

Notes

Introduction: "The People at War"

1. My reference to common people of the Civil War era generally includes classes that have traditionally been underrepresented in centers of governmental and economic authority and whose role in shaping America's past has traditionally been ignored or marginalized. However, those classifications are not entirely rigid. Native Americans, for example, are treated in a single category, recognizing at the same time that some Indian nations contained people who were also partially, even mostly, of European ancestry. Women are treated as a group, recognizing that many were from the wealthy classes as well as laboring classes. Furthermore, such was the nature of their shared difficulties with men of the same categories, female dissenters, black women, and Indian women are treated with other groups in this study. African Americans are treated in a single category, recognizing that black women suffered the double stigma of racial and sexual oppression. Soldiers are treated as a group, recognizing that they were hardly homogeneous. Dissenters are treated as a group, recognizing that dissent by definition marks the group as somewhat uncommon, though dissent became increasingly common, especially in the South, during the course of the war.

Certainly these are not the only ways in which groups cut across racial, gender, and class lines. Race provides perhaps the best example. Blacks were also soldiers (as were several hundred women), and faced all the hardships of their white counterparts. Female African Americans were, of course, women as well. Many slaves and "free persons of color" were as much or more descendants of Europeans as they were of Africans. Nevertheless, African Americans generally shared a set of race-based difficulties that set them apart. Slave or free, North or South, woman or man, soldier or civilian, the pervasive racism of the time imposed a set of obstacles common to blacks regardless of their sex, region, or occupation. It is their efforts to overcome those obstacles in the face of racism and opposition, high and low, that I focus on as their common theme.

2. Fried, *Except to Walk Free*, 30–31. Wright was such an outspoken critic of social, economic, political, and religious repression that any woman who followed suit was condemned for her "Fanny Wrightism." Massachusetts minister Dudley Phelps warned that women who dared lecture to men would inevitably "land on Fanny Wrightism and that such is the fate of all women who venture out of their sphere." Cutter, *Domestic Devils, Battlefield Angels*, 114–15.

3. That support was, however, considerably limited. Historian John Shy, in *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence*, estimates that only one-fifth of Americans actively supported the Independence movement. Perhaps as many more actively opposed it. The movement's success was made possible mainly by French military intervention. For an overview of common people's role during the era, see Raphael, *People's History of the American Revolution*.

4. Link, *Roots of Secession*, 217; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 12.
5. For a definitive treatment of the anti-renter movement, see Christman, *Tin Horns and Calico*. For events in Lynn, see Dawley, *Class and Community*.
6. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 53.
7. Stamp, *Causes of the Civil War*, 68.
8. Formwalt, "Planters and Cotton Production as a Cause of Confederate Defeat," 275.
9. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 126.
10. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 9.
11. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 115.
12. Brooks, *Civil War Medicine*, 9.
13. Watkins, Co. Aytch, 194.
14. Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 148; Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1,224.
15. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 164.
16. Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens*, 721; Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 188.
17. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 138.
18. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 156; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 134–35; Meyers, "The Wretch Vickery' and the Brooks County Civil War Slave Conspiracy," 27–38.
19. Ward, *Civil War*, 247.
20. See Jackson, *Century of Dishonor*; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*; Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*; Wiley, *Plain People of the Confederacy*; Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*; Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*.
21. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, 722.
22. Some of the most provocative include Bernstein, *New York City Draft Riots*; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*; Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*; Clinton, *Other Civil War*; Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore*; Leonard, *Yankee Women*; Jordan, *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek*; Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*; Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*; Weitz, *Higher Duty*; Bynum, *Free State of Jones*; Pickering, *Brush Men and Vigilantes*; Freehling, *South vs. the South*. Such works of the past few decades, along with a number of enduring earlier books, form the basis of this study. Indeed, one of my primary purposes is to highlight material from important works that, in my view, have had less than their deserved impact on our consciousness of Civil War America.
23. Woodworth, *Review of Gods and Generals*, 123–24.

1: "All for the Benefit of the Wealthy"

1. Kibler, "Unionist Sentiment in South Carolina," 358. Aldrich's comment was penned in a private letter to South Carolina planter and U.S. Senator James Henry Hammond on November 25, 1860. After the war, Aldrich became a principal architect of the Black Codes, which sought to keep blacks in virtual slavery. See Wakelyn, *Confederates Against the Confederacy*, 50–51.
2. Reiger, "Secession of Florida," 363.
3. Hannibal Hamlin was Lincoln's vice presidential running mate.
4. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 13.
5. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 299–300; Reiger, "Secession of Florida," 367; Link, *Roots of Secession*, 225; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 20.
6. Kibler, "Unionist Sentiment in South Carolina," 358.
7. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 15.
8. Link, *Roots of Secession*, 226; Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 165, 167; Reiger, "Secession of Florida," 360, 363.
9. Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy*, 22; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 17; Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 37; McKenzie, *One South or Many?*, 68.
10. Planters are usually defined by their ownership of twenty or more slaves. The term "yeoman" refers to small farmers and herdsmen, ranging from those who owned at least three acres of land and no slaves to those who held up to four slaves. Tenants, sharecroppers, and farm laborers—generally referred to (along with unskilled urban workers) as "poor whites"—worked land owned by someone else. The designation "plain folk" or "common folk," when used in reference to the South, generally means yeomen and poor whites, although most often it includes small merchants and skilled artisans (or "mechanics") as well.
- Classification of such groups as yeomen, poor whites, and plain folk varies somewhat from one source to another. Steven Hahn, in *Roots of Southern Populism*, tends to view nonslaveholders as a group, as does Grady McWhiney in *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South*. Bill Cecil-Fronsman, in *Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina*, treats nonslaveholders and small slaveholders as a group because of their nonelite self-image. In *Masters of Small Worlds*, Stephanie McCurry locates the dividing line between yeomen and planters at ownership of eleven or twelve slaves, the number usually needed to remove a slaveholder from field labor, at least in her South Carolina low-country study region.
- Beyond those already mentioned, some of the most insightful works available on the antebellum South's socioeconomic types and their interrelationships are Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, and Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom*. Two of the very best such studies focusing on particular regions of the South are Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society: White Liberty and Black Slavery in Augusta's Hinterlands*, and Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi*.
11. Ware, "Cotton Money," 220; Willoughby, *Fair to Middlin'*, 54, 73.
12. In his study entitled *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, Bolton points out that although many poor whites migrated west in search of cheap land, few found any real upward mobility. Bynum's comment is from her review of Bolton's work. See Bynum, *Review*, 601–2.
13. Aughey, *Iron Furnace*, 226; Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom*, 118; Barney, *Secessionist Impulse*, 4, 39; Foust, *Yeoman Farmer*, 198. The late antebellum years saw a long-term and accelerating decline in the proportion of slaveholders in the South's free population from 36 percent in 1830 to 31 percent in 1850 and finally to 25 percent by 1860. See Wright, *Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 34.
14. Meriwether, *Slavery in Auburn*, 8–9; Rawick, *American Slave*, ser. 2, vol. 13, pt. 3, p. 1.
15. Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, 144; Ward, *Civil War*, 9.
16. Clinton, *Harriet Tubman*, 85, 142; Griffier, *Front Line of Freedom*, 95–96; Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 188.
17. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 19; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 252; Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 142. A good general discussion of slave resistance can be found in Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, 585–660.
18. Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 145.

19. Ibid., 143–45; Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 330; Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama*, 246–47, 248; Douglass, *Narrative*, 81–83.
20. Proctor, "Slavery in Southwest Georgia," 15.
21. Lane, *Rambler in Georgia*, 91; Rawick, *American Slave*, ser. 2, vol. 12, pt. 1, pp. 14–15.
22. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 20.
23. Rawick, *American Slave*, supp., ser. 1, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 6–7, 71.
24. Ibid., ser. 2, vol. 13, pt. 4, p. 124; *ibid.*, supp., ser. 1, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 6–7.
25. Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom*, 69. The most thorough treatment of free southern blacks remains Berlin, *Slaves without Masters*.
26. Rawick, *American Slave*, ser. 2, vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 26; *ibid.*, ser. 2, vol. 13, pt. 3, pp. 16, 187; *ibid.*, supp., ser. 1, vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 4.
27. Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 131–32; Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles to Freedom*, 4.
28. Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 29, 169.
29. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 36; Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles to Freedom*, 1–2; Breen, "Female Antislavery Petition Campaign," 377–98; Walker, *Backtracking in Barbour County*, 185.
30. Lane, *Rambler in Georgia*, 163.
31. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 23; Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 398; Rawick, *American Slave*, ser. 2, vol. 13, pt. 3, p. 1; Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, 37–38.
32. Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, 21–22; Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 327.
33. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 250–70, 327. See also Washburn, *Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia*.
34. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 269–70.
35. *Ibid.*, 334–35, 344; Zinn, *People's History of the United States*, 57.
36. Jefferson borrowed this phrase from the English political philosopher John Locke, but because few people in his American target audience had significant land holdings he replaced Locke's "property" with "pursuit of happiness." See Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, 70–71.
37. Craven, *Coming of the Civil War*, 119–20, 153–54; Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, 158–59; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 10. See also Lamb, "James G. Birney and the Road to Abolitionism."
38. Among the best overviews of Indian removal from the South remains Foreman, *Indian Removal*. For the impact of the southern gold rush on Indian removal, see Williams, *Georgia Gold Rush: Twenty-Niners, Cherokees, and Gold Fever*.
39. Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens*, 721.
40. Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, 21.
41. Freehling and Simpson, *Secession Debated*, 93.
42. Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama*, 347, 346; Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens*, 721; Gould, *Mismeasure of Man*, 45.
43. Gould, *Mismeasure of Man*, 70–71. See also Cartwright, "Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race."
44. Cruden, *Many and One*, 204.
45. Daly, *When Slavery Was Called Freedom*, 68, 85; Escott and Goldfield, *Major Problems in the History of the American South*, 430.
46. Antebellum attempts to reconcile scientific evidence with religious belief among scientists, clergy, and laity are reviewed in Hovenkamp, *Science and Religion*.
47. The question of slavery's morality came to a head among the major denominations when the southern wing of the Presbyterian Church split along sectional lines in 1837–38, followed by the Baptists and Methodists in 1845. For an overview of the controversy, see Snay's *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South*.
48. Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 97, 114; Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 108.
49. Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry*, 75; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 28.
50. Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama*, 346.
51. The most thorough study of antebellum challenges to academic freedom in the South is Eaton's *Freedom-of-Thought Struggle in the Old South*.
52. Eaton, *Mind of the Old South*, 238, 237.
53. Freehling and Simpson, *Secession Debated*, 93.
54. For good introductions to the role of the yeomen in antebellum southern politics, see Genovese, "Yeomen Farmers in a Slaveholders' Democracy," and Watson, "Conflict and Collaboration: Yeomen, Slaveholders, and Politics in the Antebellum South." See also Thornton, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800–1860*, and Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*.
55. Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom*, 80; Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 76.
56. Standard, *Columbus in the Confederacy*, 20–21.
57. DeBats, *Elites and Masses*, 425. In *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, a study of poor whites in central North Carolina and northeast Mississippi, Bolton draws similar conclusions about the political powerlessness of common folk.
58. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 114; Wallenstein, "Rich Man's War, Rich Man's Fight," 20.
59. Helper, *Impending Crisis*, 42.
60. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 115; Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom*, 76.
61. McKenzie, *One South or Many?*, 68; Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 58, 60–61; Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 131.
62. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 11; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 263–64.
63. Wells, *Origins of the Southern Middle Class*, 183–91; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 260–62; Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle*, 116.
64. Simons, *Social Forces in American History*, 227.
65. Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 138; Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 29. As Sterling notes: "Records of wills attest to large numbers of stable interracial unions in which genuine affection and loyalty were felt on both sides." She follows with a number of examples. See Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 29–30.
66. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 31; Griffier, *Front Line of Freedom*, 97.
67. Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 146–47; Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 327.
68. Helper, *Impending Crisis*, ix.
69. *Ibid.*, 43.
70. *Ibid.*, 22, 32. For an examination of cotton agriculture's impact on economic progress, see Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*.
71. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 32.
72. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 62.
73. Range, *Century of Georgia Agriculture*, 28; Helper, *Impending Crisis*, 39, 27. For a modern study of the South's antebellum importation of grain, see Lindstrom, "Southern Dependence Upon Interregional Grain Supplies."
74. Barney, *Secessionist Impulse*, 42; Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry*, 40; Walker, *Backtracking in Barbour County*, 177; Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 399; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 33.
75. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle*, 76. Soil depletion and a desire to establish slave-state parity in the Senate were additional factors motivating slaveholders to press for slavery's expansion. See Genovese, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 97–98, 247.
76. Genovese, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 266–67, 257–58; Hummel, *Emancipating Slaves, Enslaving Free Men*, 96.
77. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 218 n. 22. For a discussion of attempts to spread slavery south of the United States, see May, *Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire*.
78. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 94; Gronowicz, *Race and Politics in New York City Before the Civil War*, 64; Zinn, *Declarations of Independence*, 236; Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 167.
79. Gronowicz, *Race and Politics in New York City Before the Civil War*, xvi, 60–61; Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 167; Rawley, *Race and Politics*, 14.
80. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 268–69; Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 157–58.
81. Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy*, 23; Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 58.
82. Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 55–56; Atack, "Tenants and Yeomen," 20, 22.
83. Craven, *Coming of the Civil War*, 132–33.
84. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 98–99.
85. Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 63, 70; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 220.
86. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 99, 195.
87. Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 94; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 196.
88. Bremner, *Children and Youth*, 574, 617.
89. Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 94.
90. Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 99.
91. *Ibid.*, 93–95; Seidman, "Monstrous Doctrine," 173.
92. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 222; Attie, *Patriotic Toil*, 46; Evans, *Born for Liberty*, 102–03; Badura, "Elizabeth Blackwell," 234.
93. Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 131; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 86, 94, 155, 221–22; Fried, *Except to Walk Free*, 41.
94. Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*, 133; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 81–82; Foner *History of the Labor Movement*, 155.
95. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 155–56.
96. *Ibid.*, 156–57.
97. Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 94–95; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 241–45. See also Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn*.
98. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, 125; Gibson, *American Indian*, 336.
99. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 98–99; Rawley, *Race and Politics*, 12–13; Schwalm, "Overrun with Free Negroes," 151; Voegelie, *Free But Not Equal*, 2; Barney, *Road to Secession*, 66.
100. For a brief description of Indian slavery in California, see Josephy, *500 Nations*, 347.
101. For an overview of the Kansas issue and its national implications, see Gates, *Fifty Million Acres*, and Rawley, *Race and Politics*. Kansas was not admitted to the Union until 1861 after most of the slave states had seceded.
102. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 39–40.
103. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 162.
104. McPherson, *Struggle for Equality*, 23; Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 176; Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 469; Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 443–45.
105. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 43, 45.
106. DeBats, *Elites and Masses*, 260.
107. Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 62; DeBats, *Elites and Masses*, 260.
108. Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry*, 67; Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South*, 162–63, 225. For a detailed examination of Fitzhugh's thoughts, see Genovese, "The Logical Outcome of the Slaveholder's Philosophy" in Genovese, *World the Slaveholders Made*.
109. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 11; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 264; Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 345, 347; Wish, "Slave Insurrection Panic of 1856," 211.
110. Holt, *Political Crisis of the 1850s*, 225; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 12.
111. Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 340, 341–42, 345–46.

112. Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 90; Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 42, 43.
113. For apprehension over disunion among larger slaveholders, see Alexander and Duckworth, "Alabama Black Belt Whigs during Secession," and Scarborough, *Masters of the Big House*, 289–90.
114. Baum, *Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 81; Phillips, *Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb*, 527; Freehling and Simpson, *Secession Debated*, 82.
115. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 49–50.
116. Mallard, "I Had No Comfort to Give the People," 79; Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 29.
117. Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 29; Aughey, *Iron Furnace*, 50–51.
118. Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 496–97, 507–9; Bamey, "Secession," 1379; Davis, *Look Away!*, 264–65; Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic*, 63. Those who ran in opposition to secession adopted the label of "cooperationists" to indicate their feeling that any southern response to Lincoln's election should be made in cooperation with the slave states as a whole. Beyond that, however, their position was uncertain and ill defined. More likely, their rhetoric represented an attempt to thwart secession by garnering the undecided vote. For a discussion of the "confused and ambiguous" nature of the cooperationist position, see Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic*, 26.
119. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 143; Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle*, 165; Degler, *Other South*, 170; Baum, *Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 47; Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 503–4.
120. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 15. For a general treatment of the conventions and their composition, see Wooster, *Secession Conventions of the South*.
121. Later that year, the Confederacy did hold a formal presidential election, though the voters were not given much to decide. Davis's name was the only one on the ballot.
122. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 52; Ash, *Secessionists and Other Scoundrels*, 37–38.
123. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 14.
124. Bynum, *Free State of Jones*, 98; Reiger, "Secession of Florida," 363; Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 18.
125. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle*, 163–64; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 20; Johnson, *Toward a Patriarchal Republic*, 63; Johnson, "A New Look at the Popular Vote for Delegates to the Georgia Secession Convention," 259–75. Though Johnson laid the issue of Georgia's popular vote to rest in the 1970s, Georgia historians are taking their time in catching up to him. The latest edition of Coleman, *A History of Georgia*, the leading history of the state, still cites Governor Brown's fraudulent claim that secessionists won the popular vote by a margin of over thirteen thousand. See Coleman, *History of Georgia*, 150.
126. Baum, *Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 42; Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle*, 169–70; Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis*, 210.
127. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis*, 208. Potter's conclusions are supported by Paul Escott's more recent study, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism*, 23–28, 42–44.
128. Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 473; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 16.
129. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 42, 47; Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 176; Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 349.
130. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 51; Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 331; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 2; Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis*, 52.
131. Stampp, *Causes of the Civil War*, 68; Stampp, *And the War Came*, 127, 244; Foner, *Business and Slavery*, 302; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 53.
132. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis*, 117, 121.
133. Stampp, *And the War Came*, 130, 140–41, 186; Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis*, 157.
134. Bailey, *Probing America's Past*, 369; Foner, *Business and Slavery*, 302; McKay, *Civil War and New York City*, 31.
135. Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 552–53; Stampp, *And the War Came*, 216.
136. Foner, *Business and Slavery*, 302; Stampp, *And the War Came*, 220–21.
137. Stampp, *And the War Came*, 222; "Lincoln's First Inaugural Address," Heidler and Heidler, *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War*, 5:2287–91; Gienapp, *This Fiery Trial*, 104.
138. Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom*, 183; Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 365.
139. Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 679, 377, 687. For an in-depth study of Lincoln's Sumter strategy, see Current, *Lincoln and the First Shot*. See also Ramsdell, "Lincoln and Fort Sumter."
140. "Lincoln's Proclamation," Heidler and Heidler, *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War*, 5: 2300–2301; Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 738–39, 756; Cochran and Miller, *Age of Enterprise*, 104. The American flag had, in fact, been fired upon on January 9 when the *Star of the West* entered Charleston harbor loaded with supplies and two hundred reinforcements for Fort Sumter. South Carolina artillery opened fire and scored at least one direct hit before the vessel withdrew. There was some editorial consternation in the North, and Buchanan might have used the attack to rouse public outrage, call for volunteers, and commence civil war. But he had no wish to do so and let the incident pass virtually unnoticed. See Stern, *Prologue to Sumter*.
141. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 17; Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 771, 781.
142. Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*, 6; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 63, 68, 76–77; Sandow, "Limits of Northern Patriotism," 196.
143. Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 835; "Crittenden-Johnson Resolutions on the Objects of the War," Heidler and Heidler, *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War*, 5:2303; Reardon, "148th Pennsylvania and Home Front Dissension," 5–6.
144. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 17; Sandow, "Limits of Northern Patriotism," 186; Hallock, "Role of the Community in Civil War Desertion," 124; Lonn, *Desertion*, 143.
145. Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 707, 716.
146. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 5; McPherson, *What They Fought For*, 52–53; Kruman "Dissent in the Confederacy," 296.
147. Groce, *Mountain Rebels*, 33; Ash, *Secessionists and Other Scoundrels*, 61; Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 145, 151–52.
148. Dotson, "Grave and Scandalous Evil," 397; Horst, *Mennonites in the Confederacy*, 26–27.
149. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates*, 321; Perkins, *Northern Editorials*, 907; Groce, *Mountain Rebels*, 36; Worley, "The Arkansas Peace Society," 445.
150. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle*, 172; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 56–57; Whites, "Civil War as a Crisis in Gender," 14.
151. Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 80, 77–78.
152. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 158; Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle*, 171–72.
153. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 124; Escott, *After Secession*, 115.
154. Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 87–88; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 23.
155. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 21; Dotson, "Grave and Scandalous Evil," 402.
156. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 58.
157. Escott, *After Secession*, 97–98; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 18; Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 39–40; Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists*, 145.
158. Escott, *After Secession*, 94; Baum, *Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 42; Bailey, "Disloyalty in Early Confederate Alabama," 525.
159. Escott, *After Secession*, 115–16.
160. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 178; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 19–20.
161. Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 205; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 144; Bailey, "Disaffection in the Alabama Hill Country," 189; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 18.
162. Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens*, 721; Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 95–96; Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 360, 363–65.
163. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 20; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, vii.

2: "The Brunt Is Thrown upon the Working Classes"

- Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry*, 151.
- Sterling, "Civil War Draft Resistance in the Middle West," 166.
- Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 59–60; Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 79; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 18; Baggett, *Scalawags*, 83; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 42; Ash, *Secessionists and Other Scoundrels*, 115.
- Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 23–24.
- Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 237; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 21, 22.
- Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 21.
- Ibid.*, 22.
- Escott, *After Secession*, 63–64; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 124–25; Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 75. The most complete discussion of the Confederacy's conscription policy and its impact remains Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*.
- Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 91–92. Kirkland was fortunate to survive his amputation ordeal. One in four Civil War amputees did not. It is also fortunate for this author that Kirkland survived. He sired six more children after he returned home, one of whom was my great-grandfather.
- Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 126; Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*, 29–30; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 130; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 38; Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 123. For a discussion of wealthy planters who did serve, see Scarborough, *Masters of the Big House*, 317–72. Scarborough notes that of the Confederacy's 272 largest slaveholders (owning 250 slaves or more), 31 (11.4 percent) saw military service. Four of them (1.5 percent) died on duty. That loss pales in comparison to losses among those not so wealthy. Nearly half the South's military-aged white males served at one time or another. A third of them did not survive the war.
- Carlson, "Loanly Runagee," 607–08; Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*, 37, 41, 112.
- Carlson, "Distemper of the Time," 14–21; Davis, *Look Away!*, 237; Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 39; Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*, 56–57; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 102; Escott, *After Secession*, 116.
- Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 69; Escott and Goldfield, *Major Problems in the History of the American South*, 365; Bynum, *Free State of Jones*, 103.
- E.G. Edwards to C.C. Clay, February 19, 1863, Clay Papers; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 94–95.
- Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 158.
- Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 94; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 108; Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 156.
- Rable, *Civil Wars*, 76–77; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 103.
- Cumming, *Journal*, 243.
- Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 131–32; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 100; Escott, *After Secession*, 119; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 89.
- Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 130.
- Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South*, 100; Escott, "Cry of the Sufferers," 234.
- Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 107; Hill, *State Socialism in the Confederate States*, 4–7.
- Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 26, 27; Coulter, *Confederate States of America*, 241; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 99.
- Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 202–03.
- Phillips, *Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb*, 595; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 28.
- Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 99–100; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 34.
- Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 30, 33; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 101; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 31; Coulter, *Confederate States of America*, 241.
- Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 73; Tyler, "Cotton on the Border," 456; Scarborough, *Masters of the Big House*, 352–54; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 105.
- Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 102; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 32.

30. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 33.
31. *Ibid.*, 32.
32. *Ibid.*, 31–34; Lebergott, "Why the South Lost," 69; Lebergott, "Through the Blockade," 882–83. Figures rounded to the nearest 100,000 in table 10 of Lebergott's "Through the Blockade" show that of the 6.8 million bales produced in the South during the war, 0.4 were used in the South, 0.5 went to the United Kingdom and Europe, 0.9 went to the North, and 3.8 were destroyed by neglect, the Union army, or southerners themselves. The remaining 1.8 million bales were sold after the war. Cotton production had averaged about 3.5 million bales annually during the late 1850s, reaching just over 3.8 million bales in 1860. See Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2:1026; Wright, *Political Economy of the Cotton South*, 96.
33. Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 133.
34. Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 149; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 82–83; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 34–35.
35. Standard, *Columbus, Georgia, in the Confederacy*, 46; Amos, "All-Absorbing Topics," 19–21; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 35.
36. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 84; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 35.
37. Hill, *State Socialism in the Confederate States*, 8; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 34–35; Escott, *After Secession*, 123.
38. DeCredito, *Patriotism for Profit*, 56.
39. Tripp, *Yankee Town, Southern City*, 137; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 120; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 90; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 43.
40. Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 126; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 109.
41. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 69–70.
42. *Ibid.*, 70; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 53; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 109.
43. Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 54.
44. *Ibid.*, 68; Williams, *Johnny Reb's War*, 60–61. For a complete treatment of tax-in-kind, see Ball, *Financial Failure and Confederate Defeat*.
45. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 46, 50, 52; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, x; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 48. James Bush, one of Early County's richest planters, contributed to alienation from the government himself by refusing to accept Confederate currency.
46. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 48–49, 52; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 37.
47. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 49, 7.
48. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 85.
49. "An Officer" to C.C. Clay, January 12, 1864, Clay Papers; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 85.
50. Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1212; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 81; Hill, *State Socialism in the Confederate States*, 9–10. For the most complete modern study of blockade running, see Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy*.
51. Williams, *Johnny Reb's War*, 17.
52. Escott and Goldfield, *Major Problems in the History of the American South*, 365.
53. Escott, "Cry of the Sufferers," 230; Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1212; Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 108.
54. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 54–55; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 246.
55. Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 129; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 112–13; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 65.
56. Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 203; Wiley, *Plain People of the Confederacy*, 45–46.
57. Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 40; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 111–12.
58. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 108; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 65.
59. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 58–59.
60. Beringer, Hattaway, Jones, and Still, *Why the South Lost the Civil War*, 13. The Confederate Ordnance Bureau's operation under Josiah Gorgas is most fully explored in Vandiver, *Ploughshares into Swords*. See also Wilson, *Confederate Industry*.
61. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 59.
62. *Ibid.*, 59.
63. Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 216; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 59–60.
64. Coulter, *Confederate States of America*, 236–38; Green, *This Business of Relief*, 78; Tripp, *Yankee Town, Southern City*, 138. For a discussion of the writ of habeas corpus and other civil liberties issues in the Confederacy, see Neely, *Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism*.
65. Davis, *Look Away!*, 242; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 143; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 60, 95.
66. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 5, 151.
67. *Ibid.*, 94.
68. Baum, *Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 82.
69. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 152.
70. Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society*, 151; Faust, *Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 37; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 152–53.
71. Insoe and McKinney, *Heart of Confederate Appalachia*, 153; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 152; Lonn, *Desertion*, 70; Bynum, *Free State of Jones*, 126; Dotson, "Grave and Scandalous Evil," 420; Mallard, "I Had No Comfort to Give the People," 85.
72. Crawford, *Ashe County's Civil War*, 224; Baum, *Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 42, 113–14; Kruman, "Dissent in the Confederacy," 297; Baggett, *Scalawags*, 91; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 125; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 135; Escott, *After Secession*, 155; Fitzgerald, "Poor Man's Fight," 17; Martis, *Historical Atlas*, 82, 83, 84, 87, 118.
73. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 135–36.
74. *Ibid.*, 136–37. A longer, full-text version of this letter appears in Zinn and Amove, *Voices of a People's History of the United States*, 202–4.
75. Escott, *After Secession*, 219; Martis, *Historical Atlas*, 111, 113, 118; Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*, 41. See also Alexander and Beringer, *Anatomy of the Confederate Congress*.
76. Owsley, "Defeatism in the Confederacy," 456. Owsley was among the first prominent historians to argue that the causes of Confederate defeat were as much internal as external. In his seminal work, *State Rights in the Confederacy*, Owsley emphasized the concept of state sovereignty written into the Confederate constitution and the weakness it imposed on the central government as a leading factor in the Confederacy's collapse.
77. Neely, *Fate of Liberty*, 106; Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 135; Myers, *Great American Fortunes*, 292; Simons, *Social Forces*, 281.
78. Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy*, 39; Myers, *Great American Fortunes*, 295, 403.
79. Jackson, *Twenty Million Yankees*, 76.
80. Myers, *Great American Fortunes*, 403–04, 547–48; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 325.
81. Myers, *Great American Fortunes*, 292–93, 402, 549–52. R. Gordon Wasson, a vice president at J.P. Morgan and Company, attempted to discredit reports of Morgan's culpability in his 1941 book, *The Hall Cabine Affair: A Study in Contemporary Folklore*. Others have come to Morgan's defense, citing improvements that were made on the rifles and pleading that Morgan himself made only a few thousand dollars on the deal. And there has been at least one claim that reports of the rifles being a danger to soldiers were fictitious. See Sinclair, *Corsair*, 18–21; Wheeler, *Pierpont Morgan and Friends*, 74–78; Shenkman, "I Love Paul Revere," 66–68.
82. Attie, *Patriotic Toil*, 130, 142–43, 145, 162; Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 167; Marten, "United States Sanitary Commission," 2005. The most complete treatment of the Sanitary Commission remains Maxwell, *Lincoln's Fifth Wheel: The Political History of the United States Sanitary Commission*.
83. Hill, *State Socialism in the Confederate States*, 7–8.
84. Johnson, "Contraband Trade," 637; Myers, *Great American Fortunes*, 542–43.
85. Otto, *Southern Agriculture*, 27–28; Johnson, "Contraband Trade," 636–37.
86. Simons, *Social Forces*, 281–82; Johnson, "Contraband Trade," 641.
87. Simons, *Social Forces*, 282; Cochran and Miller, *Age of Enterprise*, 88.
88. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 326–27; Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 18; Cochran and Miller, *Age of Enterprise*, 106.
89. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 164–65; Cochran and Miller, *Age of Enterprise*, 113–14; Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy*, 36, 39–40.
90. Craig, "Industry, Agriculture, and the Economy," 511. See also Engeman, "Economic Impact of the Civil War," and Gallman, "Commodity Output, 1839–99."
91. Cochran and Miller, *Age of Enterprise*, 107–8, 110; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 13; Myers, *Great American Fortunes*, 406; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 236; Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy*, 41; Lause, "Homestead Act," 992.
92. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 99–101; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 591; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 294–95. Republicans did manage a net gain of five seats in the U.S. Senate in 1862, primarily because senators were appointed by 1860-elected and Republican-dominated state legislatures. Only after 1913, with the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment, did the Constitution provide for direct election of senators by popular vote.
93. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 110, 116; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 162; Ward, *Civil War*, 187.
94. Lonn, *Desertion*, 145, 151; Jimerson, *Private Civil War*, 232; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 142; Hallock, "Role of the Community in Civil War Desertion," 123.
95. Geary, *We Need Men*, 66; Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy*, 36; Jackson, *Twenty Million Yankees*, 78; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 321; Williams, "Class Conflict, U.S.A.," 448.
96. Johnson, *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War*, 313.
97. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 144; Larsen, "Draft Riot in Wisconsin," 423; Sterling, "Civil War Draft Resistance in the Midwest," 482–84; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 30. Statistical evidence of the "striking variations" in the rates of military service according to wealth and social status can be found in Gallman, *North Fights the Civil War*, 71, and Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War?" 694–701.
98. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 74, 78; Murdock, *Patriotism Limited*, 57.
99. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 214.
100. Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, 449, 453, 457–59, 469; Hallock, "Role of the Community in Civil War Desertion," 125–26.
101. Sterling, "Civil War Draft Resistance in the Middle West," 167; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 141.
102. Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 97; Sterling, "Civil War Draft Resistance in the Middle West," 433. Ironically, though he displayed little concern for the problems of common folk, Wilson was himself of humble origins. See McKay, *Henry Wilson*.
103. Jimerson, *Private Civil War*, 197.
104. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 322; Williams, "Class Conflict, U.S.A.," 448. A more detailed discussion of draft riots can be found in chapter 5. The two most thorough treatments of the riots in New York are Bernstein, *New York City Draft Riots*, and Cook, *Armies of the Streets*.
105. Clark and Hewitt, *Who Built America?*, 625; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 184; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 326. Taking 1860 as a base comparison of prices and wages, there was an 18 percent lag of wages behind prices in 1865. Through the efforts of organized labor, wages caught and surpassed prices by 25 percent over the next five years, but that was slight progress considering that the 1860 base represented barely a subsistence standard of living for most workers. For comparison figures, see Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 457.
106. Cook, *Armies of the Streets*, 28; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 183.
107. Bremner, *Public Good*, 87; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 185.
108. Cook, *Armies of the Streets*, 28.
109. Paludan, *People's Contest*, 154, 155, 185; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 223–26, 234, 244–45; Atack and Bateman, "Self-Sufficiency and the Marketable Surplus in the Rural North, 1860," 313.
110. Seidman, "Monstrous Doctrine," 184, 186.

111. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 8–9.
112. Paludan, *People's Contest*, 184.
113. Cook, *Armies of the Streets*, 28; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 186; Bremner, *Public Good*, 79.
114. Paludan, *People's Contest*, 185; Bremner, *Public Good*, 76; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 200.
115. Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 38; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 202; Grossman, *William Sylvius*, 154–55.
116. Paludan, *People's Contest*, 170–71; Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 177; Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, 93.
117. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 338–39, 344; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 111.
118. Commons et al., *History of Labour*, 15–17; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 352; Grossman, *William Sylvius*, 115–19.
119. Commons et al., *History of Labour*, 22–23; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 355–56; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 111.
120. Commons et al., *History of Labour*, 23; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 356–57; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 111–12; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 210.
121. Paludan, *People's Contest*, 195; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 352, 354; Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 179; Grossman, *William Sylvius*, 157–65.
122. Clark and Hewitt, *Who Built America?*, 629; Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, 98–99; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 195; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 352, 354; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 113; Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 179.
123. Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, 98; Clark and Hewitt, *Who Built America?*, 629; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 109; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 189; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 182.
124. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 191–92; Cochran and Miller, *Age of Enterprise*, 106–07; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 109; Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 179–80; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 327; Grossman, *William Sylvius*, 146–49.
125. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 97; Miller and Hewitt, *Who Built America?*, 629; Grossman, *William Sylvius*, 51; Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, 100; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 203; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 110; Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 178; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 329; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 196.
126. Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, 100; Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 145; Grossman, *William Sylvius*, 51–52; Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, 178–79; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 328–29; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 203; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 196; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 110. For the complete text of Roscrans's General Order No. 65, see Grossman, *William Sylvius*, 283–84.
127. Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 11; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 353; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 187; Commons et al., *History of Labour*, 11–12; Cochran and Miller, *Age of Enterprise*, 117.
128. Paludan, *People's Contest*, 178; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 110.
129. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 202.
130. Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 110; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 175, 178.
131. Dawley, *Class and Community*, 99, 103–4, 194–95; Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 72–73, 79, 81–82; Rayback, *History of American Labor*, 110; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 175, 178.
132. Long, *Jewel of Liberty*, 203.
133. *Ibid.*, 202.
134. Geary, *We Need Men*, 153–54; Snell, "If They Would Know What I Know," 110–11; Reardon, "We Are All in This War," 27–28.
135. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 201–2.
136. *Ibid.*; Smith, "Beyond Politics," 151.
137. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 201–2; Smith, "Beyond Politics," 152.

3: "The Women Rising"

1. Attie, *Patriotic Toil*, 55.
2. Baker, *Cyclone in Calico*, 11. Bickerdyke eventually became a field agent for the Sanitary Commission.
3. Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1206; Scott, *Southern Lady*, 90.
4. Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1206; Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 141; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 93–94.
5. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 123, 142; Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 144–45.
6. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 141; Attie, *Patriotic Toil*, 55.
7. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 152; Bremner, *Public Good*, 65.
8. Bremner, *Public Good*, 66–68. The most thorough treatments of Clara Barton are Burton, *Clara Barton*; Oates, *Woman of Valor*; and Pryor, *Clara Barton*.
9. Badura, "Elizabeth Blackwell," 232–33; Leonard, *Yankee Women*, 14; Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1215.
10. Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 102–3; Schultz, *Women at the Front*, 34–37, 83. Schultz's recent work, subtitled *Hospital Workers in Civil War America*, is the most thorough examination of women in health care during the war.
11. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 78; Gallman, *North Fights the Civil War*, 117–18.
12. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 122–24; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 46–47.
13. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 52, 63.
14. Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 98; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 77; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 53; Wood, "War Within," 204–05.
15. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 47; Leonard, *Yankee Women*, 30; Wood, "War Within," 207.
16. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 49; Baker, *Cyclone in Calico*, 11.
17. Wood, "War Within," 209–10; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 49. A monument to Bickerdyke stands on the courthouse square in Galesburg, Illinois.
18. Leonard, *Yankee Women*, 39.
19. *Ibid.*, 123–24.
20. Clinton, *Other Civil War*, 83; Leonard, *Yankee Women*, 134; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 62–63. There were, in fact, a few female doctors in the South, such as Louisa Shepard, who graduated in 1861 from Graefenberg Medical Institute in Dadeville, Alabama, and Elizabeth Cohen, who practiced medicine in New Orleans. See Clinton, *Other Civil War*, 83.
21. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 89, 100. Mary Surratt, convicted of complicity in Lincoln's April 1865 assassination, was the only woman to be executed as a result of war-related events.
22. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier*, 24–50; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 98. "Far from tormenting her husband to death," writes historian Elizabeth Leonard, "it was Ford herself who died young, possibly as a consequence of her third pregnancy and delivery. In 1871 she left Willard a widower. He never married again."
23. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 180; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 104; Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier*, 69.
24. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier*, 57–60; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 102; Sizer, "Acting Her Part," 114, 132. Though born in New Orleans and living there at the war's outbreak, Cushman spent much of her childhood in Michigan.
25. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 89; Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier*, 50–56. See also Ryan, *A Yankee Spy in Richmond: The Civil War Diary of "Crazy Bet" Van Lew*; Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*.
26. Blanton and Cook, *They Fought Like Demons*, 9; Sizer, "Acting Her Part," 122–24, 132. Though raised in Michigan, Edmonds was born French Canadian.
27. Blanton and Cook, *They Fought Like Demons*, 6–7; Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier*, 220, 239.
28. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 81, 84; Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier*, 218–20; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 338.
29. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier*, 202; Blanton and Cook, *They Fought Like Demons*, 27–28, Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 338.
30. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 338; Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier*, 241; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 80–81; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 334; Blanton and Cook, *They Fought Like Demons*, 36–37, 38, 98, 100. Sarah Wakeman left the only known surviving set of letters from a female Civil War soldier. See Wakeman, *Uncommon Soldier*. As to sexuality, love interests among women in the ranks may not always have been heterosexual. In his memoirs, General Philip Sheridan wrote that an "intimacy had sprung up between" two women who had served as soldiers under his command. See Blanton and Cook, *They Fought Like Demons*, 200–01.
31. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 109.
32. Holmes, *Diary of Miss Emma Holmes*, 172; Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 46; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 130.
33. Taber, *Hard Breathing Days*, 416.
34. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 130; Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1216–17.
35. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 130–31; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 113, 118; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 88.
36. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 132, 139; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 88–89.
37. Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 91.
38. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 141.
39. *Ibid.*, 133, 136–38.
40. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 187; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 341; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 5, 143, 148; Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 92; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 90, 278.
41. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 341; Seidman, "Monstrous Doctrine," 178; Wertheimer, *We Were There*, 155, 157; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 145; Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*, 186.
42. Rogers, *Confederate Home Front*, 81–82; Wertheimer, *We Were There*, 153–54; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 183; Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, 97; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 146.
43. Wertheimer, *We Were There*, 154–56; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 342–43.
44. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 341, 343; Wertheimer, *We Were There*, 152–54.
45. Paludan, *People's Contest*, 183; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 343; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 144–45.
46. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 60; Coulter, *Confederate States of America*, 237; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 147.
47. Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 85.
48. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 71–72.
49. Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 57, 59–60.
50. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 72–73.
51. *Ibid.*, 73.
52. Fellman, "Women and Guerrilla Warfare," 158; Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 90–91.
53. Castel, "Dearest Ben," 23; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 242; Craig, "Industry, Agriculture, and the Economy," 506; Craig and Weiss, "Agricultural Productivity Growth," 527.
54. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 113.
55. Wood, "War Within," 199; Castel, "Dearest Ben," 19.
56. Blomquist and Taylor, *This Cruel War*, 87, 99; Gallman, *North Fights the Civil War*, 81.
57. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 125–26.
58. Castel, "Dearest Ben," 19–20.

59. Blomquist and Taylor, *This Cruel War*, 94, 98.
60. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 61; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 124.
61. Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 32–33; Fellman, "Women and Guerrilla Warfare," 160–61.
62. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 59–60; Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 138.
63. Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 124.
64. Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 97–98. The increased abortion rate during the Civil War years seems to have reflected as much a general trend as any impact the war might have had. According to Lowry, there was one abortion for every thirty live births in 1840. By 1870 the rate was one in five. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the childbearing rate for the average woman in the United States dropped from 7.04 to 3.56. Though urbanization may have been a contributing factor, Lowry concludes that "since there is nothing to suggest a decrease in the incidence of coitus over that century, the best explanation for halving the birth rate is the use of contraception and abortion on a wide and consistent scale."
65. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 218–19; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 331, 332; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 298–99; Paludan, *Victims*, 97; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 135.
66. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 68; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 120–21.
67. Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 371.
68. Smith, *Trial By Fire*, 356; Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 371; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 121.
69. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 215.
70. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 69.
71. Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 119–20.
72. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 216; Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1221–22.
73. Insoe and McKinney, *Heart of Confederate Appalachia*, 195; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 135, 145, 148.
74. McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*, 57; Fisher, *War At Every Door*, 74.
75. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 161; Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 125–26, 137. Rable notes that "at least eighteen Union soldiers were executed for rape during the war, but this statistic says little about the prevalence of the crime" (Rable, *Civil Wars*, 341 n. 25).
76. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 230–31.
77. Fellman, "Women and Guerrilla Warfare," 160.
78. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 262–64; Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 70, 84.
79. Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 70, 84; Fellman, "Women and Guerrilla Warfare," 159; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 73.
80. Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 79–80, 84; Richard, *Busy Hands*, 72.
81. Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 64, 147–48; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 263.
82. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 73–75; Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 154–55. As the war was ending, Annie did finally secure her release on one condition—that she would not go "south of the Susquehanna." A short time later, she wrote to Stanton asking that the prohibition be lifted, saying that she wanted to go to New Orleans and serve as a teacher among recently freed blacks: "Mr. Stanton, will you let me go? Give me passage to New Orleans and I will never trouble officials again." There seems to be no record of Stanton's reply, but the Freedmen's Bureau does show an Annie Jones on the payroll at Meridian and Vicksburg, Mississippi, early in 1866. See Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 75–76.
83. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 261–62.
84. Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 119–20; Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 262; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 114.
85. Fitzgerald, "Poor Man's Fight," 15; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 121.
86. Refers to the Battle of Crampton's Gap near Burkittsville, Maryland, September 14, 1862. The battle was part of a larger engagement known as South Mountain during the Maryland campaign of 1862. That campaign reached its climax three days later at the Battle of Sharpsburg, or Antietam.
87. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 79–80.
88. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 107; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 27–28.
89. Escott, *After Secession*, 122; Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 89.
90. Wiley, *Plain People of the Confederacy*, 45.
91. Rable, *Civil Wars*, 83.
92. Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1223; Wiley, *Plain People of the Confederacy*, 66; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 73.
93. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 113–14.
94. Escott, *After Secession*, 122.
95. Massey, *Women in the Civil War*, 171; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 80; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 38–39.
96. Wiley, *Plain People of the Confederacy*, 47–48.
97. Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 133; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 39.
98. Cecil-Fronsmann, *Common Whites*, 212; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 134; Thomas, *Confederate Nation*, 204.
99. Friedheim and Jackson, *Freedom's Unfinished Revolution*, 103.
100. Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines?" 131–75; Rable, *Civil Wars*, 108–10; Thomas, *Confederate Nation*, 202–5; Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 74; Coulter, *Confederate States of America*, 422–23.
101. Amos, "All-Absorbing Topics," 22–23; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 39, 40; Coulter, *Confederate States of America*, 241, 243.
102. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 82–83.
103. *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 4, vol. 2, p. 468; Green, *This Business of Relief*, 78; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 84.
104. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 85.
105. *Ibid.*, 85.
106. *Ibid.*, 85–88.
107. Dotson, "Grave and Scandalous Evil," 419; Coulter, *Confederate States of America*, 423; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 40; Revels, *Grander in Her Daughters*, 74; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 92.
108. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 88.
109. *Ibid.*, 88, 83–84.
110. *Ibid.*, 83; Green, *This Business of Relief*, 78.
111. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 84.
112. *Ibid.*, 83–84, 88.
113. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 165.
114. Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 148; Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 593–95; Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1224.
115. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 289–90.
116. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 135, 244; *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 25, pt. 2, p. 73; Billings, *Hard Tack and Coffee*, 161.
117. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 147, 143; Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 99, 100; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 48.
118. Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 138; Cashin, "Deserters, Civilians, and Draft Resistance in the North," 275; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 42.
119. Larsen, "Draft Riot in Wisconsin," 422.
120. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 52–53; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 138; Cook, *Armies of the Streets*, 198; Hanna, "Boston Draft Riot," 263–65.
121. Fellman, "Women and Guerrilla Warfare," 156–57.
122. Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens, *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 311–12.
123. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 142; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 142; Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens, *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 311–12.
124. Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 142–44.
125. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 89.
126. *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 4, vol. 2, p. 721; Andrews, *Footprints of a Regiment*, 39.
127. Andrews, *Footprints of a Regiment*, 39.

4: "We Poor Soldiers"

1. Wemer, *Reluctant Witnesses*, 1.
2. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 256–57.
3. Smith, *Trial By Fire*, 73–74.
4. In a sampling of 11,000 Confederate infantry privates in 94 regiments from across the South, Bell Wiley identified 5 percent as below age eighteen at enlistment. A similar sampling of over 14,000 Union volunteers showed that 1.6 percent of all enlistees were under eighteen. Taking these samples as representative and using James McPherson's figures of about 2,100,000 and 850,000 troops who served in the Union and Confederate armies, respectively, those under age eighteen at enlistment may have totaled as many as 42,500 for the Confederacy and 33,600 for the Union. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 330–31; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 298–99; McPherson, *Ordeal By Fire*, 184; Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 26.
5. Dotson, "Grave and Scandalous Evil," 400.
6. Parish, "From Necessary Evil to National Blessing," 61; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 207; Curran, *Soldiers of Peace*, 7. For the importance of Protestant clergy to the Republican agenda, see Howard, *Religion and the Radical Republican Movement*. For the role of Catholics and Jews in the war, see Blied, *Catholics and the Civil War*; Murphy, "The Catholic Church in the United States during the Civil War Period"; Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War*; and Simonhoff, *Jewish Participants in the Civil War*.
7. Curran, *Soldiers of Peace*, 54, 82.
8. *Ibid.*, 7.
9. Woodworth, *While God Is Marching On*, 178–79. For a discussion of the individual nature of religion in the Old South and how it contrasted with religion in the North, see Wyatt-Brown, *Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners*. See also the introduction to Shattuck, *Shield and Hiding Place*.
10. McPherson, *What They Fought For*, 9, 11, 50.
11. Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 62; McPherson, *What They Fought For*, 51. The way in which many white southerners viewed slavery as the foundation of white liberty is explored in Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society*. See especially chapter 1, "Slavery and Liberty."
12. Wood, "Union and Secession in Mississippi," 141.
13. Balsler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 5:423; McPherson, *Ordeal By Fire*, 264; McPherson, *What They Fought For*, 51, 81 n. 14.
14. McPherson, *What They Fought For*, 52–53.
15. Ash, *Secessionists and Other Scoundrels*, 90.
16. McPherson, *What They Fought For*, 53.
17. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 5; Wemer, *Reluctant Witnesses*, 23; Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 21.

18. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 288; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 116.
19. Ward, *Civil War*, 184; Marten, *Children for the Union*, 126; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 116; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 127.
20. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 256–57.
21. Woodworth, *While God Is Marching On*, 189.
22. During the latter part of the war, soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia took to calling themselves "Lee's Miserables" after the 1862 Victor Hugo work *Les Misérables*.
23. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 255, 252, 253.
24. *Ibid.*, 253–54.
25. *Ibid.*, 253, 254, 222.
26. Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 122; Cochran and Miller, *Age of Enterprise*, 118; Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 221.
27. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 220–21.
28. Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 194; Wills, *War Hits Home*, 100; Bennett, *Union Jacks*, 121.
29. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 38; Jackson, *So Mourns the Dove*, 35.
30. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 136; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 94.
31. Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, 208–9.
32. *Ibid.*, 208; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 66–67.
33. Bennett, *Union Jacks*, 120.
34. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 66; Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, 16.
35. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 230.
36. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee*, 110.
37. *Ibid.*, 110; Otto, *Southern Agriculture*, 22.
38. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 233 n. 8.
39. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 92; Williams, *Johnny Reb's War*, 17; Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 163.
40. Andrews, *Footprints of a Regiment*, 151.
41. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 134–35; Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 177; Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 40.
42. Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 84; Williams, *Johnny Reb's War*, 15.
43. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 319; Andrews, *Footprints of a Regiment*, 93–94.
44. Williams, *Johnny Reb's War*, 11; Bernard, *War Talks of Confederate Veterans*, 20; Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 84.
45. Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 62.
46. *Ibid.*, 56–57, 60.
47. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 22, 61.
48. Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 82–83; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 246; Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 202; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 151.
49. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 133; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 251.
50. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 124, 126–27; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 150; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 253; Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 187; Williams, "On the Fringes of Hell," 706–7.
51. Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 102, 105–8.
52. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 157, 158; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 257–58.
53. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 130; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 159.
54. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 132.
55. Andrews, *Footprints of a Regiment*, 26; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 236; Attie, *Patriotic Toil*, 142.
56. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 230–31.
57. Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 214.
58. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 230; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 236; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 198–99.
59. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 235, 237.
60. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 127.
61. Werner, *Reluctant Witnesses*, 37; Freeman, *Lee*, 4:445–46; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 95.
62. Wiley, *Plain People of the Confederacy*, 13–14; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 129.
63. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 52; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 130.
64. Alotta, *Civil War Justice*, 117, 51, 76; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 199; Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 51–52.
65. Upson, *With Sherman to the Sea*, 112; Canney, *Lincoln's Navy*, 127; Alotta, *Civil War Justice*, 47; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 192–93.
66. Alotta, *Civil War Justice*, 61–63.
67. Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 65; Casler, *Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade*, 114.
68. Alotta, *Civil War Justice*, 123–25.
69. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee*, 163.
70. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 207.
71. Alotta, *Civil War Justice*, 40.
72. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 194, 197, 206; Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee*, 146; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 123; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 224; Dotson, "Grave and Scandalous Evil," 406. Mainly because of whipping's association with slavery, both the Union and Confederate armies officially abolished it as a punishment for soldiers.
73. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 232; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 212–13.
74. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee*, 145–46; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 200.
75. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 52–53.
76. Williams, "On the Fringes of Hell," 710.
77. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 72; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 309; Weller, *Civil War Courtship*, 93; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 142. Euchre is normally a plain-trick card game for four players in fixed partnerships, partners sitting opposite each other.
78. Williams, "On the Fringes of Hell," 711.
79. Dinkins, *Personal Recollections*, 75–76; Newton, *Wisconsin Boy in Dixie*, 72.
80. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 142.
81. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 78–80.
82. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 167.
83. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 86; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 83.
84. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 278, 86; Andrews, *Footprints of a Regiment*, 20.
85. Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 157.
86. Perman, *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 207.
87. Marten, "Fatherhood in the Confederacy," 282; Werner, *Reluctant Witnesses*, 31.
88. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 22–23; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 84.
89. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 166–67.
90. *Ibid.*, 167.
91. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 80–81; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 72.
92. Werner, *Reluctant Witnesses*, 35; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 143; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 316. A bronze monument of Richard Kirkland stands on the Fredericksburg battlefield site. In 1996, artist Don Stivers, renowned for his work on the Civil War era, paid tribute to Kirkland in an oil painting entitled *An Act of Compassion*.
93. Williams, "On the Fringes of Hell," 714–15.
94. Williams, *Johnny Reb's War*, 34.
95. Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 125.
96. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, 25; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 79; Ward, *Civil War*, 160.
97. Werner, *Reluctant Witnesses*, 25.
98. Bull, *Soldiering*, 231–32.
99. Watkins, *Co. Aytch*, 158; Upson, *With Sherman to the Sea*, 116–17.
100. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 75.
101. Upson, *With Sherman to the Sea*, 38.
102. Strong, *Yankee Private's Civil War*, 38–39.
103. Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, 114.
104. *Ibid.*, 126; McCrea, *Dear Belle*, 156.
105. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 117.
106. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 163; Williams, *Johnny Reb's War*, 36.
107. Bollet, *Civil War Medicine*, 153.
108. Williams, *Johnny Reb's War*, 35.
109. Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, 118.
110. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 117.
111. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 164.
112. Brooks, *Civil War Medicine*, 9.
113. The "three-starred gentry" quote refers to full colonels and general officers in the Confederate Army, all of whom wore three stars on their collars (generals' stars were enclosed by a wreath) regardless of specific rank. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 142–43; Brooks, *Civil War Medicine*, 9; "An Officer" to C.C. Clay, January 12, 1864, Clay Papers.
114. Imboden, "Confederate Retreat from Gettysburg," 3:424.
115. Jackson, *Twenty Million Yankees*, 94.
116. Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 81–82.
117. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 88; Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, 169.
118. Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, 126.

119. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 148.
120. Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, 139, 141, 144.
121. *Ibid.*, 129. The benefit of using maggots in certain medical procedures had been known during the Napoleonic Wars. It was forgotten until the Civil War, then forgotten again. Its rediscovery during World War I led to the use of maggot therapy in treating osteomyelitis. In the 1930s, research at Johns Hopkins University led to wider use of maggot therapy until the introduction of antibiotics a decade later. Their use has been revived in recent years at wound-care clinics. In January 2004, maggots became the first live animals to receive Food and Drug Administration approval for use as a medical treatment (leeches were approved later that year). "Still 'it takes work to convince people"—including hospital administrators—that 'maggots do work very well,' said Dr. Robert Kirsner, who directs the University of Miami Cedars Wound Center." See "Maggots Make Medical Comeback."
122. Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 16.
123. *Ibid.*, 14.
124. Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 96.
125. Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 11.
126. Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 96.
127. Marvel, *Andersonville*, 107; Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 14–15.
128. Horgan, *Elmira*, 168; Bailey, *Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation*, 96–97; Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray*, 176.
129. Speer, *Portals to Hell*, 16; Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 236; Bryant, *Cahaba Prison*, 67; Marvel, *Andersonville*, ix, 238–39; Horgan, *Elmira*, 193; Andrews, *War-Time Journal*, 78–79.
130. Gordon, "Surely They Remember Me," 328; Jackson, *So Mourns the Dove*, 32–33; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 123.
131. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 123–24; Lindsey, *Reason for the Tears*, 132.
132. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 124.
133. *Ibid.*, 124.
134. Jones, *Heroines of Dixie*, 183; Jackson, *So Mourns the Dove*, 35; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 291.
135. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 67–68; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 330–31.
136. Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 92–93; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 161.
137. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 292; Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 92; Wiley, *Plain People*, 65; Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 63.
138. Casler, *Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade*, 204–5.
139. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee*, 100.
140. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 291.
141. Castel, "Malingering," 29–30; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 243.
142. Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 282, 423 n. 18; Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens, *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 307; Jimerson, *Private Civil War*, 215; Bynum, *Free State of Jones*, 101, 103.
143. Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, 36; Wiley, *Billy Yank*, 282.
144. Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 43–44.
145. Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 244; Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 149.
146. Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 127.
147. Geary, *We Need Men*, 45.
148. Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 243.
149. Martin, *Rich Man's War*, 148; Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 773.
150. Lonon, *Desertion*, 234–35; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 162.
151. Berlin, Favreau, and Miller, *Remembering Slavery*, 228–29.
152. Levine, "Draft Evasion in the North," 819; Neely, *Fate of Liberty*, 131; Wills, *War Hits Home*, 100; Geary, *We Need Men*, 98; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 113–14; Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 232.
153. Escott, *After Secession*, 127; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 162; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 118; Dotson, "Grave and Scandalous Evil," 406–7; Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 64.
154. Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 90; Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 139.
155. Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 205; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 58; Dotson, "Grave and Scandalous Evil," 409; Crawford, *Ashe County's Civil War*, 108; *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 53, 380–81; Escott, *After Secession*, 132.
156. Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, 93; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 182; Lonon, *Desertion*, 69, 70.
157. Cashin, "Deserters, Civilians, and Draft Resistance in the North," 274; Lonon, *Desertion*, 205.

5: "Come In Out of the Draft"

1. Hopper penned these lines on September 9, 1863, to his brother in the Confederate army encouraging him to desert. Davis, *Look Away!*, 233.
2. Pike to Maj. O.A. Mack, Aide-de-Camp and Acting Assistant Provost-Marshall-General, July 22, 1863, *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 3, vol. 3, 565–66.
3. Neely, *Fate of Liberty*, 10; Williams, "Civil Liberties, U.S.A.," 442.
4. Neely, *Fate of Liberty*, 65, 28.
5. Williams, "Civil Liberties, U.S.A.," 442.
6. Neely, *Fate of Liberty*, 28.
7. *Ibid.*, 28.
8. *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 5, 640, 646; Neely, *Fate of Liberty*, 28; Neely, *Union Divided*, 42–44; Curran, *Soldiers of Peace*, 86–87; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 595–96.
9. Sampson, "Charleston (Illinois) Riot," 405–7; Sampson, "Pretty Damned Warm Times," 99–102.
10. Klement, *Limits of Dissent*, 234–35; Williams, "Civil Liberties, U.S.A.," 443.
11. Williams, "Civil Liberties, U.S.A.," 443. See also Klement, *Limits of Dissent*.
12. Neely, *Fate of Liberty*, 109–12; Lonon, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, 450–51.
13. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 23; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 151–52; Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 104–5.
14. Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*, 6, 65, 71; Curran, *Soldiers of Peace*, xiii, 66; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 207. For a discussion of the motives of Quakers who served, see chapter 3, "Why Did They Fight?" in Nelson, *Indiana Quakers Confront the Civil War*.
15. Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*, 83.
16. *Ibid.*, 83–84.
17. Curran, *Soldiers of Peace*, 1, 57–58.
18. *Ibid.*, 64.
19. Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*, 165.
20. *Ibid.*, 75–76; Curran, *Soldiers of Peace*, 64–65.
21. Parish, "From Necessary Evil to National Blessing," 64; Andreasen, "Civil War Church Trials," 230–31, 234–35, 220–23.
22. Andreasen, "Civil War Church Trials," 241.
23. *Ibid.*, 220.
24. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 159.
25. Murdock, *Patriotism Limited*, 54, 58. Married men were not exempt from the Federal draft, but those between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five (the draft's upper age limit) were placed in Class Two and not taken until those in Class One had been drafted.
26. Glass and Singer, *Singing Soldiers*, 136–138.
27. Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 114; Geary, *We Need Men*, 98; Neely, *Fate of Liberty*, 131; Cashin, "Deserters, Civilians, and Draft Resistance," 270; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 168.
28. Lonon, *Desertion*, 140, 155; Gallman, *North Fights the Civil War*, 69; Murdock, *Patriotism Limited*, 54.
29. Murdock, *Patriotism Limited*, 59.
30. *Ibid.*, 78, 147; Gallman, *North Fights the Civil War*, 69; Levine, "Draft Evasion During the Civil War," 819.
31. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 169–72; Murdock, *Patriotism Limited*, 60.
32. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 50–54, 85; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 111.
33. Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 146–48; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 47, 58, 41; Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 323; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 111.
34. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 30, 41.
35. *Ibid.*, 42, 51, 59; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 147–48.
36. Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 109; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 46, 55, 30.
37. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 46, 48; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 137, 138, 154; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 191–92.
38. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 322–23; Cook, *Armies of the Streets*, 139; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 192; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 54, 57, 89; Curran, *Soldiers of Peace*, 85; Williams, "Class Conflict, U.S.A.," 448; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 111, 137.
39. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 52–53; Lonon, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 204.
40. Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 138; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 52–53.
41. Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 111; Larsen, "Draft Riot in Wisconsin," 422–23.
42. Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 111–12.
43. Lonon, *Desertion During the Civil War*, 206; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 148; Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 100–01.
44. Hanna, "Boston Draft Riot," 263–71.
45. Curran, *Soldiers of Peace*, 87, 103 n. 37.
46. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 322; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 190.
47. Bernstein, *New York City Draft Riots*, 18–19, 36; Geary, *We Need Men*, 105; O'Sullivan and Meckler, *Draft and Its Enemies*, 67.
48. Geary, *We Need Men*, 105–6; Williams, "Class Conflict, U.S.A.," 448; Bernstein, *New York City Draft Riots*, 21.
49. Geary, *We Need Men*, 105; Cook, *Armies of the Streets*, 101, 118–19; Bernstein, *New York City Draft Riots*, 36–37; O'Sullivan and Meckler, *Draft and Its Enemies*, 68.
50. Bernstein, *New York City Draft Riots*, 36; Cook, *Armies of the Streets*, 77–81; O'Sullivan and Meckler, *Draft and Its Enemies*, 68. According to Cook, the orphanage housed 237 children at the time of the attack (Cook, *Armies of the Streets*, 77).
51. Cook, *Armies of the Streets*, 194; Paludan, *People's Contest*, 193; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 77; Murdock, *Patriotism Limited*, 60; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 604.

52. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 3–5.
53. Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 104, 106.
54. Lonn, *Desertion*, 206–07; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 148–49.
55. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 48; Lonn, *Desertion*, 205; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 154.
56. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 85; *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 3, vol. 3, 565–66.
57. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 55–56, 58, 86; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 155; Sterling, “Civil War Draft Resistance in the Middle West,” 505–06; *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 3, vol. 3, 632–33.
58. Murdock, *One Million Men*, 51–52, 85–86.
59. *Ibid.*, 54–55, 84–85; Lonn, *Desertion*, 204; Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 155.
60. Sterling, “Civil War Draft Resistance in the Middle West,” 505; Shankman, *Pennsylvania Antiwar Movement*, 157; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 85.
61. *War of the Rebellion* ser. 3, vol. 3, 697.
62. Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 70–71, 137; Palladino, *Another Civil War*, 106; Klement, *Dark Lanterns*, 132; Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column*, 246.
63. Klement, *Limits of Dissent*, 263–64; Churchill, “Liberty, Conscription,” 295, 296–97.
64. In his 1967 essay “Party Politics and the Union and Confederate War Efforts,” Eric McKittrick argued that the North’s two-party system helped preserve the Union by discouraging factionalism, as was common in the Confederacy, and by channeling a great deal of dissent into electoral politics. More recently, in his 2002 book *The Union Divided: Party Conflict in the Civil War North*, Mark Neely argues that the two-party system did little to advance the Union’s war effort and much to delay victory.
- It seems obvious that the work of antiwar Democrats indeed delayed Union victory. By definition, antiwar activity at all levels did. But I tend to agree with McKittrick’s conclusion. Had rampant factionalism developed in the North or had violent opposition become more widely organized, which may have occurred without the existence of a loyal opposition party (and which did occur in the Confederacy), the Union war effort would have been even more difficult to sustain.
65. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 152, 160.
66. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 158, 43–44.
67. Julia P. Gwynn to her uncle, July 25, 1863, Lenoir Family Papers; Aughey, *Iron Furnace*, 266; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 5.
68. “Dobbin” was a colloquialism referring to a farm horse or plodding workhorse.
69. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 179–80.
70. Wood, “Union and Secession in Mississippi,” 146–47; Escott, *After Secession*, 131.
71. Moneyhon, “Disloyalty in Southwestern Arkansas,” 233; Escott, *After Secession*, 120.
72. Escott, *After Secession*, 124–25; Wiley, *Plain People of the Confederacy*, 66.
73. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 188; Davis, *Look Away!*, 271.
74. Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 137; Mallard, “I Had No Comfort to Give the People,” 80.
75. Aughey, *Iron Furnace*, 267, 51–52.
76. Dotson, “Grave and Scandalous Evil,” 416.
77. Aughey, *Iron Furnace*, 197–98.
78. Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 148.
79. Chesebrough, “Dissenting Clergy in Confederate Mississippi,” 119–20; Mallard, “I Had No Comfort to Give the People,” 82–83.
80. Mallard, “I Had No Comfort to Give the People,” 79–80; Aughey, *Iron Furnace*, 6.
81. Williams, “Civil Liberties, C.S.A.,” 441.
82. Chesebrough, “Dissenting Clergy in Confederate Mississippi,” 118; Lathrop, “Disaffection in Confederate Louisiana,” 309–10.
83. Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 130.
84. Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*, 53; Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 124.
85. Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*, 54–56; Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 133; Baggett, *Scalawags*, 72; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 82–83.
86. Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 134; Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 69.
87. Moore, *Conscription and Conflict*, 68; Dotson, “Grave and Scandalous Evil,” 400, 415.
88. Horst, *Mennonites in the Confederacy*, 80.
89. *Ibid.*, 30, 32–33; Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation*, 190. Though Good entered service on July 8, 1861, nine months before the Confederate draft commenced, he and many others were effectively state draftees. Horst explains: “The prewar militia system of Virginia required all males from eighteen to forty-five years of age to drill several times a year unless exempted. There was no exemption for persons who professed conscientious scruples against military activities. Most Mennonites and Dunkers would not attend these drills but would instead pay a nominal fine of fifty or seventy-five cents. When the war broke out in the spring of 1861, the militia was called and Mennonites whose names were on the muster rolls found themselves no longer excused by paying muster fines.... Most of the men went into the militia under protest, vowing among themselves, to their families, and to the church that they would not use weapons placed in their hands to kill the enemy.” Horst, *Mennonites in the Confederacy*, 28–29.
90. Wright, *Conscientious Objectors*, 115–20.
91. Marten, *Texas Divided*, 93–94, 122; Bailey, “Defiant Unionists,” 215–18.
92. Moneyhon, “Disloyalty in Southwestern Arkansas,” 228–29; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 41; Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 132; *War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 43, pt. 2, p. 919; Wise Dial, James Dial, and Calvin Dial to Hunter, July 29, 1863, Dial letter.
93. Inscoc and McKinney, *Heart of Confederate Appalachia*, 193; Lonn, *Desertion*, 69; Dotson, “Grave and Scandalous Evil,” 411.
94. Bynum, *Free State of Jones*, 105; conversations with Harold O. Williams, the author’s father.
95. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 46, 140, 141; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 171–72.
96. Bohannon, “They Had Determined to Root Us Out,” 105; Sarris, “Execution in Lumpkin County,” 141–42; Kinsland, “Civil War Comes to Lumpkin County,” 23–24; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 160.
97. Davis, *Look Away!*, 233, 448 n. 25; Blair, *Virginia’s Private War*, 66; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 115; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 183; Dotson, “Grave and Scandalous Evil,” 416–17.
98. Martin, *Rich Man’s War*, 199; Bailey, “Defiant Unionists,” 215.
99. Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites*, 207; Inscoc and McKinney, *Heart of Confederate Appalachia*, 127.
100. Dotson, “Grave and Scandalous Evil,” 427, 416–17.
101. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 170–71.
102. Paludan, *Victims*, 84–85, 96–98.
103. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 90.
104. Aughey, *Iron Furnace*, 192–200.
105. *Ibid.*, 7, 64.
106. Rogers, *Confederate Homefront*, 105–06; Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 163; Berlin et al., *Free at Last*, 161–64.
107. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 24–25, 36; Worley, *Arkansas Peace Society*, 446; Degler, *The Other South*, 171.
108. Smith, “Limits of Dissent and Loyalty in Texas,” 137–38; McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*, 211–12.
109. McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*, 87–88. Bourland continued his murderous ways long after the hangings, often executing prisoners without even the pretense of a show trial. The murders finally stopped in 1864 only after some of Bourland’s own men threatened to call for his court-martial. See Smith, “Limits of Dissent and Loyalty in Texas,” 146–47.
110. Marten, *Texas Divided*, 58.
111. Pickering and Falls, *Brushmen and Vigilantes*, 23. Pickering and Falls give the following evidence for their conclusion: “Census records of 1860 for those later indicted in five 1862 hanging deaths show average worth (both real and personal property combined) of \$8,605, with the comparable figure for victims being \$807. The 1860 census records for those indicted in four 1863 hanging deaths show average worth of \$19,100, with a comparable figure for the victims of \$1,269. The difference is such that the vigilantes were wealthier and their victims poorer than the average Texan of that time, whose worth was about \$6,000.”
112. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 138.
113. Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 139–40.
114. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 29.
115. Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 140; *ibid.*, 29–30.
116. Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*, 651; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 157; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 68.
117. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 33–34, 123, 157; Noe, “Red String Scare,” 316. See also Auman and Scarboro, “Heroes of America in Civil War North Carolina.”
118. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 120, 154, 158; Dotson, “Grave and Scandalous Evil,” 393.
119. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 150; Horst, *Mennonites in the Confederacy*, 41–43; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 163.
120. Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 142; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 183.
121. Inscoc, “Moving Through Deserter Country,” 162.
122. Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 163; Inscoc and McKinney, *Heart of Confederate Appalachia*, 191–92.
123. Inscoc, “Moving Through Deserter Country,” 165.
124. *Ibid.*, 162.
125. Baggett, *Scalawags*, 88–89; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 159; Mallard, “I Had No Comfort to Give the People,” 83–84.
126. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man’s War*, 180.
127. *Ibid.*, 180–81.
128. *Ibid.*, 157; Freehling, *South vs. the South*, xiii; Crawford, *Ashe County’s Civil War*, 125, 132; Dotson, “Grave and Scandalous Evil,” 406; Baggett, *Scalawags*, 78.
129. Bonner, “David R. Snelling,” 275–82.
130. Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society*, 152; Crawford, *Ashe County’s Civil War*, 130; Durill, *War of Another Kind*, 240; Degler, *Other South*, 170; Glatthaar, *March to the Sea and Beyond*, 147, 150–51.
131. Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society*, 151; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 122, 123; Durill, *War of Another Kind*, 116–17, 133; Mallard, “I Had No Comfort to Give the People,” 85.
132. Buker, *Blockaders, Refugees, and Contrabands*, 115–16, 150–51; Baggett, *Scalawags*, 67.
133. McGee, “Confederate Who Switched Sides,” 20–28; Williams, *Rich Man’s War*, 145–46.
134. Worley, “Arkansas Peace Society,” 451; Barnes, “Williams Clan’s Civil War,” 192, 195, 199–200.
135. Bynum, *Free State of Jones*, 98, 105, 112.
136. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 60; Degler, *Other South*, 154–55; Frazier, “Out of Stinking Distance,” 163.
137. Davis, *Look Away!*, 247.
138. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 45, 50, 51; Davis, *Look Away!*, 264; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 101.
139. Moneyhon, “Disloyalty and Class Consciousness in Southwestern Arkansas,” 230; Neely, *Southern Rights*, 105; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 68–69.

140. Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 85.
141. Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 137–39; Dotson, "Grave and Scandalous Evil," 410, 416, 422.
142. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South*, 160.
143. Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists*, 137.
144. *Ibid.*, 137–38; Durrill, *War of Another Kind*, 108–09; Auman and Scarboro, "Heroes of America," 345.
145. Carlson, "Loanly Runagee," 600.
146. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 176–77.
147. *Ibid.*, 164.
148. *Ibid.*, 164–65.
149. Bohannon, "They Had Determined to Root Us Out," 98–106.
150. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 166–67.
151. Carlson, "Loanly Runagee," 589; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 174.
152. Turner, *Navy Gray*, 130–31, 325 n. 6.; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 87.
153. Buker, *Blockaders, Refugees, and Contrabands*, 98–99, 106–07; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 83–84.
154. Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 361; Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*, 88.
155. Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 360–61; Escott, *Many Excellent People*, 77; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 140–41.
156. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 157; Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 92–93.

6: "My God! Are We Free?"

1. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 190.
2. Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 218. The words of slaves, illiterate for the most part, were often necessarily filtered through writers who frequently tried to preserve phonetically the dialects they thought they heard. There was often an element of racism involved as well. It was not uncommon for literate whites to portray blacks as unable to master the rudiments of spoken English despite numerous examples to the contrary. Poor whites and immigrants were often similarly stereotyped.
3. Berlin, Favreau, and Miller, *Remembering Slavery*, 275–76.
4. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 154.
5. Taylor, *Reminiscences*, 8.
6. Berlin, "The Slaves Were the Primary Force Behind Their Emancipation," 279.
7. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 138; Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 97; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 111.
8. Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 97.
9. Standard, *Columbus in the Confederacy*, 38, 55; Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom*, 150; Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 62; Mohr, "Slavery and Class Tensions," 65.
10. Standard, *Columbus in the Confederacy*, 56.
11. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 72.
12. Marten, *Texas Divided*, 110; Berlin, Favreau, and Miller, *Remembering Slavery*, 236.
13. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 37–38; Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 216.
14. Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 229, 217; Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens*, 721.
15. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 190; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 38.
16. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 38.
17. Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 218, 177; Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 86.
18. Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," 1213; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 71–72; Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 96; Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 363.
19. Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 99.
20. Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 124–25; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 111–12.
21. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 155.
22. *Ibid.*, 155; Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 73–74; Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down*, 175.
23. Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 156; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 111; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 58; Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 177; Robinson, *Bitter Fruits of Bondage*, 180.
24. Crist and Dix, *Papers of Jefferson Davis*, 7:175; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 158.
25. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom*, 51, 310 n. 86; Bryan, *Confederate Georgia*, 127; Williams, *Rich Man's War*, 158.
26. Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 95, 367; Jordan, *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek*, 5–6.
27. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 134.
28. *Ibid.*, 134.
29. *Ibid.*, 134–35.
30. Meyers, "The Wretch Vickers' and the Brooks County Civil War Slave Conspiracy," 27–38; Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 144–50.
31. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 140; Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 4; Durrill, *War of Another Kind*, 132–33; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 123.
32. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 62–63.
33. *Ibid.*, 62–63; Berlin, Favreau, and Miller, *Remembering Slavery*, 227–28, 264–65; Marten, *Texas Divided*, 110–11.
34. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 62; Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom*, 87–88.
35. Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 94.
36. Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 69; Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 361–62.
37. Bynum, *Free State of Jones*, 109–10.
38. Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 80.
39. Williams, Williams, and Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War*, 131; Berlin et al., *Free at Last*, 124.
40. Inscoe and McKinney, *Heart of Confederate Appalachia*, 228.
41. Taylor, *Reminiscences*, 68.
42. Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 87–89; Berlin et al., *Free at Last*, 124.
43. Inscoe, "Moving Through Deserter Country," 166, 170.
44. Williams, "The 'Faithful Slave' Is About Played Out," 100.
45. Neely, *Southern Rights*, 135; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 84.
46. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 84.
47. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier*, 70, 54–55; Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees*, 284.
48. Wertheimer, *We Were There*, 137–38.
49. Wills, *War Hits Home*, 40.
50. McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 154–57. After the war, Smalls served several terms as a congressman from South Carolina in the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1899, he was appointed customs collector for Beaufort and held the position until 1913. Two years later he died of natural causes in the home where he and his mother had once been enslaved. See Uya, *From Slavery to Public Service*.
51. Grant, *Way It Was in the South*, 83; Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 407; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 71; Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 209; Escott, "Context of Freedom," 85.
52. Glatthaar, *March to the Sea and Beyond*, 64; Davis, *Sherman's March*, 91–94; Kennett, *Marching Through Georgia*, 290–91.
53. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 123; Lowry, *Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 124–25.
54. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 122–23.
55. Gallman, *North Fights the Civil War*, 139; Clinton, *Harriet Tubman*, 189.
56. Voegeli, "Rejected Alternative," 773; Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 251; Truth, *Narrative*, 140.
57. Schwalm, "Overrun with Free Negroes," 166.
58. Foner and Lewis, *Black Worker*, 274–75.
59. *Ibid.*, 278–79.
60. Voegeli, *Free But Not Equal*, 2; Gallman, *North Fights the Civil War*, 138.
61. McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 248.
62. Voegeli, "Rejected Alternative," 776.
63. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 26–27; Aptheker, *Documentary History of the Negro People*, 459–60.
64. Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 25–26.
65. *Ibid.*, 29.
66. Balser, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 5:423; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 264.
67. Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 237.
68. Freehling, *South vs. the South*, 96; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 65.
69. Voegeli, *Free But Not Equal*, 39; Bennett, *Forced into Glory*, 382.
70. Blight, *Fredrick Douglass' Civil War*, 122, 137, 138.
71. McPherson, *Struggle for Equality*, 155; McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 96–97.
72. Bennett, *Forced into Glory*, 382–83.
73. Blight, *Fredrick Douglass' Civil War*, 140.
74. McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 92–93.
75. *Ibid.*, 294. The letter refers to General George B. McClellan, commanding the Army of the Potomac, and General Henry H. Halleck, the Union army's general-in-chief.
76. Blight, *Fredrick Douglass' Civil War*, 142; Bennett, *Forced into Glory*, 461.
77. Syrett, "Confiscation Acts," 287, 318–19; Gienapp, *This Fiery Trial*, 108; Quarles, *Negro in the Civil War*, 59–61, 109–12; McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 46.
78. Voegeli, "Rejected Alternative," 775.