant were the three most commonly held non-commissioned officer ranks and yielded more authority than the rank of Private, but less than the commissioned officer ranks that start with Lieutenant. Commissioned officer ranks are commonly divided into three levels: company grade, field grade, and general grade. Company Grade officers encompass all levels of Lieutenant rank up to the rank of Captain. Captains most often commanded companies of fifty to one hundred men, but also held staff positions. The term field grade officer applies to the ranks of Major, Lieutenant Colonel, and Colonel. A Colonel most often commanded a regiment consisting of approximately ten companies. Lieutenant Colonels and Majors often served on the staffs of Colonels or Generals. General Grade officers consisting of Brigadier General (modern "one star general"), Major General (modern "two star general"), Lieutenant General (modern "three star general"), and General (modern "four star general") held command positions in brigades (four to five regiments), divisions (three to four brigades), corps (three to four divisions), and armies (two to three corps) respectively. Only one general grade officer in the Civil War was an 1860 resident of Hamilton County.

³⁴ Noe, *Reluctant*, 13.

contours of the societies involved.”³⁵ The letters that soldiers write to their friends and family from the front lines provide some of the chief benchmarks and contour lines that allow historians to create a map of the most important beliefs, events, and themes that define a society. It was not always easy, however, for soldiers to write a few lines home. The soldiers represented in this study explicitly stated their difficulties in writing or sending letters home on nineteen occasions in the forty-seven letters included in the sample. Since, demands of military service as well as logistical difficulties frequently made correspondence challenging, it is logical that soldiers filled their communications with the information that they thought was most significant to themselves or their families. It is important, therefore, to view each sentence as a soldier’s opportunity to send valuable information home and not to dismiss any part of his correspondence before giving it serious consideration.

Grounded Theory Method (GTM), a methodology popular in sociology research, provides the perfect vehicle to formally “count and categorize rigorously and systematically” all parts of any letter, however seemingly mundane, that a soldier invested the time and effort to send to his family or friends.³⁶ GTM is easily adapted for use in historical research, as it is essentially a formalized take on traditional primary document analysis; GTM carries the added benefit of creating quantified results. This method can be divided into three basic steps, the first of which is coding. Coding involves categorizing segments of text by their use of particular words or the expression of similar ideas. For example, the phrases “liberty is the

³⁵ Inscoc, *Enemies*, 13.

³⁶ For a more complete explanation of Grounded Theory Method, see Ralph LaRossa, “Grounded Theory Methods and Qualitative Family Research,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67, no. 4 (2005): 837-857.

word with me” and “my Ad vice is to stay tell Washingtons Flag restores to you your liberty a gain” are both identified with the code LIBERTY because each passage contains the word “liberty.”³⁷ Once each part of a document has been assigned a code, codes are grouped together to form concepts. In this study, the concept *CHIVALRY* is comprised of several different codes including HONOR, DUTY, GALLANT, and MANHOOD.³⁸ This process was replicated for other factors such as ideology, religion, slavery, and support from home that previous historians have cited as key motivating factors for service among Civil War soldiers. Scholars frequently disagree about the exact definitions of concepts, particularly ideology, patriotism, and honor.³⁹ The use of GTM provides the opportunity to make absolutely clear how these concepts are defined, measured, and identified within the text of primary source documents, which allows this study to sidestep some of the less productive semantic debates that permeate this particular field of scholarship.

The purpose of the laborious process of coding and conceptualizing all of the text in each of these soldiers’ letters is to ascertain how important central ideas in the existing historical debate – such as ideology, support from home, and chivalry – were to soldiers from Hamilton County. The letters also have been categorized by their author’s rank, wealth, date of enlistment, marital status, etc., thus giving voice to different subsets of the population of fighting men of the county. Using ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software, it is possible to see how frequently different groups

³⁷ William M. McGill to Sarah McGill, January 25, 1863, McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; James Levi to Nicey Levi June 8, 1863, Private Collection of James Douthat, Signal Mountain, Tennessee; Codes are identified in this paper using all capital letters.

³⁸ Concepts are identified in this paper using all capital letters and italics.

³⁹ Noe, *Reluctant*, 6.

of soldiers wrote about various concepts. McPherson argues in *For Cause and Comrades*, for example, that ideological factors such as liberty, freedom, patriotism, and slavery were much more important for early enlistees than late enlistees.⁴⁰ Those factors appear almost equally in the letters of early and late enlistees of Hamilton County. Seemingly unimportant portions of letters – like how to direct letters, or requests for more letters – are best served by this method of analysis. 251 segments of text focus on instructions for sending and writing letters, showing the fundamental importance of communication with home to all of these men. In comparison, those same soldiers wrote only twenty statements about slaves or the institution of slavery. Rhetorical dynamite comes in small packages, though, and each letter is also viewed with a more conventional historical approach to primary sources. That concurrent analysis ensures that statements like James Levi’s instructions to his wife to “tell all my enemys to gow to hell and Bee damed in thee first degree,” are not buried in a mountain of data, because soldiers so rarely expressed hatred of this kind in letters to their families.⁴¹ While this collection of correspondence provides only a glimpse of what was happening in the mind of its author, it still supplies the best opportunity to access their thoughts regardless of how explicitly they made their beliefs known in writing.

⁴⁰ McPherson, *Cause*, 168; The ratios of ideological statements to letters written was 1.02:1 among early enlistees and 1.20:1 among late enlistees, suggesting that some later enlistees were perhaps more ideologically motivated than their earlier enlisting brothers in arms.

⁴¹ James Levi to Nicey Levi, April 24, 1863, Private Collection of James Douthat, Signal Mountain, Tennessee.

A SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE

On the ninth of May 9, 1850, the first train steamed through the tunnel at Missionary Ridge and into the ten-year-old city of Chattanooga, bringing with it both the promise of economic prosperity and seeds of destruction and violence.⁴² Thirteen years later on November 25, 1863 the Union Army would travel in the opposite direction breaking the siege of Chattanooga. At least 117 Hamilton County citizens, among them Unionist William M. Shipley of Soddy Daisy and Confederate John Hackett Kennedy of Chattanooga, took part in the fighting that day.⁴³ The decision to locate the terminus of the Western & Atlantic Railroad on the southeastern shore of the Tennessee River near the Georgia border in 1838 had created a divide among the residents of Chattanooga and the surrounding farmland long before those men met in battle.

Rivers and ridges divide Hamilton County's geography into three distinct regions. The northeastern part of the county is marked by Waldens Ridge to the east and the Tennessee River to the west and south. In 1860 only one bridge connected it to Chattanooga to the south, and the Igou Ferry connected it to the east. The eastern part of the county lies west of White Oak Mountain along the Bradley County border, with Chickamauga Creek to the South, and the Tennessee River to its west. The new city of Chattanooga was positioned in the southeast corner of the county almost

⁴² McGehee, "Wake," 17, 23.

⁴³ "5th Regiment, Tennessee Infantry," nps.gov, last modified March 9, 2014, http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-regiments-detail.htm?regiment_id=UTN0005RI; John D. Fowler, *Mountaineers in Grey: The Nineteenth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, C.S.A.* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press 2004), 123; Two men in this sample were captured, two were wounded, and one was killed as the Fifth Tennessee Infantry Regiment (U.S.A.) and the Nineteenth Tennessee Infantry Regiment (C.S.A.) fought the battle.

completely surrounded by ridges, creeks, and rivers on all sides. While multiple roads followed the ridges and river northward from Chattanooga, only two major roads crossed the county from east to west. Despite the convergence of three railroads at Chattanooga, the city was no more linked to the rural parts of the county than it was before. On the contrary, as the railroads tied the city to neighboring states in the South economically and culturally, its divergence from the rest of the county only grew. The lack of easy access to the railroad left the county seat at Harrison on the eastern bank of the Tennessee and the town of Dallas on the western bank of the river as comparative economic backwaters.⁴⁴ Soon, the trade-based economy of Chattanooga and the agricultural-based economy of the majority of the county were at odds over county legislation such as introducing railroad taxes that did more to support urban rather than rural residents.⁴⁵

Those local political issues and economic and ideological ties to the rest of the South often determined the degree of Unionist or Confederate support in Hamilton County. The residents of the county clearly supported staying in the Union, with the majority voting for Constitutional Unionist John Bell for president in 1860, over 70 percent opposition to a convention on secession in February 1861, and nearly 60 percent voting against secession on the referendum held on June 8, 1861.⁴⁶ On the surface, these results seem to confirm Daniel Crofts's argument that previous political affiliation with the Whig Party determined support for the Union.⁴⁷ However, many

⁴⁴ Harrison was established as the county seat in 1840.

⁴⁵ McGehee "Wake," 54.

⁴⁶ Noel Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 202; Crofts, *Reluctant*, 85, 151.

⁴⁷ Crofts, *Reluctant*, 134.

of the men who cast votes for secession in 1861 also had been Whigs prior to the Party's collapse. The Whig Party had enjoyed endorsement from both the rural and urban citizens of the county because of its support for local internal improvements that served to relieve the county's isolation.⁴⁸ The secession crisis split this bloc of support and men's allegiances predominantly along rural and urban lines. This new divide led local Unionists to denounce both Democrats and former Whigs for the secession crisis.⁴⁹ Men like local Democratic Party leader David M. Key most clearly embodied the pan-southern urban Secessionist view, but they were not the norm.⁵⁰ Most early support for secession came from previous supporters of the Whig Party in Chattanooga, making political affiliation a problematic indicator of Unionist sentiment.

This division within the county reveals itself in the number of soldiers who enlisted from each district. The area including Chattanooga and its immediate surroundings – consisting of the third, fourth, fifth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth census districts – was clearly the heart of Secessionist support in the war. Confederates outnumbered Unionists at the junctions of the Western & Atlantic and East Tennessee & Georgia railroads by a ratio greater than six to one. To the north, Unionists dominated the county seat at Harrison and the farmland north of the Tennessee River with an almost equal ratio of support. Interestingly, enlistment in the easternmost portion of the county along the border with the traditionally Democratic voting Meigs County and Bradley County was uniformly divided

⁴⁸ McGehee, "Wake," 52.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 53.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 52.

between men who raced to enlist in either the Union or Confederate armies. Just as Groce argued in *Mountain Rebels*, the merchants of the city and men like David M. Key were inextricably bound to the economies of other southern states such as Alabama and Georgia.⁵¹ As an ardent Secessionist, Key epitomized this view of Chattanooga's relationship to the South when he told his wife in 1861, "We are in the South and long live the South I say."⁵² The Union men in the northeastern part of the county appeared equally devoted to their concept of patriotism to the United States, a commitment that had not been influenced by a connection to the rest of the South. William M. McGill expressed his strong views on the roots of his allegiance to his brother, who had escaped to the North in January 1863:

my Ad vice is to stay tell Washingtons Flag restores to you your liberty a gain
I watch with a firm fisted principel to se our old bannor that our four fathers
faught and bled and dide under i want To see it att every dore and then we
can Exclaim peace where there's no peace Att this time⁵³

That "firm fisted principel" proved to be neither firm nor principled later in the war when McGill deserted in 1865 after repeated attempts to gain a discharge from military service. Unfortunately, research did not turn up any letters written by the men of the divided districts in the eastern portion of the county; but their proximity to the traditionally Democratic voting counties of Bradley, and Meigs, the latter of which also voted for secession, may have affected their views on the southern cause.⁵⁴ The eastern portion of the county was clearly the most divided. It is also

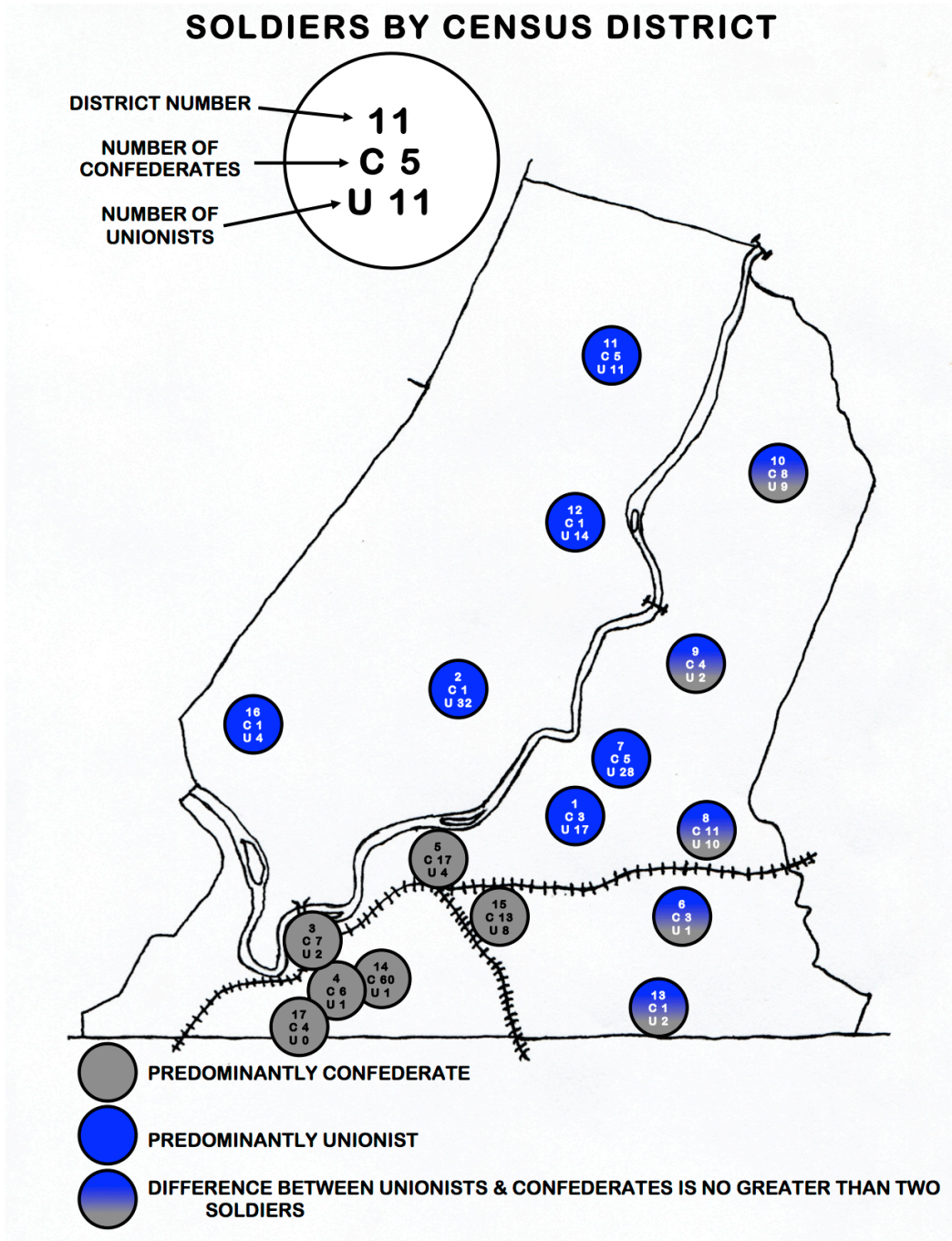
⁵¹ Groce, *Mountain*, 16, 20, 21.

⁵² David Key to Lizzie Key, June 10, 1861, Key Papers, Chattanooga Public Library.

⁵³ William McGill to unnamed Brother, January 25, 1863 McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

⁵⁴ Groce, *Mountain*, 40.

Map 1



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⁵⁵ This map was redrawn from the census district map found on the second unnumbered page of James Douthat's *1860 Hamilton County, TN Census*; United States Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*, (Washington, D.C., 1864), www.ancestry.com; United States, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee*,

important to note, however, that only one of the seventeen census districts, the Confederate seventeenth, supplied soldiers to a single side of the fight, reminding us that divisions within the county permeated almost all of Hamilton County.

A study of soldiers' occupations further reinforces the view of the county as being divided along rural and urban lines. Those soldiers who held such occupations as businessmen, skilled workingmen, and unskilled laborers primarily resided in and around Chattanooga. Also, of all of the occupations represented, merchants and professionals stood to gain the most by Tennessee's secession.⁵⁶ By 1860 the poorer residents of the city clearly could see that their employment and future prosperity was tied directly to the financial success of their employers, and they seem to have adopted their wealthier neighbors' understanding of "Southern Rights."⁵⁷ Market ties to the cotton states were not the only reason that urban men had for supporting secession. At the onset of the secession crisis, Chattanooga was deeply in debt to multiple northern banks and investors.⁵⁸ The Tennessee General Assembly gained more concrete support from merchants and city leaders by passing an act affecting out of state debts in April, 1861, a month before the final referendum on secession. Entitled "An Act to Prevent the Collection of Debts Owning by Citizens of Tennessee to Citizens of the Non-slaveholding States, during Hostilities," this measure absolved any debts to people or organizations from non-slaveholding states during the course

(Washington: National Archives, 1959), www.fold3.com; United States, *Compiled service records of volunteer Union soldiers who served in organizations from the State of Tennessee*, (Washington: National Archives, 1963), www.fold3.com.

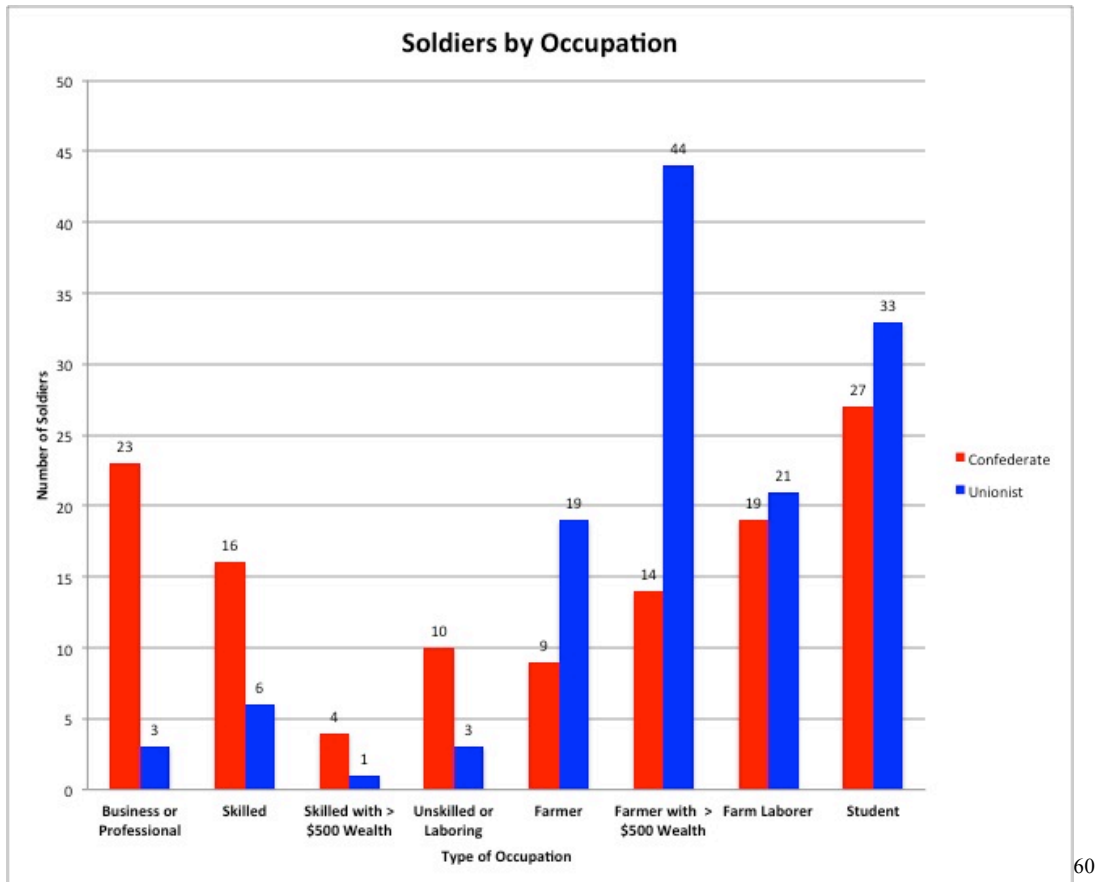
⁵⁶ Groce, *Mountain*, 16; McGehee, "Wake," 91.

⁵⁷ McGehee, "Wake," 84.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

of the war.⁵⁹ It also allowed them to continue paying those debts to the Tennessee state

Graph 1



treasury with the promise of being reimbursed with interest at the end of the conflict, essentially creating a form of war bond that also denied money owed to the Confederate states' enemies.⁶¹ Such an act clearly was designed to strengthen support in urban centers that had accrued significant debt in building their railroads. But it was only one of many factors, including the events at Fort Sumter and

⁵⁹ Tennessee, *Public Acts of the State of Tennessee, Passed at the Extra Session of the Thirty-Third General Assembly, April, 1861*, (Nashville: J.O. Griffith & Co., 1861).

⁶⁰ 1860 Census; and Compiled Service Records.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Lincoln's request for troops, that yielded a nearly 17 percent erosion of support for the Union between February and June 1861.⁶² By contrast, the farmers and farm laborers, who formed the majority of Federal soldiers from the county, were not indebted to northern investors and had no direct ties to the greater South.

Meanwhile, the large number of students who became soldiers should not be surprising.⁶³ These sixty young men who comprised approximately one-fifth of the soldiers in this sample supplied what any army needs: young idealistic men without wives or children to give them pause before signing their names to muster rolls. Their decisions to join either the Union or Confederate army likely was heavily influenced by the opinions of their parents and families; but their enthusiasm also was encouraged by their teachers, who in some cases enlisted alongside their pupils.⁶⁴ Though the county voted with nearly a 60 percent margin against secession in the June referendum, the statewide vote carried Tennessee out of the Union.⁶⁵ News of the results provided the students atop Lookout Mountain with an excellent opportunity to display their zeal with coal tar bonfires and "speeches on the virtues of secession."⁶⁶

White day laborers and farm workers certainly were not the only sources of labor in and around Chattanooga. Hamilton County was one of the eight largest slaveholding counties in East Tennessee at the outbreak of the Civil War, and at least

⁶² Fisher, *War*, 202; McGehee, "Wake," 60; Crofts, *Reluctant*, xviii.

⁶³ The 1860 census identified which members of a household had attended school within the past year, and indicated in the occupation column if an individual was a medical or law student.

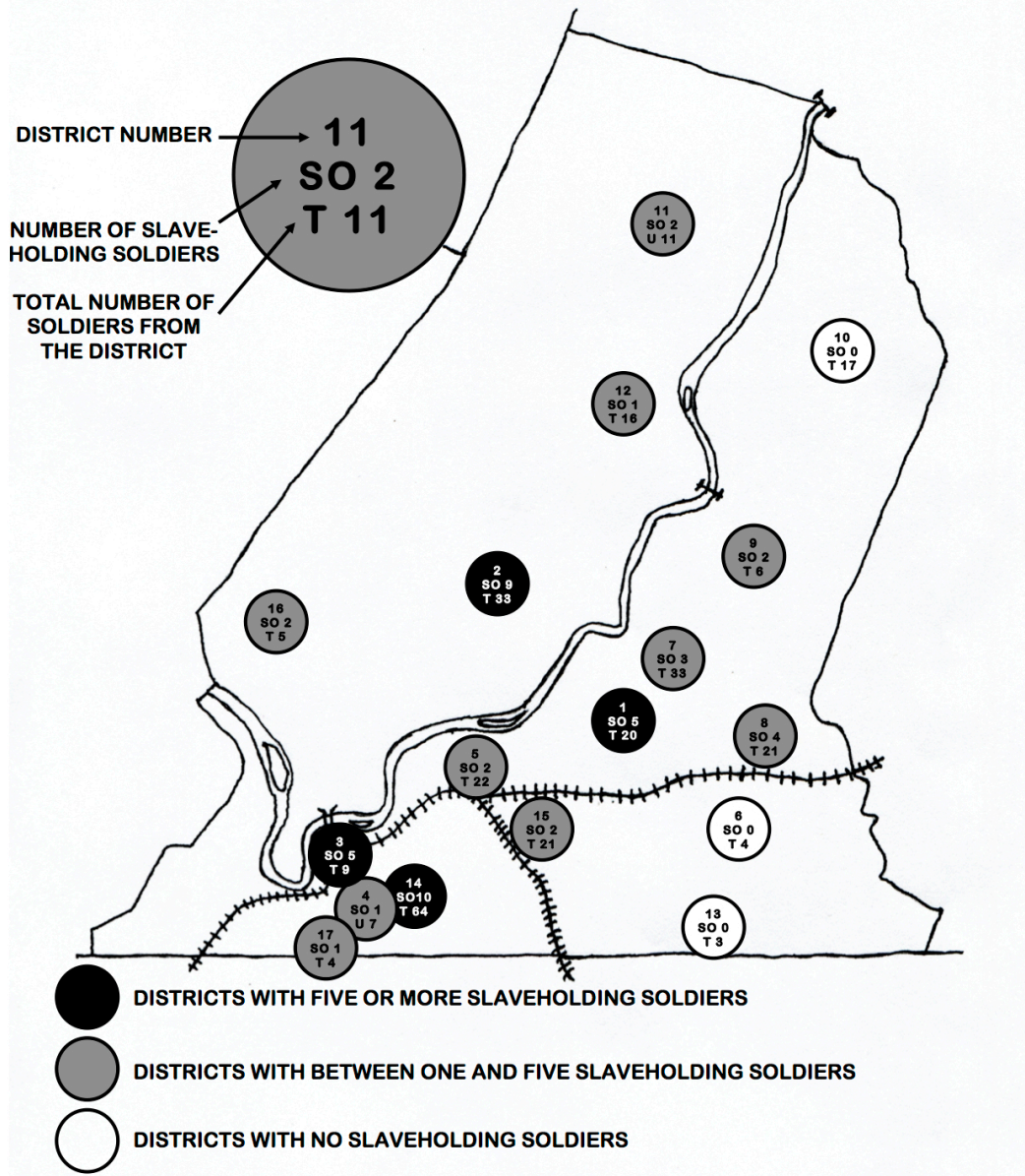
⁶⁴ Insoe, *Enemies*, 63.

⁶⁵ Fisher, *War*, 202.

⁶⁶ Groce, *Mountain*, 21.

Map 2

SLAVEHOLDING SOLDIERS BY CENSUS DISTRICT



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⁶⁷ This map was redrawn from the census district map found on the second unnumbered page of James Douthat's 1860 *Hamilton County, TN Census*; 1860 Census; Compiled Service Records.

three families owned twenty or more slaves.⁶⁸ The sources of this study show that unlike the United States as a whole, slave ownership was not a determinant of support for or against secession in Hamilton County. William Crutchfield, one of the most prominent Unionists in the county, owned the most slaves at forty-four.⁶⁹ Although the 19 percent of Confederate soldiers who owned slaves normally owned more than their slave-owning Unionist counterparts, 13 percent of Unionist soldiers also owned human chattel. The four districts with the most slave owning soldiers were divided evenly between Unionist and Confederate centers of support. In fact, only three districts in the easternmost part of the county did not send slave-owning men to war. Slavery may have caused the war, and its abolition was certainly the best thing that came out of those years of carnage. The near universal support of that “peculiar institution” from the citizens of Hamilton County, however, meant that the issue of slavery itself had little to do with determining which army they joined.

The distribution of wealth among Unionists and Confederates offers insight to not only the division between Unionists and Secessionists in the county, but also to the makeup of each group of recruits. Joseph Glatthaar dispels the notion that the Confederate cause was a “rich man’s war and a poor man’s fight” in his 2008 article “Everyman’s War: A Rich and Poor Man’s Fight in Lee’s Army,” and his findings hold true for the Rebels of Hamilton County.⁷⁰ Soldiers from families with real and personal estate holdings exceeding \$10,000 served disproportionately in the Confederate Army and make up 14 percent of the fighting men included in this

⁶⁸ Groce, *Mountain*, 6; McGehee, “Wake,” 252.

⁶⁹ 1860 Census.

⁷⁰ Glatthaar, “Everyman’s,” 245.

sample. Judge Robert M. Hooke, one of the sixteen elites mentioned in Charles McGehee's "Wake of the Flood," served as a Confederate enlistment supervisor, and sent three of his sons to war.⁷¹ James W. Gillespie was also one of Chattanooga's leading citizens and served as the commanding officer of the Forty-Third Tennessee Infantry Regiment (C.S.A.) above David M. Key.⁷² Half of the Confederate recruits owned \$300 or less, and 20 percent owned no property whatsoever. Those less wealthy recruits were primarily farm and day laborers and served as lower-enlisted soldiers under the leadership of wealthier residents who regularly served as officers.⁷³ Thirty-five-year-old "Sex Master" William C. Brown was one of the many poor soldiers with only \$100 in personal property and no real estate in 1860.⁷⁴ His feelings of patriotism seem no different than those of his leadership when he commented during the Atlanta Campaign on the September 1, 1864 that "the troops have no Confidence in Gen'l Hood's abilities as a Chief Commander, but they do not doubt his courage nor Patriotism."⁷⁵ Wealth figures characteristic of middle to upper-middle class status apply to only 29 percent of Confederate recruits, making their war a truly "rich and poor man's fight."⁷⁶

⁷¹ McGehee, "Wake," 85.

⁷² McGehee, "Wake," 261; David Key to Lizzie Key, December 14, 1861, Key Papers, Chattanooga Public Library.

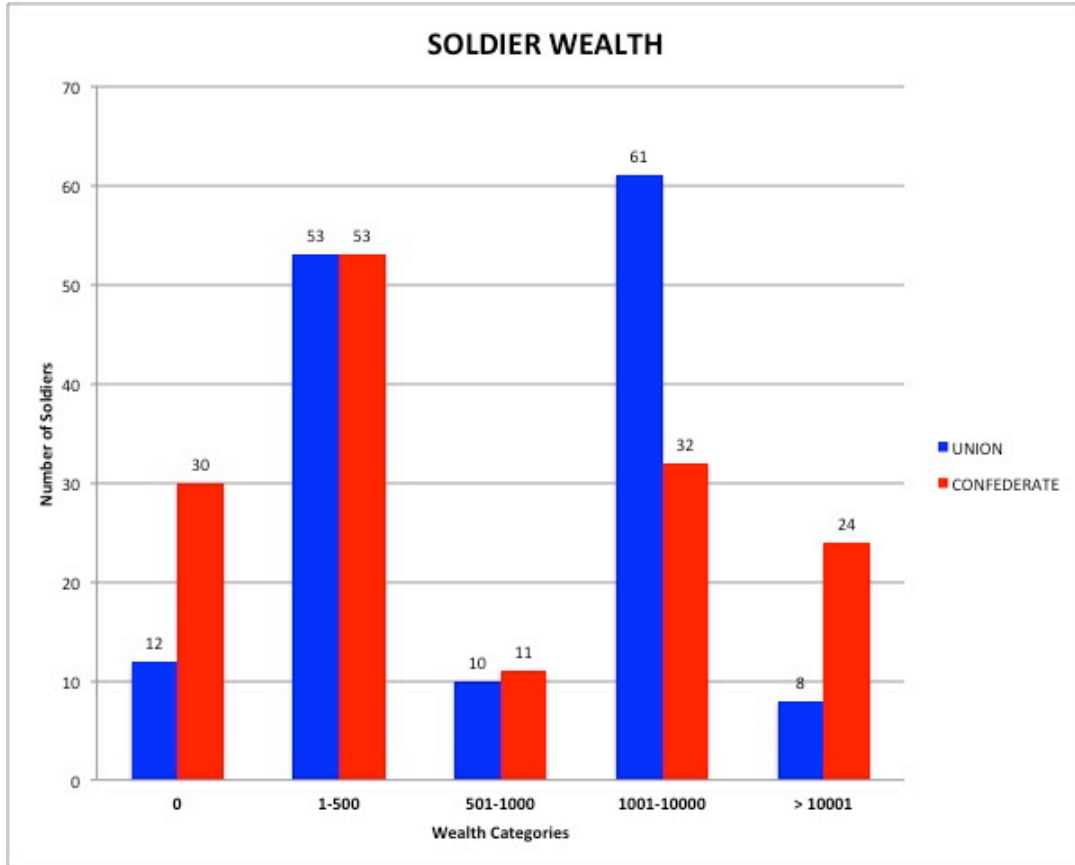
⁷³ 1860 Census.

⁷⁴ 1860 Census; Mr. Brown's occupation was listed in the census as "Sex Master." As a resident of Chattanooga with neighbors were occupied as switch conductors and railroad linesmen, Mr. Brown's employment likely was tied to the railroad. Research into the nature of the profession of "Sex Master" resulted only in looks of disbelief, laughter, and lewd images. Perhaps "Sex" was short for switch, sexton, or station executive.

⁷⁵ W.C. Brown Diary, September 1, 1864, Chattanooga Public Library.

⁷⁶ 1860 Census; Glatthaar, "Everyman's," 245.

Graph 2



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Patterns of wealth among Union recruits are significantly different from those of their Confederate neighbors. Although approximately equal numbers of Federal and Rebel soldiers held between \$100 and \$1,000 in property, the poor, upper-middle class, and wealthiest segments of each population reveal important distinctions between the men in blue and those in gray. The most notable difference was the higher number of men from families with between \$1,000 and \$10,000 in wealth who fought for the Federal Army.⁷⁸ Those soldiers made up 42 percent of all Union enlistees, and a great deal of their wealth came in the form of farmland in the central

⁷⁷ 1860 Census; Compiled Service Records.

⁷⁸ 1860 Census.

and northeastern parts of the county. The percentage of men from families with wealth in excess of \$1,001 dollars was 48 percent, indicating that wealth may have played an important role in men's decisions to enlist.⁷⁹ However, during the Confederate occupation of East Tennessee in 1861 and 1862 under General Felix Zollicoffer and later General Kirby Smith, Unionists were often subject to arrest and their property was vulnerable to confiscation.⁸⁰ This was a result of the Confederate Legislature's passage of the Alien Enemies Act of August 8, 1861, and the Sequestration Act of August 30, which required suspected Unionists to take an oath of enlistment or face severe consequences.⁸¹ As a result it was not uncommon for some men to swear allegiance oaths or sign enlistment contracts but then immediately desert in an effort to avoid the stigma and loss of property rights associated with support for the Union. But twenty wealthy men in this sample, including the second wealthiest man in the county, William Clift, did neither.⁸² That bold choice significantly increased the risk of their property being confiscated. The relatively small numbers of extremely poor or wealthy Unionists shows that the Federal soldiers from Hamilton County were a much more homogenous group than the starkly divided Confederates.

⁷⁹ 1860 Census; Compiled Service Records.

⁸⁰ Fisher, *War*, 64.

⁸¹ Groce, *Mountain*, 144; Bryan, "Civil War," 75; Fisher, *War*, 64. There is some debate as to the degree to which these acts were enforced in East Tennessee. Charles Bryan and Todd Groce argue for the relatively weak application of arrests and property confiscation. Much of the evidence supporting that position is drawn from Confederates' statements after the war as they sought to receive pardons. Thus Fisher's argument that "East Tennessee Secessionists energetically used these acts against their Unionist enemies," appears to be the stronger argument, being more based on county court records and the effects the acts had on leading Unionists, although his evidence regarding the numbers of confiscations is relatively scant.

⁸² Bryan "Civil War," 92, 98; 1860 Census; Compiled Service Records.

While the average Confederate's wealth was \$2,418.32 greater than that of the average Unionist, far fewer Unionists were extremely poor or wealthy. This distribution of wealth when compared to that of Rebel soldiers indicates that figures on average wealth have significant limitations in their usefulness in describing the economic characteristics of the two groups. This approach highlights the important nuances of each population that simple averages could not, and avoids a misunderstanding of these soldiers. Without the knowledge that more Union soldiers held wealth in excess of \$1,000, those averages are particularly misleading. Viewed in terms of either average wealth or the differences in the distribution of that wealth, these figures clearly show two distinct communities in Hamilton County before the Civil War.

Wealth is only one of many differences between early and late enlistees in the Union and Confederate armies. In *For Cause and Comrades*, James McPherson often discounts the contributions of later enlistees to the Union and the Confederate armies, describing typical later enlistees as “non-slaveholding married farmers” who “were motivated marginally if at all by duty, honor, or ideology.”⁸³ However, just as no steam engine reaches its destination on the first shovel of coal, no army can win a protracted war on the backs of the first wave of enlistees alone. Nearly two-thirds of all Confederate soldiers in Hamilton County had already enlisted when the Confederate government instituted conscription. The arrival of Rosecrans's Army in Chattanooga after the defeat at Chickamauga on September 20, 1863, however, played a considerable role in curtailing the enlistment of soldiers for the Rebel Army.

⁸³ McPherson, *Cause*, 102, 168.

The beginning of Federal occupation in September 1863 had the opposite effect on Union enlistments. Unionists no longer had to walk “thoug the mountains 13 days an nites” as James Levi had before finding a Union regiment to join.⁸⁴ They could even enlist in the Sixth Tennessee Mounted Infantry Regiment (U.S.A.) to fight against the Confederate guerillas under John P. Gatewood, who had increased their attacks on local Unionists after William Tecumseh Sherman began his march on Atlanta in May 1864.⁸⁵ Hamilton County’s experience with Confederate and then Federal occupation necessitates different definitions of early and late enlisters.

Confederates in this study are divided into four groups: those who enlisted before Tennessee voted to leave the Union on June 8, 1861; those who enlisted between the state’s secession and the beginning of conscription on April 16, 1862; those who enlisted between the beginning of conscription and the start of Federal occupation in September 1863; and those who enlisted after Rosecrans’s Army arrived in Chattanooga. Because of the very real difficulty in reaching Union lines, those Unionists who enlisted before March 1862, mostly in the fall and winter, are considered early enlisters for the purposes of this study. The five who enlisted after April 1862 but before Federal occupation are also considered early enlisters, but the soldiers who enlisted after the Union army arrived in Chattanooga are classified as late enlisters. While these dates of enlistment are not as conducive to comparing Unionists and Confederates from Hamilton County to each other, they are useful in

⁸⁴ James Levi to Nicey Levi, April 24, 1863, Private Collection of James Douthat, Signal Mountain, Tennessee.

⁸⁵ Fisher, *War*, 97, 103.

comparing patterns seen in soldiers from the county with characteristics of early and late enlistees in the Federal and Rebel armies in general.

The *rage militaire* that swept across so much of the South after the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, was keenly felt by many Hamilton County residents, particularly those who lived in Chattanooga.⁸⁶ Under the leadership of David M. Key, preparations for war in the city already had begun a week earlier, with the establishment “of an armory and a ‘Home Guard’ to protect [the city] from hostile Unionists.”⁸⁷ In the wake of the events at Fort Sumter, President Lincoln’s call for 75,000 troops, and Governor Isham Harris’s response that “Tennessee will not furnish a single man for the purposes of coercion, but 50,000 if necessary for the defense of our rights and those of our Southern brothers,” men flocked to Knoxville to begin organizing Confederate regiments.⁸⁸

This wave of enlistees, resentful of Lincoln’s request, included the Hamilton Grays whose uniforms were donated by local Chattanooga, and the Marsh Blues who were completely outfitted by Chattanooga businessman Edward Marsh.⁸⁹ These men constitute approximately one-third of all of the Confederate troops from the county; but in many ways they were not representative of other early enlistees in the Confederacy. First, nearly half of these men were married, a figure that is less on par with McPherson’s early enlistees than with the later enlistees that Kenneth Noe describes in *Reluctant Rebels*.⁹⁰ Their average age of twenty-seven was six years

⁸⁶ McPherson, *Cause*, 16.

⁸⁷ McGehee, “Wake,” 61.

⁸⁸ McGehee, “Wake,” 62, 63.

⁸⁹ Crofts, *Reluctant*, xviii; Fowler, *Mountaineers*, 35.

⁹⁰ Noe, *Reluctant*, 15.

older than the average age of all Confederate recruits immediately after Fort Sumter and a year older than Noe's later enlisters.⁹¹ Their median age, however, was only 1.5 years older than that of Lee's army.⁹² Three out of every ten of these men eventually deserted at some point in the war, which is not surprising considering the large number who were married. This desertion percentage is also slightly higher than that of men who enlisted between the beginning of conscription and Federal occupation, indicating that – similar to Glatthaar's study of the Army of Northern Virginia – age and presence of children at home serve as much better predictors of desertion than status as an early or late enlister.⁹³ In terms of median wealth, these soldiers fall \$700 below the men in Glatthaar's study. Approximately 20 percent of this group of enlistees came from slaveholding families, a percentage of slave ownership that remains surprisingly constant when all enlistees after the beginning of conscription are lumped together. The soldiers who make up the remainder of early Rebel enlistments between Tennessee's secession and the start of conscription are similar to the other early enlisting soldiers in gray in terms of wealth and slave ownership; but the similarities stop there. These soldiers fall more in line with McPherson's description of early enlisters with a median age of twenty-one.⁹⁴ Also, only 25 percent of these soldiers were married, and only 11 percent deserted. These differences among early enlisting Confederates show potential distinctions between ardent Secessionists and conditional Unionists, and provide a window to how

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Noe, *Reluctant*, 15; Glatthaar, "Everyman's," 235.

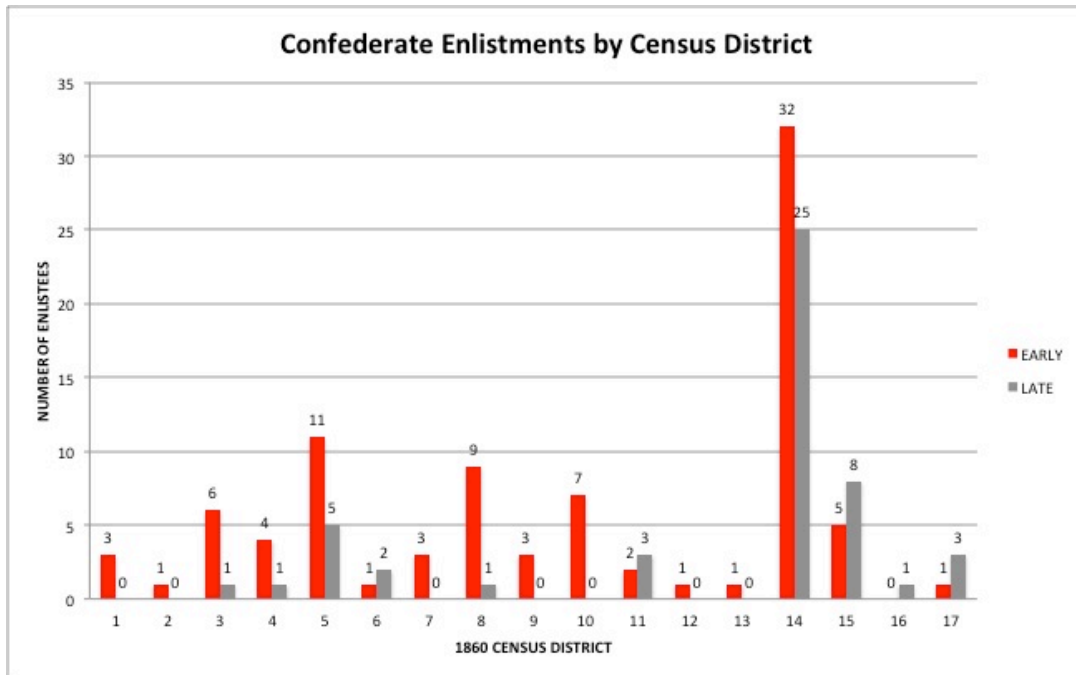
⁹³ McPherson, *Cause*, 168; Glatthaar, "Everyman's," 241.

⁹⁴ Noe, *Reluctant*, 14.

Lincoln’s call for troops and Tennessee’s secession affected enlistment in the first year of the war.

Confederate enlistees who joined after the start of conscription also fail to fit the molds cast by previous studies. While the average age of Rebels enlisting between the start of conscription and the beginning of Federal occupation are similar to the later enlisting soldiers in Noe’s study, those who enlisted after the Union army gained control of Chattanooga are significantly younger. With one exception, these were mostly from extremely wealth families and were likely patriotic young men who were far too young to enlist when war broke out. In contrast, other late enlisting

Graph 3



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Confederates owned far less real and personal estate than any other group of Rebel soldiers from the county, and only two of the forty-one came from families

⁹⁵ 1860 Census; Compiled Service Records.

possessing over \$10,000 in wealth. When viewed together, the two groups of enlistees who joined after conscription show similar percentages of slave owners as early enlisting soldiers. When viewed separately, however, those who enlisted before Federal occupation appear to be much more in tune with McPherson's view in terms of slave ownership.⁹⁶ But, this group is not characterized by a majority of farmers or married men.⁹⁷ Those enlisting after occupation break with the national trends he identifies entirely.⁹⁸

Separating Unionists between early and late enlistees is a significantly more complex task than it is with Confederate soldiers. The first Unionists in Hamilton County to take any kind of military action were the men who burned two bridges spanning Chickamauga Creek in anticipation of a Federal invasion on November 8, 1861.⁹⁹ Although the invasion never came, around 300 Unionists rallied at an old Cumberland Presbyterian camp on Sale Creek in northeastern Hamilton County under Colonel William Clift.¹⁰⁰ These first Unionists to bear arms voted on what their course of action should be on the night before the arrival of the Seventh Regiment, Alabama Volunteers (C.S.A.) and 200 men of the Chattanooga Home Guard.¹⁰¹ After three votes, they dispersed with sixty-five leaving to enlist in Kentucky, 230 going home or to the mountains, and five men – including Clift – deciding to stay in the

⁹⁶ McPherson, *Cause*, 102.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Fisher *War*, 68.

¹⁰⁰ United States War Dept., *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. 4., (Washington, 1880-1901), 248.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

county and fight another day.¹⁰² Unfortunately, no muster roll survives of this first Federal unit to form in Hamilton County. But the heavy-handed Confederate response, including mass arrests of East Tennessee Unionists, spurred more anti-
Secessionists to make the journey to Kentucky to enlist as Federal soldiers.¹⁰³ It is those men who fled north through Rebel lines to enlist at places like Camp Dick Robinson, Kentucky, in the fall and winter of 1861 and 1862 that this study terms early enlisters.¹⁰⁴

Like the earliest enlisting Confederates in the county, half of the Unionists who made the trek northward to volunteer for military service in what William M. McGill called “a free cuntry” were married.¹⁰⁵ Sixty-one percent of these men owned less than \$1,000, and their median wealth was only \$300, which is \$200 less than Confederate early enlisters and \$1,000 less than Unionists who joined during or after the Federal occupation of Chattanooga. This data showing early enlisting Unionists to be less wealthy than other Unionists or Confederate early enlisters indicates that fears of oppression from wealthy slaveholders may have provided them with motivation to fight.¹⁰⁶ Early enlisting Private William Shipley clearly adopted this viewpoint in a poem he likely copied while serving in the Twenty-third Army Corps.

Cheer up my Gallant Soldiers
Be cheerful Gay and Smile
Weel Do the fighting now
And the voting after while

¹⁰² Ibid., 249.

¹⁰³ Fisher, *War*, 116.

¹⁰⁴ Bryan, “Civil War,” 76.

¹⁰⁵ William M. McGill to Sarah McGill January 25, 1863, McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹⁰⁶ Fisher, *War*, 45.

And then weel Show Oppressers
That they Shall feel Dismay
Who treated us as serviles
At fifty cents a day¹⁰⁷

Ironically, the leader of many of these men was the extremely wealthy slaveholder William Clift.

Initial motivation to serve was not enough to keep all of these soldiers in the army, as 15 percent deserted by the end of the war. Interestingly, only two of the eight deserters from this cohort were married or had children. The fact that only about 10 percent of these soldiers owned slaves is the last piece of data necessary to turn McPherson's analysis of the "prototypical unwilling soldier" completely on its head, for the average early enlisting Unionist from Hamilton County was a less wealthy, non-slaveholding farmer who walked over 140 miles to join the Federal Army.¹⁰⁸

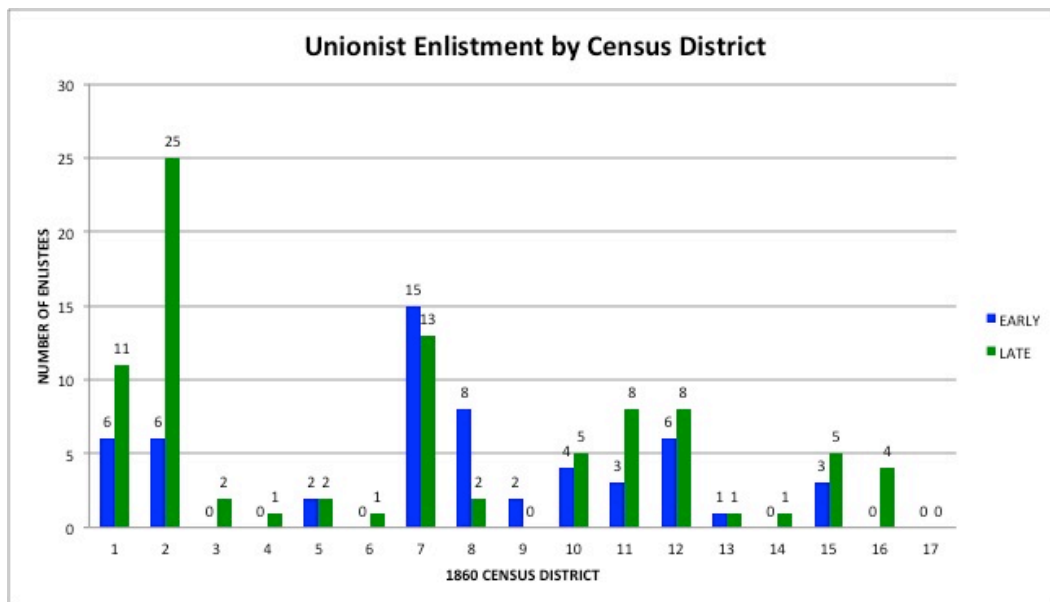
After those first volunteers, possibly as a result of Confederate efforts to intimidate Unionists, very few Unionists enlisted until July 1863 when the Union Army drew closer to Hamilton County following the Tullahoma Campaign. Logically, the largest group of Hamilton County residents who fought for the Union enlisted after General Rosecrans retreated to Chattanooga following his defeat at Chickamauga. The majority of these men formed the Sixth Tennessee Mounted Infantry Regiment (U.S.A.). It is also important to note that, though they are not

¹⁰⁷ William Shipley, "Undated and Untitled Poem," McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; James Levi to Nicey Levi, June 8, 1863, Private Collection of James Douthat, Signal Mountain, Tennessee; It is uncertain whether Private Shipley authored this poem or simply copied it. Regardless, it is interesting that he should identify with a poem written from the perspective of a poor laborer, since he came from a farming family with a net wealth of \$3,800.

¹⁰⁸ McPherson, *Cause*, 102.

included in the figures of this study, hundreds of freed slaves also volunteered or were conscripted in Chattanooga, forming the Forty-second and Forty-fourth U.S. Colored Troops Regiments.¹⁰⁹ Together with the Sixth Tennessee Mounted Infantry, they would work to subdue the Confederate guerillas.¹¹⁰

Graph 4



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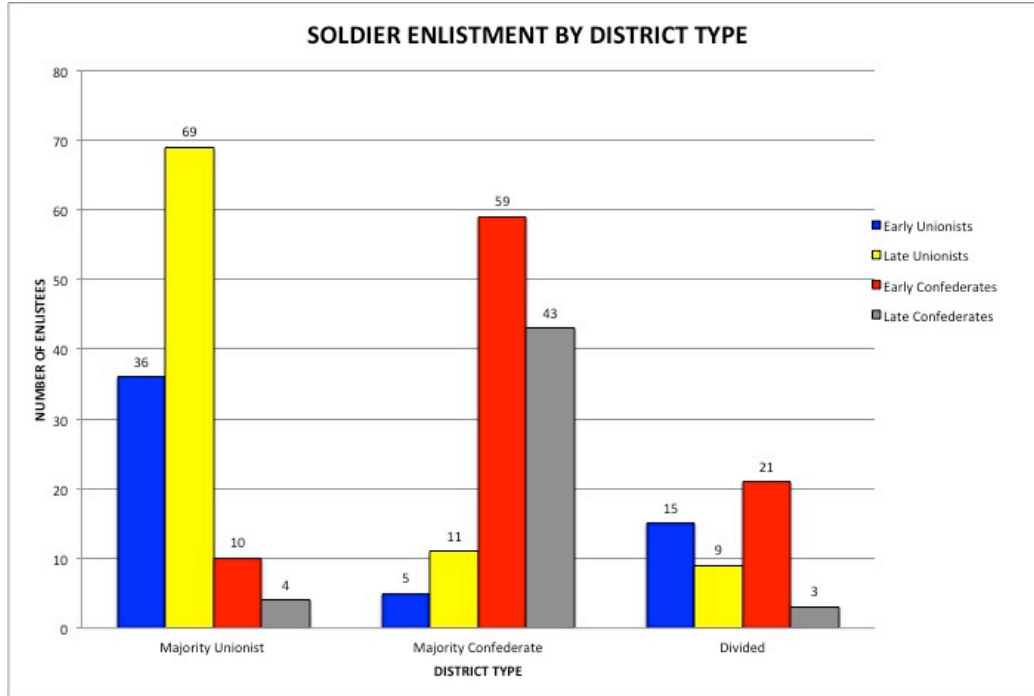
The bulk of Unionist enlistment, 61 percent, came after Rosecrans retreated to Chattanooga. As a group, these soldiers had a median wealth of \$1,300 that was significantly higher than the men who had gone before them into the Union Army or than early or late Confederates. Differences in slaveholding percentages between local early and late Federal soldiers are particularly interesting, since three-quarters of Unionist slaveowners chose to fight after the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. This data reinforces the view that slavery was a weak determinant of which

¹⁰⁹ Raymond E. Evans, *Contributions by United States COLORED TROOPS (USCT) of Chattanooga and North Georgia During the American Civil War, Reconstruction and Formation of Chattanooga* (Chickamauga: Beverly Cathlene Foster, 2003), 53.

¹¹⁰ Evans, *USCT*, 176.

¹¹¹ 1860 Census; Compiled Service Records.

Graph 5



112

army men joined, and further indicates that other factors were more important to Hamilton County Unionists' decisions to fight. These men were also significantly less likely to desert, with less than 5 percent deciding to leave the army before their contracts expired. One contributing factor to this low rate of desertion was the nature of their service. The Sixth Mounted Infantry Regiment initially was tasked with fighting local Confederate Guerillas, and staying near Hamilton County was undoubtedly important to the 37 percent of the men who were married. Fewer later enlisting Unionists never saw significant defeat as they marched with General Sherman to Atlanta, which contributed to low desertion rates. Ultimately, the men in this sample represent a pool of military manpower that was simply waiting to be

¹¹² 1860 Census; Compiled Service Records; For a more detailed description of early and late enlistees, see the Union and Confederate Enlistment Demographics tables. See the map of soldier enlistment for details on which census districts were Unionist, Confederate or divided.

tapped. Although their initial service allowed them to stay close to home, they also participated in the Atlanta Campaign, which was crucial to Lincoln's reelection in 1864 and bringing the war to an end.

Differences between and among Confederates and Unionists as well as early and late enlistees highlight fundamental divisions in Hamilton County's society. Those differences also provide a glimpse of the extremely complex nature of events that occurred from 1861 to 1865 and their effects on the citizens of the county during the Civil War. They show us that not only were the people along the eastern border of the county divided, but also that the small communities there like that of the Eighth District were the most eager to fight. Most importantly for this study, viewing these soldiers of the county through this lens provides insight into how property ownership, family, and also other factors affected not only why men might have enlisted, but how those factors affected their desire to continue serving once they put on a blue or gray uniform.

VALUES AND MOTIVES TO FIGHT

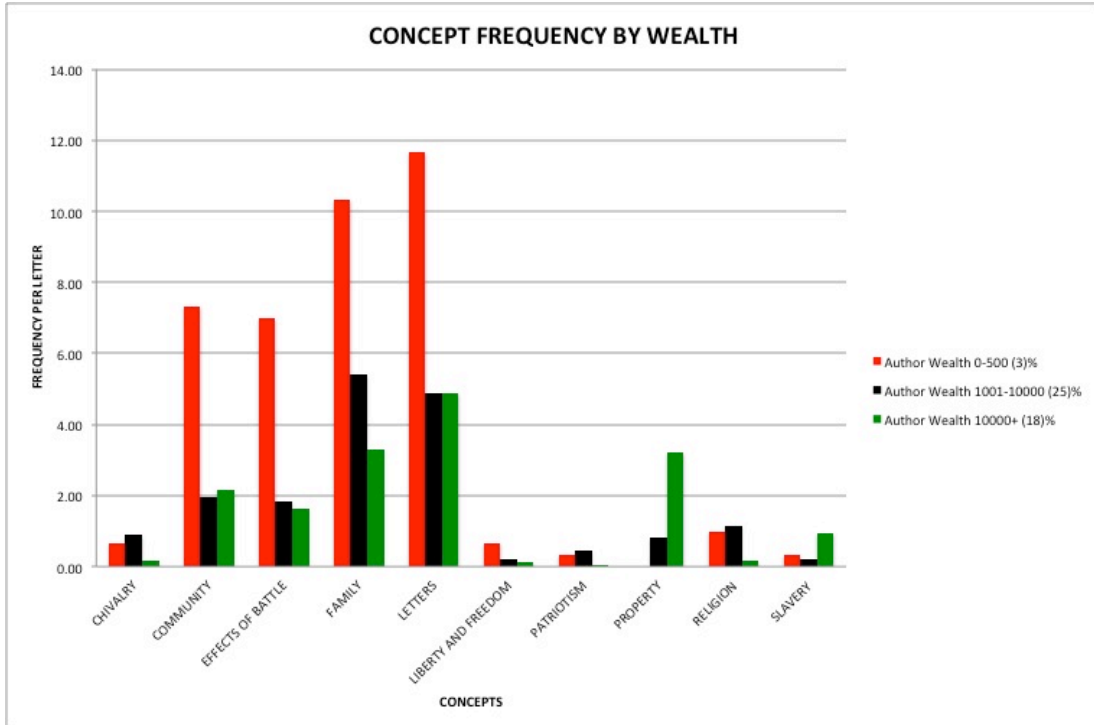
Eighth Census of the United States: 1860 and the National Archives' Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee and the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee are extremely valuable in understanding who these people were and the possible reasons they enlisted. There is no substitute, however, for the words of the soldiers themselves, in

the historian's quest to understand what was most important to them and why they fought. Some individual statements found in soldiers' letters, like David M. Key's declaration of allegiance "we are in the South and long live the South I say," stand on their own as strong indicators of their authors' values or beliefs.¹¹³ But, interpretation of those single quotable statements through a conventional historical approach is not the only avenue to understanding what these men thought. By analyzing the degree of repetition of concepts and ideas found in these documents, seemingly insignificant segments of text reveal values and ideas that were in fact extremely important to their authors. William M. McGill requested that his family write more often fourteen times in nine of his letters, illustrating the importance of his connection to his family and the merits of looking for repetition of concepts.¹¹⁴ The juxtaposition of ideas in letters also helps us to understand how people perceived fundamental concepts like home or religion. Only through a combination of approaches to these sources can we hope to draw out all of the information that they have to offer. But since the primary focus of this study is to understand why these men fought and what led them to fight on different sides it primarily utilized a combination of historical and concept frequency analysis to achieve that goal. Again, to identify similarities and distinctions, the fighting men of Hamilton County are grouped by wealth, whether they were early or late enlisters.

¹¹³ David M. Key to Lizzie Key, June 10, 1861, Key Papers, Chattanooga Public Library.

¹¹⁴ McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Graph 6



Soldiers' wealth statuses affected what motivated them to serve and how they viewed their experiences in interesting ways. Poorer soldiers mentioned *FAMILY* and *COMMUNITY* with far greater frequency than their wealthier brothers in arms; and not surprisingly, failure to hear from family affected their morale considerably. Poor farmer James Levi expressed his disappointment as to the lack of communication he had with his wife in a letter written on June 8, 1863, when he pitifully noted that "evry other man has recieved a letter from his wife that is in this regimint but me."¹¹⁵

Unsurprisingly, those who owned more property spent more time in their letters discussing it. It is important to note, however, that *FAMILY* appears more frequently than any other subject regardless of how much property the author owned.

¹¹⁵ James Levi to Nicey Levi, June 8, 1863, Private Collection of James Douthat, Signal Mountain, Tennessee.

One of the most interesting insights that this viewpoint has to offer is how wealth affected mentions of *LIBERTY* and *FREEDOM*. The soldiers with the least amount of property touched on this subject far more frequently than soldiers with large farms or bank accounts. Those comments on *LIBERTY* took the shape of soldiers desiring to live and speak without anyone else's undue influence, such as James Levi's desire to "bee independent and say what I please on I will neve com to old Tennessee to make my home again unless it s that away."¹¹⁶ Soldiers with total wealth between \$1,000 and \$10,000 remarked on a more broad perception of freedom, as when William M. McGill referred to states loyal to the Union as "free cuntry."¹¹⁷ David M. Key also remarked on a less defined concept of freedom when told his wife that ensuring that she and his children "may enjoy the blessings of freedom is my first wish."¹¹⁸ The amount of time spent writing about the *EFFECTIONS OF BATTLE* very well may have to do with poorer soldiers in this sample being more likely to find themselves on the front lines instead of in rear echelon leadership positions. Similarities in the frequencies of *RELIGION*, *PATRIOTISM*, and *CHIVALRY* reflect more of the continuity of values among soldiers in Hamilton County. Although wealthier soldiers like William Clift and Robert Hooke Jr. may not have commented on those concepts as frequently, the importance of duty and honor to them was unmistakable as is seen when Clift described "the honor of turning back the Rebels"

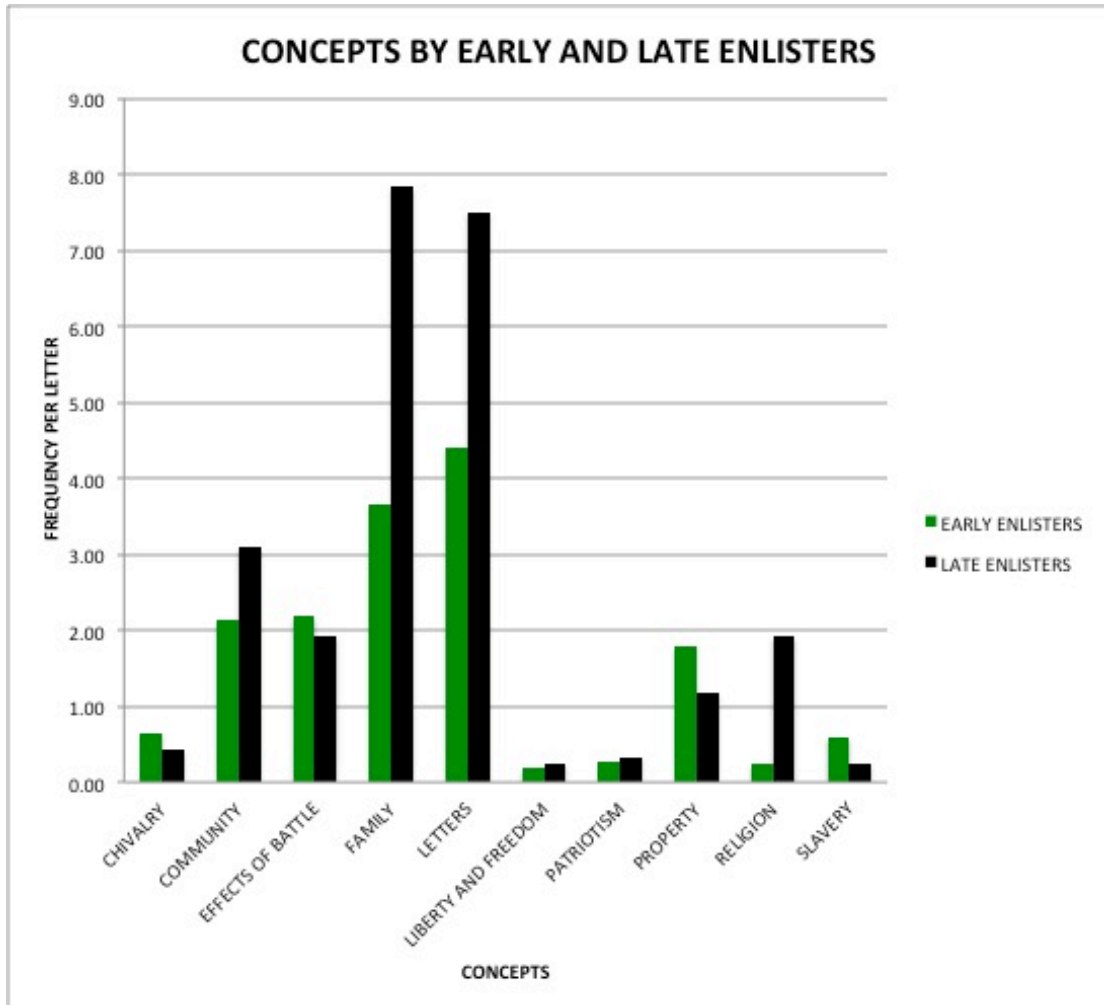
¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ William McGill to Sarah McGill, January 25, 1863, McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹¹⁸ David M. Key to Lizzie Key, February 2, 1862, McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

in an undated letter to his new wife.¹¹⁹ With the exception of ideas of liberty and concern for property, men from different categories of wealth in Hamilton County shared very similar value structures; and a study of wealth alone therefore does not reveal the only differences in their motivation to fight.

Graph 7



As has been previously noted, the state and local events that shaped Hamilton County's experience during the Civil War also seriously affected enlistment patterns.

¹¹⁹ William Clift, undated letter, Clift Family Papers, Civil War Letters, Box 1, Folder 2, VI-F-4, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

The Tennessee's vote to leave the Union in June 1861, the start of Confederate conscription in April 1862, and General Rosecrans's retreat into the city in September 1863 serve as the milestones that define the boundaries between early and late enlisters in this study. To facilitate comparison with other early and late enlisters, all Confederates who enlisted before Confederate conscription began and all Unionists who enlisted before the Federal occupation of Chattanooga are considered in this portion of the study as early enlisters, and remaining soldiers who fought for either side are termed late enlisters. Population analysis already has established that these men did not completely fit James McPherson's or even Kenneth Noe's description of soldiers who enlisted at similar times in the war. And analysis of the frequency with which concepts appear in early and late enlisters' correspondence builds on that foundation.

In terms of the importance of their connection to family and home, later enlisters in this sample do fall in line well with Kenneth Noe's description of later enlisting Confederates as more likely to be "married fathers or underage youths" who were prone to homesickness.¹²⁰ That description certainly applies to forty-year-old Unionist William M. McGill who wrote to his wife:

The letter I gott stated the Children wanted to see me verey bad but thiris no chance for that I would like to see you all very mutch but I cant yett a while I Want you to Wright every thing that you would think I would like to hear Write often as you can Wright to me how Grain looks how you ar getting Along att the coal bisness I want it dose apear to me as all my friends have forsaking me¹²¹

¹²⁰ Noe, *Reluctant*, 10, 176.

¹²¹ William McGill to Sarah McGill May 22, 1864, McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Only fourteen years old when the secession crisis began, Confederate Robert Hooke Jr. most explicitly acknowledged his homesickness and the importance of letters from home on April 17, 1865, when he wrote his sister Josephine, “In Dockie’s letter he said he was having a real good time visiting the young ladies &c., and oh how homesick I got on reading it... I would give anything on earth to be there.”¹²² In the same letter written just over a week after General Robert E. Lee’s surrender at Appomattox, Hooke also wrote concerning the plans of his regiment “going either down near Florida or west;” but he never once mentioned any possibility of surrender.¹²³ In his devotion to the Confederate cause and strong sense of patriotism, this young Confederate clearly breaks with McPherson’s view of later enlisters. But William McGill’s dismay at not being able to get a discharge from the army, having seen “a man go to the dockter my self That had his thie and arm boath broak and he Could not gett Out,” does show, that there certainly were some soldiers who felt that they had seen enough of war and were ready to go home.¹²⁴ McGill further personified McPherson’s view of later enlisters when he deserted the Federal Army in March 1865.¹²⁵ In terms of where they drew their motivation to fight, the majority of later enlisting soldiers lay somewhere between McGill’s repeated attempts to gain a discharge and Hooke’s belief that “every true patriotic man” should be willing to

¹²² Robert Hooke Jr. to Josephine Hooke, April 17, 1865, Works Progress Administration Historical Records Survey, 1936-1943 Tennessee Records, Record Group 107, Civil War Correspondence (4 vols.) Microfilm Roll 93, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹²³ Robert Hooke Jr. to Josephine Hooke, April 17, 1865, Works Progress Administration Historical Records Survey, 1936-1943 Tennessee Records, Record Group 107, Civil War Correspondence (4 vols.) Microfilm Roll 93, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹²⁴ William M. McGill to Sarah McGill, May 22, 1864, McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

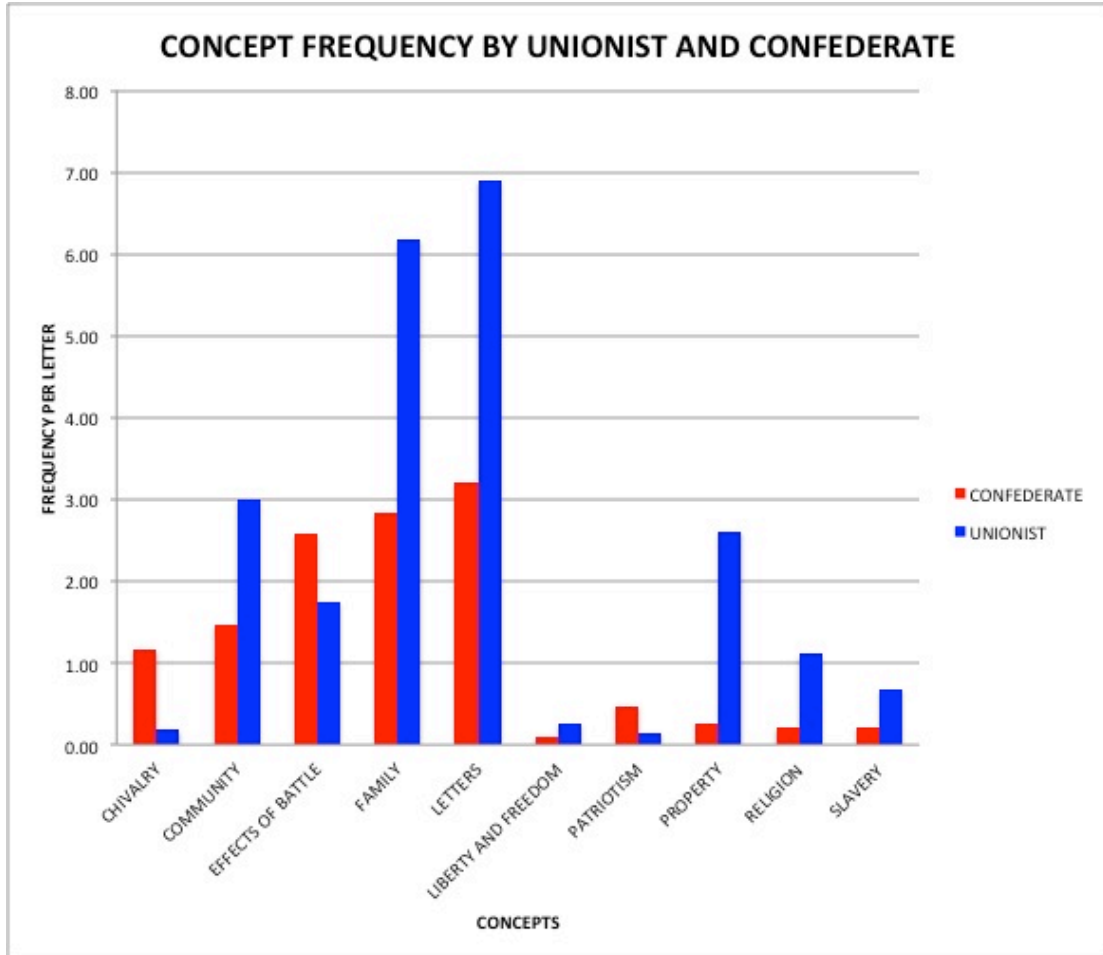
¹²⁵ Compiled Service Records.

fight for his home “and even suffer wounds to regain it.”¹²⁶ In fact, they were strikingly similar to their early enlisting brothers in arms, with the exception of the importance of communication with family. The near equal representation of the concepts of *CHIVALRY*, *LIBERTY AND FREEDOM*, and *PATRIOTISM* in the letters of all soldiers demonstrates that a soldier’s date of enlistment did not always determine their degree of motivation to fight. Later enlisters’ dependence on the same motivations to join the army and continue fighting, coupled with the fact that the majority of Hamilton County men in blue and gray fought to the end, should certainly give pause to any historian tempted to cast later enlisting soldiers as less dedicated to their respective causes.

Just as it does today, combat in the Civil War had a powerful ability to evoke a wide variety of responses from those who participated in it, ranging from horror to an intense desire to be home with family. However, a hail of bullets flying past a soldier’s head sounded just as much like a giant swarm of hell-born hornets to Confederates as it did to Unionists. With the common experiences of coming close to death and spending so much time away at war and far from home, it is not surprising that Unionists and Confederates shared some common responses to those experiences. Soldiers on both sides focused primarily on family and community in their correspondence, and the importance of letters in maintaining a connection with their wives, children, and friends at home is undeniable. Requests like Robert Hooke Jr.’s for his sister to “write us every opportunity, for we would like to hear from you,”

¹²⁶ Robert Hooke Jr. to Josephine Hooke, May 5, 1864, Works Progress Administration Historical Records Survey, 1936-1943 Tennessee Records, Record Group 107, Civil War Correspondence (4 vols.) Microfilm Roll 93, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Graph 8



were ubiquitous as these men sought to retain a connection to their homes.¹²⁷ Just as John Inscoe argues that the allegiances of a soldier’s family served as the strongest determinant of his choice to fight in the Union Army, the majority Unionist farmers and other residents of the more rural parts of the county relied on family to bolster their morale and motivation much more heavily than their more urban Confederate counterparts. Regardless of which cause they fought for, the concepts of *FAMILY* and *COMMUNITY* dominated the letters that they sent home.

¹²⁷ Ibid. See Chart 1 for more information on how soldiers perceived the idea of “home.”

Although soldiers were conscious of concepts of patriotism, liberty, or defense of soil, they may not have always had the time or the inclination to include such topics regularly in their correspondence. John H. Kennedy remarked that those subjects were “too serious a matter for contemplation now, as I have given it a great deal of thought.”¹²⁸ But soldiers made up for a lack of frequency with the power of their words. David M. Key’s declaration to his wife “that you and my children may enjoy the blessings of freedom is my first wish. My first duty is to do my part in securing these,” and William M. McGill’s statement to his brother that he would “watch with a firm fisted principel to se our old bannor that our four fathers faught and bled and dide under... att every dore,” show how important these ideas were to the soldiers regardless of the small amount of ink that they spilled in expressing them.¹²⁹ It must be underscored, however, that words like “freedom” and “liberty” had very different meanings and connotations for the soldiers serving in opposing armies. The writings of Unionists James Levi and William Shipley echo with ideas of liberty and freedom that appear to be remarkably in tune with Free Soil ideology. The freedom that David M. Key wanted for his family was not the same freedom that William Clift suggested for slaves when he proposed “to emancipate the slave & leave them in the in the states where they respectively belong & let them do the labor

¹²⁸ John H. Kennedy to Josephine Hooke, May 29, 1861, Works Progress Administration Historical Records Survey, 1936-1943 Tennessee Records, Record Group 107, Civil War Correspondence (4 vols.) Microfilm Roll 93, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹²⁹ David M. Key to Lizzie Key, February 02, 1862, Key Papers, Chattanooga Public Library; William M. McGill to Sarah McGill, January 25, 1863, McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

in freedom that they have done in slavery.”¹³⁰ Also, this comment on emancipation from a Unionist slaveholder on March 17, 1864, strongly supports McPherson’s argument that Unionists had “executed an about-face on the issue of slavery.”¹³¹ Likewise, the liberty that William M. McGill, the owner of six slaves, mentioned when he advised his brother who had escaped north to “stay tell Washingtons Flag restores to you your liberty a gain,” was undoubtedly different than the liberty that the soldiers of the U.S. Colored Troops regiments in Chattanooga sang of in “Slavery Chain Done Broke at Last:”

Now no more weary trav’lin,
‘Cause my Jesus set me free,
An’ there’s no more auction block for me
Since He give me liberty¹³²

Unionists and Confederates may have understood these ideas differently, but the way that these passages resonate through this collection of correspondence makes their importance to the men who wrote them undeniable.

Differences between Unionist and Confederate soldiers appear much more clear in the concepts of *CHIVALRY*, *PROPERTY*, and *SLAVERY*. In this study, *CHIVALRY* includes ideas of defense of hearth and home, bravery expressed in a desire to fight, duty, manhood, and gallantry. Confederate soldiers, represented in nineteen of the forty-nine letters, wrote about *CHIVALRY* at least once per letter; but the concept appears in less than one out of every four of the Unionists’ letters. In

¹³⁰ William Clift to Ellie Clift, March 17, 1864, Clift Family Papers, Civil War Letters, Box 1, Folder 2, VI-F-4, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹³¹ McPherson, *Cause*, 126; About-face is a military command resulting in a soldier executing a 180-degree turn.

¹³² William McGill to Sarah McGill, January 25, 1863, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; Evans, *USCT*, 242.

place of ideas of honor, duty, or manliness, Unionists in this sample seemed to focus more on concepts of class as in William Shipley's poem referring to his enemies as "oppressors."¹³³ For his part, James Levi had little interest in noble statements about honor and manliness after seeing the horrors of war in April 1863, instead noting that "meny a good and lovley wiff and children [were] left to weepe an morn the loss of a husban or father," and by requesting that his wife deliver a much more direct message to his enemies, "to gow to hell and Bee damed in thee first degree."¹³⁴ In an undated letter likely written in the months that he led a guerilla band in northeast Tennessee, William Clift did mention that he "had the honor of turning back the first Rebels we met," but such statements proved to be the exception and not the rule.¹³⁵ Even the poorest Confederate in the study, William C. Brown, touched on ideas of chivalry when he described his fellow soldiers' opinions of General John Bell Hood's courage but lack of ability to command.¹³⁶ Confederate thoughts on bravery were not all bravado, as Robert Hooke Jr.'s sense of duty and desire to fight for his home overcame his lack of zeal for battle when he wrote his sister Josephine Hook that he didn't "care half so much for going into battle...but there is a great deal depending on this fight."¹³⁷ The presence of the ideas that make up chivalry in Confederate correspondence through the spring of 1864 indicates that Confederate soldiers had

¹³³ William Shipley, undated poem, McGill-Thatcher Family Papers, Correspondence 1863-1864, Box 1, Folder 6, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹³⁴ James Levi to Nicey Levi, April 24, 1863, Private Collection of James Douthat, Signal Mountain, Tennessee.

¹³⁵ William Clift to Ellie Clift, undated letter, Clift Family Papers, Civil War Letters, Box 1, Folder 2, VI-F-4, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹³⁶ W.C. Brown Diary, September 1, 1864, Chattanooga Public Library.

¹³⁷ Robert Hooke Jr. to Josephine Hooke, May 5, 1864, Works Progress Administration Historical Records Survey, 1936-1943 Tennessee Records, Record Group 107, Civil War Correspondence (4 vols.) Microfilm Roll 93, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

not, as Linderman argues, become jaded by years of battle. Instead, these Confederates retained a strong sense of the importance of bravery, duty, and honor even late in the war. Maintaining those beliefs shows that Bell Irvin Wiley's argument that sociocultural forces drove men to serve and then provided sustaining motivation has some merit with Hamilton County Secessionists.¹³⁸ William M. McGill was a near perfect embodiment of Gerald Linderman's soldier who enlisted with patriotic fervor and ended his service bitterly, promising to "take care of number one" if sent to the front lines.¹³⁹ Most Unionists, however, appear to have retained some of their initial motivations for serving. Those reasons were significantly less rooted in the sociocultural concept of chivalry than in their ideology.

In their correspondence, Unionists devoted a great deal more of their letters to focusing on *PROPERTY* than Confederates. Considering that the majority of Unionists were farmers and that a significant number of Confederates were very poor or owned little real estate, this figure is not surprising. While they were away marching, drilling, and fighting, Unionists' wives and families still needed to plant and harvest crops. But the urban-dwelling Confederates who owned little to no property had fewer concerns of that nature. Two of the wealthier Confederates, David M. Key and John H. Hackett, owned no real estate whatsoever in 1860. They also were employed as a druggist and a lawyer respectively, leaving little for their families to do regarding property management in their absence. Regardless of the

¹³⁸ Noe, *Reluctant*, 3.

¹³⁹ Linderman, *Embattled*, 214.

frequency with which soldiers on either side mentioned *PROPERTY*, it never appears explicitly as a central motivating factor for Unionists or Confederates.

Like *PROPERTY*, the concept of *SLAVERY* also requires an understanding of the individual authors before drawing conclusions about the differences between Unionists and Confederates. Two soldiers from slaveholding families represent each group. Unionist farmers William M. McGill and William Clift were not only members of a family that owned slaves, but also were the heads of household, meaning that part of their responsibilities involved deciding what those slaves should be doing and whether they should be moved to different locations over the course of the war. Both Robert and Rezin Hooke grew up in the same slaveholding family. Rezin at twenty-seven years old owned no slaves of his own, and his younger brother Robert was not the head of the Hooke household, so neither had the same need to communicate information regarding the management of slaves. In fact, William Clift wrote all but two of the nine letters that directly discussed slaves, and one of those letters was even written to his “faithful Servant Boys” Yank and Seab.¹⁴⁰ While non-slaveholders like Confederate David M. Key and Unionist William Shipley mentioned slaves or slavery in some of their correspondence, the significantly different relationship that McGill and particularly Clift had with their slaves as heads of household greatly affects these results. Notably, when Clift’s words on *SLAVERY* are removed from this analysis, the picture changes from one of stark contrast to one

¹⁴⁰ William Clift to Ellie Clift, April 17, 1864, Clift Family Papers, Civil War Letters, Box 1, Folder 2, VI-F-4, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

of great similarity, as the remaining Unionists and Confederates mention *SLAVERY* almost equally in their letters.

Although local politics and differences in access to the economies in the rest of the South may have created the divisions within Hamilton County, the ideologies of soldiers in the Union and the Confederate ranks – expressed in terms of patriotism, liberty, and defense of soil – supplied motivations to fight from the beginning of the secession crisis to the last days of the war. Other motivating factors that sustained these men while they were away, such as religion or romantic ideas of chivalry, were certainly important; but knowledge of support from home was the greatest sustaining motivation to these soldiers.¹⁴¹ Such an important similarity cannot explain why these men would fight on different sides, as divergent understandings of patriotism, liberty, and freedom ultimately created the greatest divide between the citizens of Hamilton County and most strongly influenced which army they chose to join.

By any measure, some concepts dominated these soldiers' letters to home. The closely linked concepts of *LETTERS*, *FAMILY*, and *COMMUNITY* were consistently the most frequently discussed ideas in these letters regardless of the side on which soldiers fought, how many slaves they owned, or when they enlisted. While the nature of the documents used in this analysis – letters sent home from the war – likely inflates their population significance, the importance of these concepts to soldiers is undeniable. While this does not necessarily mean that they were consciously fighting for hearth and home – although some soldiers did explicitly

¹⁴¹ Unionist William M. McGill wrote a great deal more about the importance of religion than all Confederates and Unionists combined, and when his mentions of religion are removed from the data, a very balanced picture emerges regarding the importance of faith for Unionist and Confederate soldiers.

express that intent – these findings underscore the fact that the soldiers of Hamilton County shared some very important similarities that not even the railroad could change.

CONCLUSION

In the introduction to *Enemies of the Country* John Inscoe discusses the value of localized studies in understanding Southern Unionism.¹⁴² This examination of Hamilton County soldiers strives to take its place among those studies of southern Unionists as well as those of East Tennessee Confederates by providing detailed analysis of a community deeply divided by war and testing theories about the region. Although no investigation of any aspect of the Civil War on a grand scale such as McPherson's *For Cause and Comrades* or Wiley's studies of Johnny Reb and Billy Yank could be expected to apply perfectly to any small community or limited geographic area, they are invaluable resources in understanding how those small communities fit in with the people and events that surrounded them. Similarly, regional studies like Todd Groce's *Mountain Rebels* and Noel Fisher's *War at Every Door* have provided an even more detailed understanding of how the soldiers of Hamilton County affected and were affected by the maelstrom of economic, social, and political forces that swirled around them. In turn, this study has validated most and qualified some of the arguments found in those studies with both qualitative and quantitative data.

¹⁴² Inscoe, *Enemies*, 5.

While Grounded Theory Method may seem foreign to some historians, its use is rooted in precedents set by Kenneth Noe with his rigorous and systematic study of later enlistees, and Michael Barton's content analysis of Civil War letters and diaries.¹⁴³ While it is essentially no more than a quantification of more traditional primary document analysis, Grounded Theory Method has the ability to provide insights from portions of primary sources that would be likely overlooked using other methods. This approach also makes it possible to identify and map the connections between and among concepts as historical actors understood them, and the chart showing how soldiers used the word "home" is only one small example of the possibilities this method creates. As the results of analysis of *PROPERTY* show, Grounded Theory Method cannot replace traditional readings of primary sources. But when used in tandem with those conventional practices the benefits can be significant as the importance of the concept *LETTERS* shows. Ultimately, approaches to understanding history such as Grounded Theory Method simply are additional tools in the historian's toolbox, and dismissing them out of hand only limits our ability to understand the past.

Grounded Theory Method, population analysis of census and military records, and a traditional approach to analyzing correspondence paint a picture of the fighting men of Hamilton County that shows them to be at once divided by local disagreements, ideologies, and economic forces, but united by their shared belief in the importance of family and community. Those forces simultaneously pulling these men apart and binding them together help to explain why the violence and division of

¹⁴³ Noe, *Reluctant*, 2, 13.

the Civil War did not stop with Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Like the rest of East Tennessee, Hamilton County was clearly a "disunited section of a factional state in a country rent asunder by civil war."¹⁴⁴ But the men who fought so hard against each other also shared a great deal, and the bitterness of their division serves as a true testament to the power of economics and ideas in shaping history.

Limitations of time necessitated the reduction in the scope of this study to the white soldiers who fought in the conventional forces for the Union or the Confederacy, and in the unfortunate omission of the very significant impact of U.S. Colored Troops and Unionist and Confederate guerillas from Hamilton County. Although their importance is discussed indirectly, the women of Hamilton County with their beliefs and their contributions to sustaining the Confederate and Unionist war efforts, also merit further study. Finally, the men who fought in the war did not form their ideologies or opinions on war or duty in a vacuum; so opinions and beliefs expressed in stump speeches, newspapers, and churches also are required to understand the origins of soldiers' desire to fight. Future study of all of these groups and the forces that acted upon them will serve to provide a more complete understanding of the nature of war in this small corner of Tennessee, and ultimately the Civil War in general.

¹⁴⁴ Bryan, "Civil War," 33.

Table 1

CONFEDERATE ENLISTMENT DEMOGRAPHICS				
	SOLDIERS ENLISTING BEFORE TN SECEDES	SOLDIERS ENLISTING AFTER SECESSION & BEFORE CONSCRIPTION	SOLDIERS ENLISTING DURING CONSCRIPTION UNTIL BEGINNING OF FEDERAL OCCUPATION OF CHATTANOOGA	SOLDIERS ENLISTING AFTER THE BEGINNING OF FEDERAL OCCUPATION OF CHATTANOOGA
	1 MARCH 1861 - 6 JUNE 1861	4 JULY 1861 - 15 APRIL 1862	25 APRIL 1862 - 6 AUGUST 1863	3 OCTOBER 1863 - 20 JULY 1864
# OF SOLDIERS	46	47	41	7
% OF ALL CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS	32.62	33.33	29.08	4.96
% HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	58.7	42.55	55.26	14.29
% MARRIED	47.83	25.53	34.15	14.29
AVERAGE NET WEALTH	5497.84	7630.64	2823.78	7685.71
MEDIAN NET WEALTH	550	500	100	5500
MODE NET WEALTH	0	0	0	15500
AVERAGE AGE (IN 1860)	26.54	22.64	24.93	17.86
MEDIAN AGE (IN 1860)	24.5	21	22	14
MODE AGE (IN 1860)	21	17	25	14
% WITH CHILDREN	36.96	19.15	31.71	14.29
% WHO DESERTED	19.57	10.64	17.07	0
NUMBER WHO CAME FROM SLAVE OWNING FAMILIES	9	10	6	4
% OF GROUP WHO OWNED SLAVES	20	21.27	14.63	57.14
% OF ALL CONFEDERATE SLAVE OWNERS FOUND IN THIS GROUP	31.03	34.48	20.69	13.79

Table 2

UNION ENLISTMENT DEMOGRAPHICS			
	SOLDIERS ENLISTING IN THE WINTER OF 1861-1862	SOLDIERS ENLISTING BEFORE FEDERAL OCCUPATION	SOLDIERS ENLISTING AFTER THE BEGINNING OF FEDERAL OCCUPATION OF CHATTANOOGA
	10 NOVEMBER 1861 - 4 APRIL 1862	1 JULY 1863 - 21 AUGUST 1863	14 SEPTEMBER 1863 - 20 FEBRUARY 1865
# OF SOLDIERS	51	5	89
% OF ALL UNION SOLDIERS	35.17	3.45	61.38
% HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	56.82	60	41.57
% MARRIED	50.98	60	37.08
AVERAGE NET WEALTH	3471.27	3030	2947.47
MEDIAN NET WEALTH	300	850	1300
MODE NET WEALTH	0	NONE	400
AVERAGE AGE (IN 1860)	26.12	23.2	22.9
MEDIAN AGE (IN 1860)	24	22	18
MODE AGE (IN 1860)	26	NONE	16
% WITH CHILDREN	50.98	60	33.71
% WHO DESERTED	15.69	20	4.94
NUMBER WHO CAME FROM SLAVE OWNING FAMILIES	5	0	15
% OF GROUP WHO OWNED SLAVES	9.81	0	16.85
% OF ALL UNION SLAVE OWNERS FOUND IN THIS GROUP	25	0	75

Table 3

SOLDIER WEALTH CENTRAL TENDENCY TABLE			
SIDE	AVERAGE WEALTH	MEDIAN WEALTH	MODE BY EXACT WEALTH
ALL SOLDIERS N = 297	4333.31	500.00	0.00
CONFEDERATE N = 149	5572.62	400.00	0.00
UNION N = 144	3154.30	1000.00	100.00
FOUGHT FOR BOTH SIDES N = 4	306.25	100.00	100.00

Chart 1

CODES CONNECTED TO INSTANCES OF THE WORD "HOME"

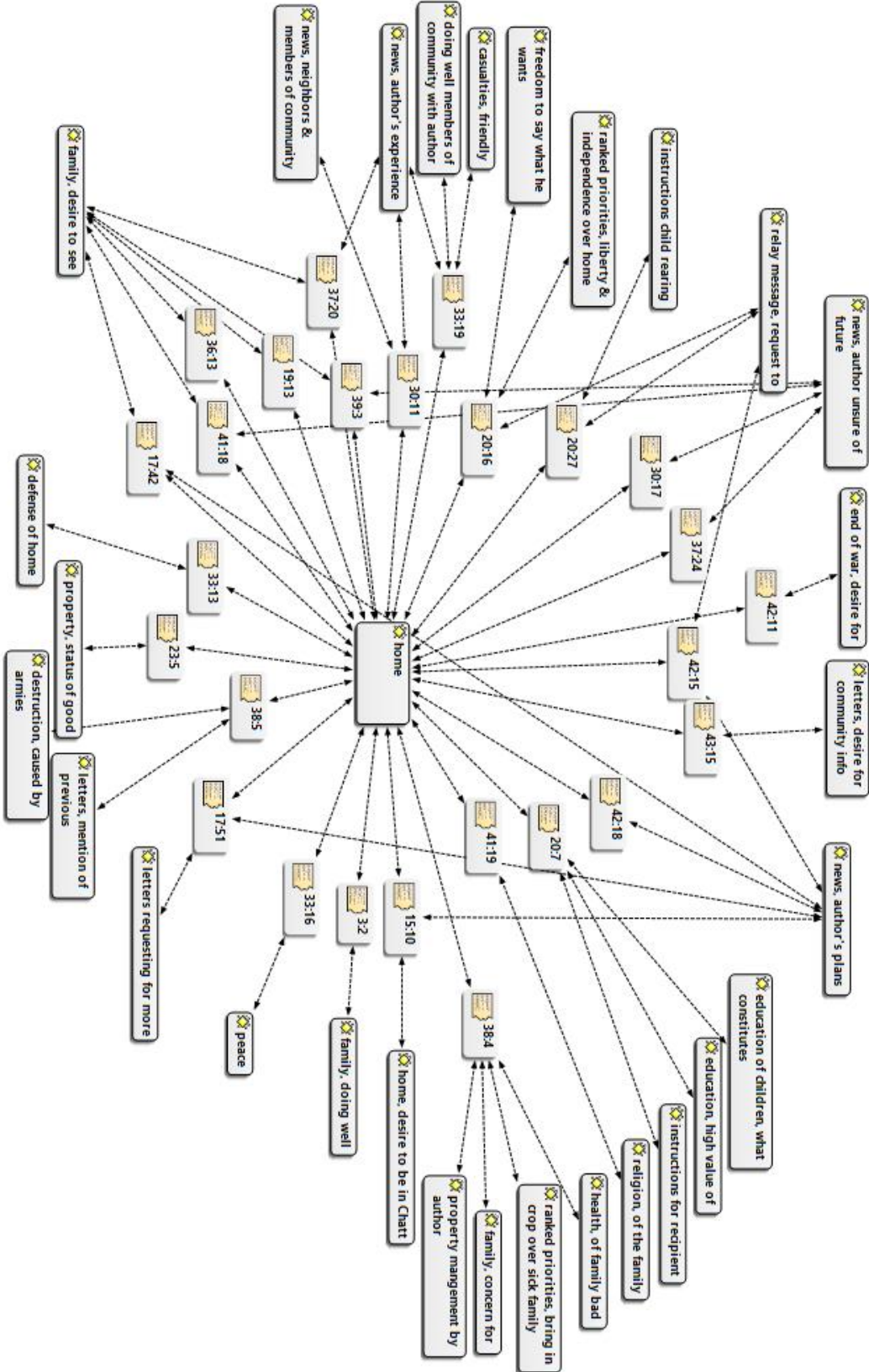


Table 4

ENLISTMENT DATES OF ALL HAMILTON COUNTY SOLDIERS						
SIGNIFICANT EVENTS	UNIT FORMATION	ENLISTMENT YEAR AND MONTH	NUMBER OF CONFEDERATES ENLISTED	% OF CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS	NUMBER OF UNIONISTS ENLISTED	% OF UNION SOLDIERS
		1861-03	1	0.71	0	0.00
FIRING ON FT. SUMTER APR 12 // LINCOLN CALLS FOR 75,000 SOLDIERS // TN GOV HARRIS OFFERS 50,000 TO DEFEND SOUTHERN STATES		1861-04	1	0.71	0	0.00
TN JOINS MILITARY LEAGUE W/ CSA // EAST TN UNIONISTS HOLD CONVENTION MAY 29	19TH TN INFANTRY (CSA) // 5TH GA INFANTRY (CSA)	1861-05	40	28.37	0	0.00
TN VOTES TO SECEDE		1861-06	3	2.13	0	0.00
CONFEDERATE VICTORY AT 1ST BULL RUN JUL 21		1861-07	3	2.13	0	0.00
1ST CONFEDERATE TROOPS SENT TO EAST TN // JEFFERSON DAVIS CALLS FOR ARREST OF EAST TN UNIONISTS	2ND EAST TN INFANTRY (US)	1861-08	22	15.60	0	0.00
	26TH TN INFANTRY (CSA)	1861-09	2	1.42	0	0.00
STRICT APPLICATION OF PROPERTY CONFISCATION AND ARREST OF UNIONISTS IN EAST TN // GEN ZOLLICOFFER (CSA) DEFEATED IN KY		1861-10	3	2.13	0	0.00
UNION GUERRILLAS BURN SERIES OF BRIDGES IN EAST TN // MASS ARREST OF BRIDGE BURNERS // ALL WHITE MALES 18-45 NOT IN MIL. SERVICE CONSCRIPTED INTO POLICE FORCE		1861-11	0	0.00	4	2.76
\$50 BOUNTY FOR 3 YEAR ENLISTMENT BEGINS DEC 11	3RD TN INFANTRY (US) // 43RD TN IN (CSA)	1861-12	4	2.84	0	0.00
GEN ZOLLICOFFER (CSA) DEALT CRUSHING DEFEAT AT MILL SPRINGS, KY		1862-01	0	0.00	2	1.38
NASHVILLE FALLS TO UNION ARMY	36TH TN INFANTRY (CSA) // 5TH TN INFANTRY (US)	1862-02	1	0.71	38	26.21
CONFEDERATE LAW REQUIRING ALL MALES 18-45 NOT IN MILITARY SERVICE TO JOIN MILITIA // GEN KIRBY SMITH TAKES CMD OF DEPT. OF E. TN		1862-03	1	0.71	6	4.14
GEN KIRBY SMITH (CSA) ORDERS ARREST OF LEADING UNIONISTS // CSA DECLARES EAST TN "ENEMY TERRITORY" // CONFEDERATE CONSCRIPTION BEGINS // UNION VICTORY AT SHILOH APR 6-7		1862-04	15	10.64	1	0.69
CONFEDERATE CONSCRIPTION SUSPENDED	CPT BARRY'S LIGHT ARTILLERY BATTERY "LOOKOUT ARTILLERY" (CSA) MAY 15	1862-05	10	7.09	0	0.00
		1862-06	0	0.00	0	0.00
UNION CAPTURES CUMBERLAND GAP	4TH TN CAVALRY (US)	1862-07	2	1.42	0	0.00
ATTEMPT TO EXILE UNIONISTS AND RESUME CONSCRIPTION	7TH TN INFANTRY (US)	1862-08	0	0.00	0	0.00
PRELIMINARY EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION SEP 22		1862-09	9	6.38	0	0.00
		1862-10	9	6.38	0	0.00

Table 4 (continued)

ENLISTMENT DATES OF ALL HAMILTON COUNTY SOLDIERS						
SIGNIFICANT EVENTS	UNIT FORMATION	ENLISTMENT YEAR AND MONTH	NUMBER OF CONFEDERATES ENLISTED	% OF CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS	NUMBER OF UNIONISTS ENLISTED	% OF UNION SOLDIERS
12 DROWN IN CHATTANOOGA IN ATTEMPT TO CROSS TN RIVER WHILE FLEEING CONSCRIPTION	1ST (CARTER'S) TN CAVALRY (CSA)	1862-11	2	1.42	0	0.00
	5TH TN CAVALRY (CSA)	1862-12	0	0.00	0	0.00
EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION JAN 01 // UNION VICTORY AT STONES RIVER		1863-01	1	0.71	0	0.00
	10TH TN CAVALRY (US)	1863-02	0	0.00	0	0.00
		1863-03	3	2.13	0	0.00
		1863-04	0	0.00	0	0.00
		1863-05	0	0.00	0	0.00
		1863-06	0	0.00	0	0.00
TN GOV JOHNSON (US) SAYS "GIVE ME MY GOVERNMENT, LET THE NEGROS GO" JUL 4 // UNION VICTORY AT GETTYSBURG JUL 3 // UNION VICTORY AT VICKSBURG JUL 4		1863-07	0	0.00	2	1.38
		1863-08	2	1.42	3	2.07
UNION ARMY ARRIVES IN KNOXVILLE SEP 3 // GEN ROSECRANS (US) CAVALRY REACHES CLEVELAND, TN SEP 10 // ROSECRANS DEFEATED AT CHICKAMAUGA RETREATS TO CHATTANOOGA SEP 20		1863-09	0	0.00	1	0.69
RELEASE OF 1600 UNION PRISONERS IN LOWER EAST TN // CRACKER LINE OPENS		1863-10	1	0.71	0	0.00
UNION VICTORY AT CHATTANOOGA		1863-11	0	0.00	0	0.00
NO SUBSTITUTES ALLOWED FOR CONFEDERATE DRAFTEES		1863-12	0	0.00	0	0.00
CONTRABAND CAMPS START IN CHATTANOOGA // GEN ORDER #6 ALL BLACK MALES 18-45 BEHIND FEDERAL LINES CONSCRIPTED		1864-01	0	0.00	0	0.00
		1864-02	1	0.71	1	0.69
		1864-03	0	0.00	0	0.00
		1864-04	0	0.00	0	0.00
SHERMAN ADVANCES FROM CHATTANOOGA INTO GA // BUSHWHACKER ACTIVITY INCREASES DRAMATICALLY		1864-05	4	2.84	0	0.00
		1864-06	0	0.00	0	0.00
		1864-07	1	0.71	0	0.00
UNION VICTORY AT BATTLE OF ATLANTA JUL 22		1864-07	1	0.71	0	0.00
	6TH TN MOUNTED INFANTRY (US)	1864-08	0	0.00	34	23.45
		1864-09	0	0.00	28	19.31
		1864-10	0	0.00	13	8.97
LINCOLN REELECTED		1864-11	0	0.00	2	1.38
UNION VICTORY AT BATTLE OF NASHVILLE		1864-12	0	0.00	8	5.52
TN CONSTITUTION AMMENDED TO ABOLISH SLAVERY		1865-01	0	0.00	0	0.00
	6TH US VOLUNTEERS (FORMER CSA SOLDIERS)	1865-02	0	0.00	2	1.38
		TOTALS	141	100.00	145	100.00

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