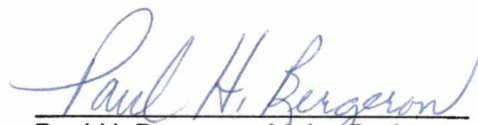


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by R. B. Rosenberg entitled "Living Monuments: Confederate Soldiers' Homes in the New South." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in History.


Paul H. Bergeron, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

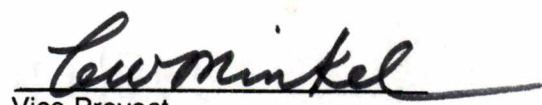








Accepted for the Council:


Vice Provost
and Dean of the Graduate School

LIVING MONUMENTS:
CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS' HOMES
IN THE NEW SOUTH

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

R. B. Rosenberg

December 1989

Copyright © R. B. Rosenberg, 1990
All rights reserved

For Lynn and Jonathan

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work has its origins in a graduate seminar completed in the spring of 1985 under the direction of Professor Susan Becker. For her initial favorable reception of the topic and her perceptive criticisms as a committee member, I will always be indebted. My thanks go as well to Professor Bruce Wheeler, who read the seminar paper, agreed to lend his expertise and enthusiasm as a committee member, raised searching questions and offered helpful suggestions on content and organization. Professors John Muldowny and Allison Ensor, also members of my committee, warrant recognition for having served as special sources of inspiration and generally expediting my progress.

At various intervals I benefitted from the comments and historical imagination of several scholars, especially Fred A. Bailey, Stephen V. Ash, Charles R. Wilson and Daniel E. Sutherland; the first two also graciously gave me advance copies of their recent publications. Professor James Farr (now of Purdue University) introduced me to the wonders and riches of historical demography, while Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr. supplied me with some valuable information on the Louisiana home.

I owe much to the courteous and cheerful assistance given me by the staffs of the various repositories listed in the bibliography. I am particularly grateful to John Dobson and James B. Lloyd of the Special Collections Department of the University of Tennessee library for granting me access to a research study wherein I was permitted not only to work on the early stages of the dissertation without interruptions, but also to use liberally as an office and storage area.

Many friends have given me aid and comfort in the course of my travails. Specifically I wish to thank the Greggs, the Kaisers, the Heplers, and the O'Neals for providing me a place to stay, transportation, home cooked meals, pleasant company and needful entertainment along the sometimes arduous route of research in distant lands.

Family members were, of course, an important source of moral support and encouragement, and their contributions need not be elaborated.

Lastly, I am appreciative of Professor Paul H. Bergeron, who served as the quintessential dissertation director--asking hard questions, offering stimulating advice, providing rigorous but invaluable critiques, helping me over many rough spots and lifting my spirits at difficult times. The merits of this work owe much to his influence and guidance.

ABSTRACT

This study treats not only the bureaucratic establishments themselves, but also the people who occupied and administered the South's first Confederate soldiers' home; namely those of Louisiana, Virginia, Texas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia. Chapter I, based upon information derived from 1,682 applications for admission and other quantifiable data, demonstrates that the "typical" inmate had been poor at the outset of the war, and that his status did not improve in subsequent decades. A veteran's entrance into a soldiers' home may have also depended upon whether he suffered from a service-related disability, as well as his marital status and family size.

Chapter II describes how, beginning in the 1880s, various veterans' groups--composed predominantly of proprietary and low-white collar members--responded to the needs of their indigent comrades by founding homes as private relief projects. Gradually state governments assumed financial responsibility for the homes, while veterans continued serving as governing boards and staff members. The Georgia home, regarded as "the home that [Henry] Grady built," is dealt with separately in the following chapter, since the development of that institution was indeed an aberration.

Chapter IV explores how contemporary attitudes concerning poverty, aging, public welfare, social responsibility, as well as an eulogistic tradition of "Johnny Reb," influenced home officials to devise rigid institutional policies aimed at controlling and transforming the behavior of those believed to be incapable of taking care of themselves. The ensuing chapter illustrates how occasionally the homes were neither peaceful nor dignified retreats (despite what was envisioned and advertised), as inmates who had grown impatient with the paternalism of their social betters managed partly to subvert the homes' discipline and turn it to their own advantages.

Chapter VI stresses that, despite the many changes which occurred in the homes over time, they continued to occupy a central place within southern society, at least until their institutional breakup that commenced in the 1920s. Throughout their more than fifty years of collective existence, the homes benefitted from an outpouring of humanitarian concern; a fitting reward for men who, many asserted, symbolized the virtues of honor, masculinity, and obedience to duty.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
I. LEE'S POOR BOYS: CONFEDERATE VETERANS IN DEFEAT AND RECOVERY	7
II. THE "SACRED DUTY": ORGANIZING BENEVOLENCE	29
III. THE HOME THAT GRADY BUILT	63
IV. A DISCIPLINE FOR HEROES	97
V. INSIDE THE WALLS: DISORDER AND RESPONSE	121
VI. PATTERNS OF CHANGE AND DECLINE	157
BIBLIOGRAPHY	181
APPENDIX	198
VITA	213

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1.1. Age and Age Range at Admission (from opening date to 1900), by State	1
1.2. Occupations of Confederate Soldiers' Home Inmates, by State	17
1.3. 1860 Family Wealth Aggregates for Tennessee Soldiers' Home Inmates	17
1.4. Military Rank of Tennessee Soldiers' Home Inmates, by Antebellum Family Wealth	19
1.5. 1870 Family Wealth Aggregates for Tennessee Soldiers' Home Inmates	19
1.6. Tennessee Soldiers' Home Inmates, by Date Admitted and Antebellum Wealth	23
1.7. Marital Status of Confederate Soldiers' Home Inmates, by State (from opening to 1922)	25
6.1. Mean Age of Soldiers' Home Inmates, By State per Year of Admission	163
6.2. In-migration and Out-migration by Lee Camp Soldiers' Home Inmates, Over Time	173
A.1. The Number and Percentage of Confederate Veterans, by State in 1890	202
A.2. Birthplaces of Confederate Soldiers' Home Inmates, by State and Region	203
A.3. Confederate Soldiers' Home Residents With "War Wounds," by State	206
A.4. Tenure of Confederate Soldiers' Home Residents, by State and Admission Date	211
A.5. Confederate Soldiers' Home Residents With Tenure of One Year or Less, By State and Admission Date	211

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAT: Association of the Army of Tennessee

AANV: Association of the Army of Northern Virginia

AHS: Atlanta Historical Society

APL: Austin Public Library

At Const: Atlanta Constitution

CNSH: Camp Nicholls Soldiers' Home, New Orleans

Con Vet: Confederate Veteran

CVANC: Confederate Veterans Association of North Carolina

Duke: William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

GAR: Grand Army of the Republic

GDAH: Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta

GHQ: Georgia Historical Quarterly

GSH: Georgia Soldiers' Home, Atlanta

LAC: Louisiana Collection, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University,
New Orleans

LCSH: Lee Camp Soldiers' Home, Richmond

LHAC: Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Howard-Tilton Memorial
Library, Tulane University, New Orleans

LMA: Ladies' Memorial Association

NA: National Archives, Washington, D.C.

NCCHA: North Carolina Confederate Home Association

NCDAH: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh

NCSH: North Carolina Soldiers' Home, Raleigh

SHA: Soldiers' Home Association of North Carolina

SHC: Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North
Carolina, Chapel Hill

THC: Barker Texas History Center, The University of Texas at Austin

TSH: Tennessee Soldiers' Home, Nashville

TSLA: Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville

TxCM: Texas Confederate Museum, Austin

TxHM: Texas Home for Men, Austin

TxSA: Texas State Archives, Austin

UCV: United Confederate Veterans

UDC: United Daughters of the Confederacy

UTK: Special Collections, Hoskins Library, The University of Tennessee,
Knoxville

VHS: Virginia Historical Society, Richmond

VSL: Virginia State Library, Richmond

INTRODUCTION

General Tennessee Flintlock Sash was an ancient Confederate veteran whom society venerated and praised. On special occasions Sash, dressed in uniform, was on loan to a museum where he was carefully put on display, surrounded by other relics of the war. As schoolchildren passed by, they were afforded a rare opportunity to see (but not touch) a real live Confederate veteran, and a general to boot! Yet Sash was neither a former general, nor was he wearing his own uniform. In fact, he could hardly remember anything about the war, let alone the details of any engagement that he had supposedly witnessed. Moreover, he inwardly detested being forced to relive his part. Except for the pretty girls who occasionally paid attention to him, Sash could care less for the ceremonial activities.¹

Not unlike Flannery O'Connor's fictional character, thousands of Confederate veterans were dressed in uniforms, publicly exhibited, protected from harm and required to play a role. They were residents of soldiers' homes, "living monuments" to the South's most sacred virtues of honor and chivalry.² Here, not only schoolchildren, but southerners of all ages, gathered to celebrate and help relive the achievements of the

¹Flannery O'Connor, "A Late Encounter With The Enemy," in A Good Man Is Hard To Find (New York, 1953). O'Connor's inspiration may have been "General" John R. Jones, a popular ex-Confederate of Atlanta who died in 1945. Jones, one of four residents of the Georgia Soldiers' Home, attended the world premiere of Gone With The Wind. To Vivien Leigh, Carole Lombard and Claudette Colbert, Jones, "admittedly the 'ladies' man' of the group," issued this warning: "I'll kiss any of the ladies if they get in my way." After viewing the film, Jones uttered the memorable: "The picture's fine. The war looked just like that!" At Const, 13, 15-16 December 1939; Jay S. Hoar, The South's Last Boys In Gray (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1986), 187-90.

²For the antebellum essence and expression of these values, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (New York, 1982).

past. The Confederate soldiers' home served simultaneously as a place of refuge, a museum, a military camp, an artificial city as well as a shrine.

As many as sixteen different Confederate soldiers' homes were founded, and their collective histories span more than a century. This study focuses on six homes which were among the first established during a period of rampant ex-Confederate activity, the 1880s and 1890s.³ Inasmuch as there were during these same years southerners who organized and dedicated themselves to unveil monuments, write regimental histories, decorate cemeteries, preserve battlefields and participate in reunion rituals, there also existed a viable and discernible soldiers' home "movement." The institutions established in Louisiana, Virginia, Texas, Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina represented the end products of that concerted activity.

To date, the Confederate soldiers' home movement has received scant attention. William W. White's standard work, The Confederate Veteran, devotes only four brief pages to the topic. Judith Cetina's ambitious dissertation, "A History of Veterans' Homes in the United States, 1811-1930," apportions less than a dozen of nearly five hundred pages to the Confederate homes of Louisiana, Maryland and the South Carolina institution (for needy women). A master's thesis has yielded an article on the Oklahoma Confederate Veterans' Home, while only two concise summaries--one concerning the Virginia and

³A Confederate soldiers' home is known to have existed in all of the eleven states which comprised the Confederacy, plus Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Oklahoma and California. The homes investigated in this work have been selected according to the following criteria: 1) chronological order of appearance; 2) original Confederate states; 3) geographical distribution; 4) percentage of Confederate veteran population in 1890; and 5) availability of official records. The homes in South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi have been excluded since they were among the last to have been founded, after 1900. Both the Arkansas and Florida homes' official records are believed to be no longer extant. Besides they were comparatively small-scale operations. The homes of Louisiana, Virginia, Texas, Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina satisfy basically all five criteria. Each was established in the 1880s. Proportionately more veterans resided in those original Confederate states (with the exception of Louisiana) than in most others. The selected homes represent an area that spans the South. Finally, official records are available.

another the North Carolina home--have appeared in print. Obviously, any attempt to treat several homes at once and to place them in their proper historical context enhances current historiography.⁴

Although largely ignoring the soldiers' homes per se, at least two scholars have interpreted them within a larger historical context. Charles Wilson views the Lost Cause as a conservative "cultural revitalization" movement, arguing that Lost Cause enthusiasts (particularly ex-Confederate organizations) feared that certain southern values were threatened and sought to preserve or relive the past. Preservation or revitalization, according to Wilson, took various forms: monument dedication, archival work, holiday and reunion rituals, and (presumably) soldiers' homes.⁵ More recently, Gaines Foster has interpreted the "celebration" of traditional southern values by predominantly middle-class Confederate veterans' groups in the late 1880s and early 1890s as a direct reaction to various social and political upheavals and tensions which gripped the South following the war. The celebration's rituals, he points out, above all praised the common soldier--by building monuments or writing histories, or awarding pensions and by establishing veterans' homes--as a means of re-forming society and promoting social unity.⁶

⁴William W. White, The Confederate Veteran (Tuscaloosa, 1962); Judith G. Cetina, "A History of Veterans' Homes in the United States, 1811-1930," (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve Univ., 1977); Tommy G. Lashley, "Oklahoma's Confederate Veterans Home," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 55 (1977): 34-45; Emily J. Williams, "A Home . . . for the Old Boys': The Robert E. Lee Camp Confederate Soldiers' Home," Virginia Cavalcade 28 (1979): 40-47; Herbert Poole, "The Final Encampment: The North Carolina Soldiers' Home," Con Vet (July-August 1987): 10-17.

⁵Charles R. Wilson, Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920 (Athens, Ga., 1980), 11.

⁶Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913 (New York, 1987), 6-7.

An in-depth investigation of the Confederate soldiers' homes necessitates testing these prevailing interpretations. As it has already been suggested that the southern soldiers' home movement cannot be isolated from other attempts by the public to memorialize Johnny Reb, it is also evident that reactionary Lost Cause zealots (or even southerners in general) were not the only ones who engaged in such practices. Although founding soldiers' homes of their own, Union veterans actively and ironically participated in the establishment of the southern institutions. Also, at the forefront of the movement were southerners like Henry Grady, John B. Gordon, Lawrence "Sul" Ross and Julian Shakespeare Carr, who championed both sectional and national values. Thus, Confederate soldiers' homes cannot be viewed as solely another ritual for preserving a special southern identity, but must also be seen as a vehicle for achieving sectional reconciliation.

The Confederate soldiers' home movement was, indeed, a class specific reform. Predominantly middle-class members of society anxiously responded to the needs of indigent but "worthy" veterans by founding institutions and administering them. Governing boards and officers consistently viewed their charges as objects of benevolent paternalism who required comfort and care, as well as moral guidance and discipline. Yet the same principles of honor, valor and masculinity which inspired many to do their "sacred duty" of establishing, supervising and maintaining the homes, also, paradoxically, compelled some to disapprove of the charitable institutions from the outset. Apologists faced serious obstacles in selling their projects to the public and obtaining state funding; in Georgia, detractors even succeeded in preventing the soldiers' home from opening for over a decade. Just as troublesome were the day-to-day challenges posed by recalcitrant inmates who apparently spurned having to conform to regimental deportment standards and resented being told by their social betters to act

their age and status befitting true, virtuous "heroes." In some cases administrators were forced to reconsider their own ideas of social responsibility and stewardship, leading them to be more patient and less diligent in their paternal oversight. In spite of this, the Confederate soldiers' home continued to function in much the same fashion as it was originally intended until its institutional breakup, which commenced around 1920.

By no means should the following study be regarded as definitive. Its primary focus is on the homes' combined social and cultural functions, from founding date to roughly 1920. Afterwards the institutions began rapidly evolving, and the texture of home life changed, as management shifted to total state control and female relatives of veterans were admitted, which is a whole other topic.

This work is also limited necessarily by the sources available. An attempt has been made whenever possible to reconstruct how soldiers' home residents probably perceived themselves, their managers, their community and their places in history and society. A socioeconomic profile, based upon the quantitative analysis of a selected sample of inmates, has been provided. Nevertheless, owing to the usually wooden and stylized nature of certain official records and the lack of documents produced by inmates themselves, their perspective is somewhat distorted. It has been relatively easier to describe how the home founders idealized the common private soldier, viewed his poverty, aging and disability, and conspired to protect and reform the inmates, based upon their own assertions which have been preserved and collected.

The Confederate soldiers' homes of the New South occupied a valid place in southern history. Several generations of southerners knew about them and selflessly gave their time, energies and gifts to them. Presidents, governors, military leaders, movie stars and other dignitaries occasionally visited them. Over the years glee clubs and Sunday school classes, curiosity seekers and temperance lecturers, preachers and

elixir salesmen beat persistent paths to their doors. The homes served as the objects of concern, devotion, commercialism, sectional pride and reconciliation, and sometimes heated controversy; just as had the aged, poor and disabled veterans who lived and died there. As Clark Howell, longtime editor of the Atlanta Constitution and avid defender of the Georgia Soldiers' Home, so aptly put it: "Tombstones and statues crumble and decay, and, even while they stand, their inscriptions fade from sight. . . . But living monuments are worth more than all."⁷

⁷At Const. 23 May 1890.

CHAPTER I

LEE'S POOR BOYS: CONFEDERATE VETERANS IN DEFEAT AND RECOVERY

After visiting an old acquaintance in Chimborazo Hospital No. 4 in Richmond, Virginia, on August 23, 1864, Colonel William Ward hastily scribbled in his diary: "Poor fellow, he will never be well." Ward aptly summarized the military career of Henry J. Dawson, a private in the Seventh Tennessee Infantry, who spent fully half of the war incapacitated by a host of ailments--dysentery, bronchitis, chronic rheumatism, something diagnosed as "catarrh & debility"--unable even to walk or sometimes feed himself. His weight plummeting to only ninety pounds, he was mercifully granted in January 1865 a medical discharge at Petersburg, where he lingered until after Lee's surrender.¹

In the late spring of 1865 Dawson, like thousands of other former Rebel soldiers, finally returned home. Intending to get back to the routines of life interrupted by war, many would have little time left, for less than half survived until 1890.²

¹Preserved at UTK, Ward's diary is currently being edited for publication. For a summary of Dawson's military career, see his Confederate Compiled Service Record, RG 105, NA, as well as his application for a Tennessee Confederate Pension, TSLA.

²This assertion is based upon Thomas L. Livermore, Numbers and Losses in the Civil War: 1861-1865 (Bloomington, Ind., 1957 [1900]), who estimated the number of three-year Confederate enlistees who survived the war to have been 928,822; and "Soldiers and Widows," Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890, Pt. 3, Population (Washington, D.C., 1897), 593, which reported 428,747 Confederate veterans, 46.2 percent of Livermore's 1865 total. Compare this percentage with William B. Hesseltine, Confederate Leaders in the New South (Westport, Conn., 1970 [1950]), 20, the only known comprehensive attempt to treat the postwar careers of Confederate veterans. Of Hesseltine's 585 "leaders," only 281 (48%) survived until 1890. In "Southern Womanhood, 1865-1920: An Intellectual and Cultural Study," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1976), 97-8, John C. Ruoff estimates that 31 percent of all Confederate veterans alive in 1890 had died by 1900. By

Miraculously, Dawson had beaten the odds and persevered, though only barely. In January 1894, his sixty-second year, no longer able to support himself by painting houses, his constitution completely "broken down," illiterate, never married and living with "poor relations," Dawson applied for a state military pension. The following year he entered the Tennessee Confederate Soldiers' Home, where he breathed his last in 1906.³

Dawson's postwar career typifies the lives of many indigent, homeless and dissatisfied ex-Confederates who eventually applied to relief agencies for help. Perhaps the most startling characteristic of these men was their relative youth (Table 1.1 and Figure 1.1).⁴ Among the first beneficiaries of the homes for ex-Confederates would be men who had been born in the late 1830s or mid-1840s, who had taken up arms in defense of the southern cause in their late teens or mid-twenties, and who found themselves out of work and impoverished in their forties or early-fifties.

To be poor at middle age raised serious questions about one's manliness and morals. Supposedly, according to the prevailing assumptions of the period, a man was to have accumulated wealth with age. To become dependent upon others was to admit failure.⁵ As one ex-Confederate stated, "the thought of having to go to the Paupers Home

1928, the total number of survivors had dwindled to less than 26,000. Con Vet 36 (1928): 408-9.

³In 1870 Dawson, a boarder and a farm laborer, possessed no material assets. A decade later he resided with a different family and listed "painter" as his occupation. His November 1895 Application for Admission to the TSH, TSLA, filled out and submitted by a former commander, bore Dawson's mark. 1870 Census, Tenn., Smith, Dist. No. 14, 17; 1880 Census, Tenn., Smith, Dist. No. 1, 9.

⁴For a discussion of the statistical methodology employed in compiling these and other analyses which appear throughout the work, see APPENDIX.

⁵For the relationship between self-reliance and "manliness," as well as the abhorrence of personal dependence, see Lee Soltow, Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850-1870 (New Haven, 1975), 69-70; Benjamin J. Klebaner, "Poverty and Its Relief in American Thought,

**Table 1.1. Age and Age Range at Admission (from opening date to 1900),
by State.**

	LA	TN	TX	VA	N
Mean Age	59.8	62.8	63.2	60.5	
Age Range	41-80	49-87	45-91	38-88	
N	114	71	143	238	566

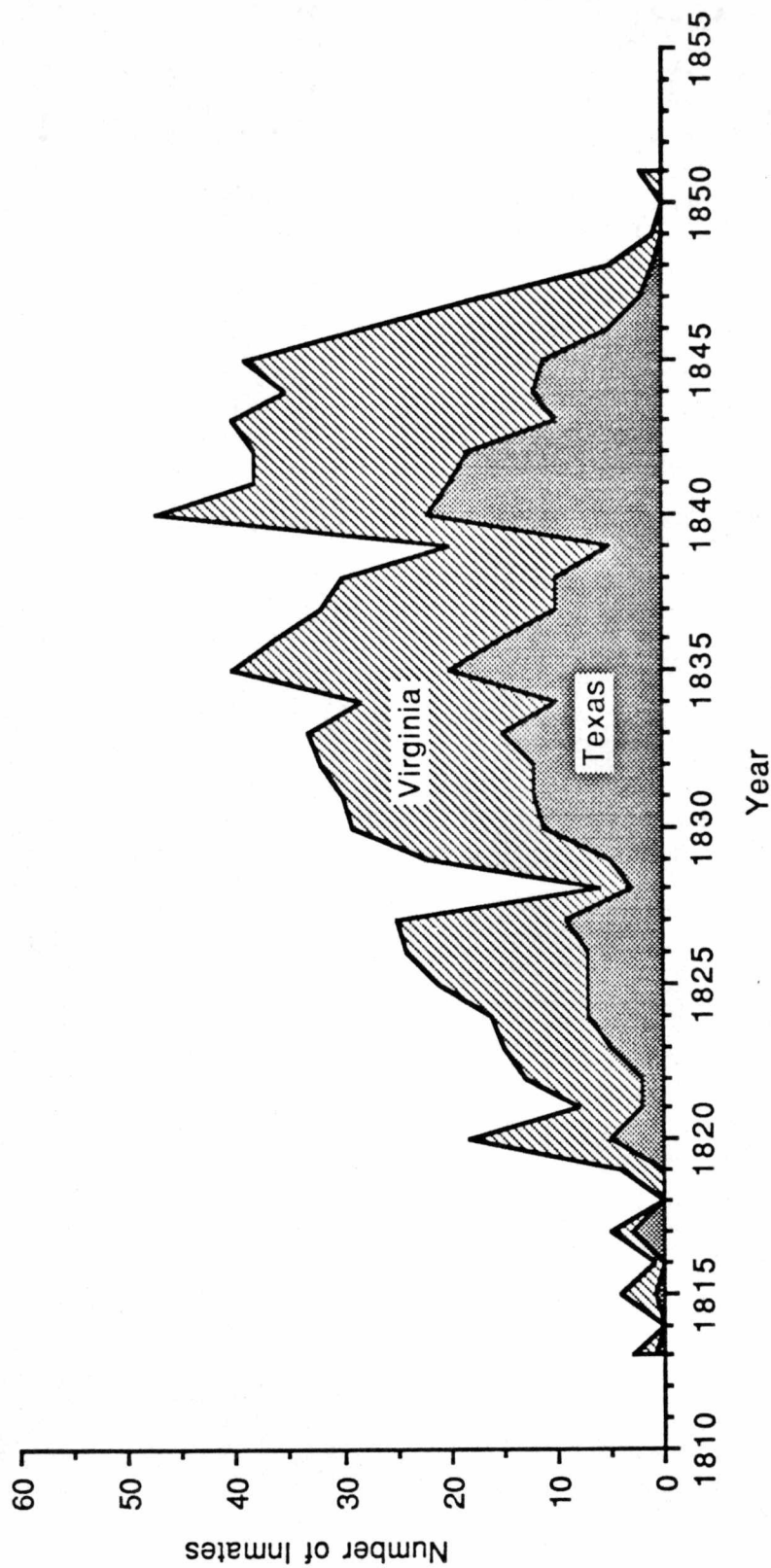


Figure 1.1. Year of birth of Confederate soldiers' home inmates by state.

is a horror & a dread to many of us old vets; to beg we are ashamed; to except the charity of friends in case we have them, is humiliating. . . ." For this reason, charity carried with it a nasty stigma that repelled many proud ex-Confederates. Those who chose to acknowledge their poverty, however, were quick to attribute their embarrassing financial circumstances to a service-related disability of some kind. "A man with one arm cannot be expected to make as much as one with two," explained John B. Glynn of Franklin, Louisiana, whose total earnings as a carpenter in 1885 amounted to only \$245. Hundreds of other men who appealed for medical and monetary assistance from various New Orleans fraternal groups in the 1870s and 1880s claimed that the wounds they had received in the course of the fighting had not yet healed. In each case, the loss of a limb, blindness, or the inability to stand upright without flinching had seriously curtailed a veteran's postwar economic activity.⁶

The same was true wherever ex-Confederates resided. "Excruciating pain" still plagued Nathan J. Lewis of Alabama, whose right leg had been shattered at Petersburg some twenty years earlier. By 1893 William J. McNairy of Aberdeen, Mississippi still had not fully recuperated from the wound he had received at Gettysburg, nor had he been able to hold down a decent job. As a private in the Sixth Virginia Cavalry, Samuel Corbett had been wounded five different times and taken prisoner twice. His health

1815- 1861," Journal of Social History 38 (1964): 382-99; and Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New York, 1954).

⁶For veterans reluctant to accept social welfare, see John O. Dean to W. Lowndes Calhoun, 14 January 1901, GSH, Board of Trustees, Letters Received, GDAH; W. B. Taliaferro to Fitzhugh Lee, 19 August 1887; and J. B. Clark to Lee, 23 May 1885, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL. For Glynn's comments, see his letter to Fred A. Ober, 16 June 1886, AANV Papers, Membership, LHAC. For other New Orleans disabled ex-Confederates requiring assistance, see P. M. McGrath to Joseph A. Charlaron, 12 September 1882; Frank Herron to William Lambert, 15 January 1883; Thomas Devine to Walter H. Rogers, 25 January 1886; J. G. Blanchard to R. H. Brunet, 9 May 1887; John M. Roberts to Nicholas Curry, 13 November 1888, AAT Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC.

impaired and his property lost by the war, he became a "wanderer," drifting from Virginia to Maryland to Texas and finally back east to North Carolina. S. J. Spindle, formerly of Harper's Ferry, spent nearly twenty years in Mexico, before showing up in Austin, Texas, penniless, unemployed and agonized by an old war wound.⁷ It has been estimated that for every five Confederate soldiers, one was wounded during the war. In the Texas and Louisiana soldiers' homes fully one out of five residents was counted among the "war wounded." In the North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee institutions, the ratios were considerably higher, about one out of three.⁸

The war had adversely affected the lives of veterans in other, less visible ways. Before the fighting began, James B. Hale had been a "gentleman," a member of one the most "prominent and best" families of East Tennessee. Yet when he returned home he discovered he had lost everything: his slaves had been freed, his fields trampled and his buildings plundered. And in the following years all of his immediate family members died. R. A. Toon returned after the surrender "without a cent to live on." Finding his home burned and livestock slaughtered, Toon, like thousands of other dispossessed ex-Confederates, migrated to the city to rebuild his fortunes, but never succeeded.

⁷Nathan J. Lewis to "Managers of Confederate Soldiers Home," 3 February 1885; Samuel V. Corbett to William H. Terry, 26 April 1886; S. J. Spindle to "Secretary, R. E. Lee Camp," 30 August 1885, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL. See also McNairy's Application for Admission to the TSH, TSLA, as well as the applications of Jesse C. McDaniel and H. B. Menees who also suffered from physical ailments dating back to the war. For other veterans who moved westward after the war, only to encounter hardship and disappointment sometime later, see J. Medlock to James Hogg, 7 March 1893, James S. Hogg Papers, TxSA; A. L. Slack to James W. Pegram, 1 June 1891; N. E. Edmundo to Charles U. Williams, 17 June 1883, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; the applications of Charles T. Clifford and Henry C. Nelson, TSH, TSLA; and Hiram Sample to Fred A. Ober, 12 November 1911, AANV Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC.

⁸Livermore, Numbers and Losses, 63, provided the 1:5 estimate for all Confederate soldiers. For an explanation of the terminology and the analytical methodology used in the tabulation of veterans' disabilities by type and state, see APPENDIX.

Afterwards his wife forced him out of the house and sued for divorce. Arrested in Knoxville under the charge of treason upon his journey home, Hugh L. Fry swore an oath of allegiance, posted bail and then hid out in the mountains of Georgia for three years to escape further prosecution. Following this ordeal Fry never recovered financially. Neither did John M. Karr, whose father's undertaking business in Franklin, Tennessee had been completely destroyed when a retreating Federal army set the town ablaze in 1864.⁹

Other veterans blamed certain postwar "natural" events for their poor health and abysmal deprivation. After a yellow fever epidemic struck New Orleans in 1878, scores of needy veterans and their families appealed for monetary assistance to fill prescriptions, purchase groceries, pay rent or undertakers and other creditors. Napoleon Saucier and George Boden lost their wives and children to the epidemic. The youngest of Charles E. Caylat's daughters died. Too infirm to report to work, he also lost his job. For the next six years Caylat remained out of work, subsisting off the scanty contributions of his more fortunate comrades.¹⁰ Others, like James T. Holt, had been victims of financial panics. Losing "thousands" when the National Bank of Petersburg failed in 1878, Holt spent four months in jail and never recouped his losses. William O.

⁹See the Applications for Admission of Hale, Toon, Fry and Karr, TSH, TSLA. See also 1860 Census, Tenn., Hawkins, Rogersville, 19; Maury, Mt. Pleasant, 31; McMinn, Sweetwater, 1; Williamson, Franklin, 30; 1870 Census, Tenn., Davidson, 10th Ward, Nashville, 509; Monroe, 1st Dist., Sweetwater, 13; Williamson, Franklin, 128.

¹⁰For New Orleans veterans rendered ill and impoverished by the yellow fever epidemic, see the nearly one hundred documents contained in AAT Papers, Relief Committee Reports, LHAC for the years 1878 through 1883, as well as those contained in the AANV Papers, Relief Committee Reports, AANV Papers, LHAC for the same period. For Saucier, see the letter from John Curran, 18 September 1878, AANV Papers, Relief Committee Reports, LHAC. Boden's Application for Admission to the TSH mentions the loss of his wife and children, TSLA. For Caylat's plight, see his letters to J. R. Richardson, 7 October 1881, AANV Papers, Veteran Benefits, LHAC; and to Louis A. Adam, 10 August 1886, AANV Papers, Membership, LHAC.

Reese of Trenton, Georgia saw all of his hard postwar earnings as a prison guard and convict lease warden vanish in 1893. A few years later, he lost all of his property in bankruptcy court as well.¹¹

During economically depressed times some aging veterans experienced even more hardships. The city served as the receptacle for countless numbers of these displaced men. John M. DeSaussure went to New Orleans in 1893 after his former employer had replaced him with a boy at half wages. William E. Todd trekked from New Orleans to Birmingham and finally to Washington D.C. in search of "honest" work, but succeeded in obtaining only low-paying temporary positions. After being forced to retire from his job as a teacher in Monroe County, H. C. Belcher relocated in Nashville, where he managed to find work only as a street peddler.¹²

Others complained of more blatant discriminatory acts. Sixty-four-year old W. T. Vaughn of Louisville, Kentucky was discharged from his bridge building job on account of his "gray hairs." R. B. Clements' boss informed him he could no longer keep his job as a janitor in a Richmond armory, because the veteran only had one arm. "Truly it seems to me that the time has come when 'No Maimed Confederate Need Apply'," observed Charles Moore, Jr. of Alexandria, Louisiana. For some time after the war, Moore had done remarkably well for himself and his family of five, despite having his leg amputated at Gettysburg. Yet, in 1878 Moore lost his clerking job. For the next few

¹¹Regarding Holt, see J. A. Johnson to William R. Terry, 17 August 1892; J. S. Beasley to Terry, 17 August 1892, in Holt's Application for Admission, LCSH, VSL. For Reese, see his letters to William H. ("Tip") Harrison, 20 November 1911; to Horatio W. Bell, 4 January 1912; and to the Georgia Board of Trustees, 29 November 1911, GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, GDAH.

¹²John M. DeSaussure to Thomas B. O'Brien, 28 June 1893, AANV Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC; William E. Todd to AAT, 11 August 1889; F. A. Biers to Nicholas Curry, 28 August 1889; Todd to Phillip Power, 29 August 1908, AAT Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC. For Belcher, see his Application for Admission, TSH, TSLA.

years he applied for positions all over Rapides Parish, only to be told that the situation had been "awarded to some Planter's Son or Relative." Eventually Moore appeared in New Orleans with only four dollars in his pocket, his health completely broken, and his family evicted from their home.¹³

Postwar life for other veterans residing in rural areas had been just as unrewarding. In contrast to the more recent misfortunes experienced by some planters, theirs was merely one link in an unbroken chain of disappointment and deprivation. Although more than half of all Confederate soldiers had listed their occupation as "farmers," many had actually owned no real estate. In fact, a number had held no real or personal property at all. The rank and file of the southern army had largely consisted of "wool-hat boys," "crackers" and "clay-eaters"; whatever derisive sobriquets they were called, they were landless, impoverished common folk who had for years eked out a hardscrabble existence.¹⁴

¹³See Vaughn's Application for Admission, TSH, TSLA. Regarding Clements, see his letter to James McGraw, 17 June 1895, R. E. Lee Camp Records, Correspondence, VHS. For Moore, see his letters of 26 August 1880; 6 June 1881; and 7 October 1887, AANV Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC. For Moore's military service record in the Fifth Louisiana Infantry, see Andrew B. Booth, comp., Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands, 3 vols. (Spartanburg, 1984 [1920]), 2:1028. For other veterans who lost their jobs for one reason or another, see H. V. Ottmann to AAT, 10 April 1883; N. T. U. Robinson to James Lingam, 23 May 1878; A. S. Herbert to T. R. Juden, 11 August 1900, AAT Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC. See also Daniel C. Hill's Application for Admission, LCSH, VSL.

¹⁴The unbroken chain analogy has been derived from Auriel Arnard to Walter H. Rogers, 14 November 1887, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC. The assertion that half of all Confederates had been farmers is based upon Bell I. Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy (Baton Rouge, 1984 [1943]), 330. Evidence that those same men more than likely held little or no property on the eve of the war has been provided in numerous works. See among others: Paul D. Escott, Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850-1900 (Chapel Hill, 1985); Randolph B. Campbell and Richard G. Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas (College Station, 1977); Steven Hahn, The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890 (New York, 1984); Stephen V. Ash, Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South (Baton Rouge, 1988); and Crandall A. Shifflett, Patronage and Poverty in the Tobacco South: Louisa County, Virginia, 1860-1900 (Knoxville, 1982).

The war had done little to improve their economic condition. Downward mobility was more characteristic of their experience than upward movement, and in the years which followed many continued to own no land, subsisting as sharecroppers, tenant farmers or by doing only menial labor. Plagued by declining health and plummeting crop prices, marginal farmers moved off their lands which often had been too poor to cultivate anyway. It was from this rather large pool that the soldiers' homes would draw a majority of their residents. More than one-half (57.3%) of all ex-Confederates who resided in such institutions had either been yeoman farmers, agricultural workers or other unskilled laborers (Table 1.2, Groups D and E). Only a relatively small fraction (16.7%) formerly held professional or clerical positions (Table 1.2, Groups A and B).

Exactly who were these southern common people? How did the war serve as preconditions for their application for poor relief? The following analysis of a selected group of veterans who ultimately resided in the Tennessee Soldiers' Home provides some answers. Table 1.3, for example, reveals that at the outset of the war more than one-fifth (23.8%) of the 143 men and their families had owned on average estates worth only \$376. That figure fell far below the mean reportedly held by all southern adult white males in 1860, which was \$3,978.¹⁵ In addition, a somewhat larger proportion (27.9%) had owned no property at all. Table 1.3 also shows that 30.6 percent of those sampled controlled 94 percent of the 1860 total family wealth; the poorer half owned slightly more than one percent.¹⁶

¹⁵Soltow, Men and Wealth, 65. Of course, total estate figures varied. For example, in East Tennessee, the average per capita wealth in 1860 was \$2,812, while in West Tennessee mean antebellum wealth was \$17,090. Ash, Middle Tennessee, 11.

¹⁶This unequal wealth distribution is similar to the one Ash discovered for families residing in antebellum Middle Tennessee, where nearly two-thirds of the present sample lived. Ash, Middle Tennessee, 42-44, found that 49 percent of the people in that region owned 90 percent of the wealth in 1860.

Table 1.2. Occupations of Confederate Soldiers' Home Inmates, by State.

Group	<u>Number of Veterans</u>							%
	GA	LA	NC	TN	TX	VA	N	
A (Professional)	12	20	9	19	46	49	155	10.9
B (Clerical)	3	30	1	11	7	31	83	5.8
C (Skilled)	17	47	25	33	94	152	368	25.9
D (Laborer)	--	90	8	39	30	78	245	17.3
E (Farmer)	33	29	103	41	219	143	568	40.0
N	65	216	146	143	396	453	1,419	

Table 1.3. 1860 Family Wealth Aggregates for Tennessee Soldiers' Home Inmates.

	<u>Percentage of Veterans. Ranked by Total Wealth</u>				
	Zero	\$1-1,000	\$1,001-4,000	\$4,001-10,000	\$10,000 Plus
	27.9	23.8	17.7	10.9	19.7
Mean Wealth (\$)	0	376	2,096	6,371	33,073
% of Total Wealth	0	1.2	4.8	9.0	85.0
Total Wealth = \$1,128,719					
N = 143					

Table 1.4 treats the Confederate military rank of those sampled in Table 1.3 as a proxy for antebellum socioeconomic status. One historian has found that a high proportion (85.6%) of men from poor Tennessee families served as privates, while men from elite families dominated army leadership positions. He broadly defines "poor" as those having insignificant or no property, and "elite" as those possessing prewar assets greater than five thousand dollars.¹⁷

Table 1.4 confirms the historian's findings. Of those whose rank could be positively determined, men whose prewar wealth fell in the lower two categories (zero and \$1,000 or less) served overwhelmingly as privates in the Confederate army. On the other hand, men from families with considerably more valuable antebellum estates tended to hold higher military ranks. In fact, the historian's "elite" figures for 188 men and the present findings--based on a sample much smaller than his--are nearly identical.¹⁸

The economic disparity that separated the same sample of Tennessee ex-Confederates five years after the war is illustrated by Table 1.5. This summary indicates that four of the five groups which had owned property in 1860 were somewhat poorer in 1870, undoubtedly reflecting their loss of slaves and other personal assets, as well as depreciated real estate values. Nevertheless, the richest veterans and their families in 1870 controlled a predominant share (82.9%) of the wealth, while those in the other three wealth categories held on to the remaining fraction. Table 1.5 also shows

¹⁷Fred A. Bailey, Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation (Chapel Hill, 1987), 160.

¹⁸Of Bailey's 188 men from "elite" families, 66.5 percent held the rank of private, while 19.1 percent were officers. Ibid.

Table 1.4. Military Rank of Tennessee Soldiers' Home Inmates, by Antebellum Family Wealth.

Army Rank	<u>Percentage of Veterans</u>				N
	Zero	\$1-1,000	\$1,001-5,000	\$5,000 Plus	
Private	78.8	88.0	77.3	61.8	86
Corporal	0.0	4.0	9.2	0.0	3
Sergeant	15.2	4.0	4.5	5.9	9
Lieutenant	3.0	0.0	0.0	8.8	4
Captain	0.0	0.0	4.5	1.8	5
Major	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	1
Others*	3.0	4.0	4.5	8.8	6
Total Mean Wealth (\$)	0	418	2,882	23,610	
N = 114					

* Unspecified ranks, like surgeon, musician or hospital steward.

Table 1.5. 1870 Family Wealth Aggregates for Tennessee Soldiers' Home Inmates.

<u>Percentage of Veterans, Ranked by Total Wealth</u>					
	Zero	\$1-1,000	\$1,001-4,000	\$4,001-10,000	\$10,000 Plus
	40.0	28.7	16.9	8.8	5.1
Mean Wealth (\$)	0	335	1,875	6,042	28,814
% of Total Wealth	0	3.9	13.1	21.9	61.0
Total Wealth = \$830,403					
N = 136					

that 40 percent of those sampled in 1860 owned nothing in 1870, eclipsing the percentage of the previous decade (27.9%).

Although Tables 1.3 through 1.5 cannot be considered statistically representative, because of their restricted sample sizes, together they do suggest that many of those who would one day occupy the wards of Confederate soldiers' homes had been poor at the outset of the war; and that these same men's fortunes had not improved ten years later. But what happened to these veterans in the ensuing decades?

Unfortunately, since subsequent manuscript censuses exclude individual economic data, family wealth cannot be traced beyond 1870. Available tax lists, deed books and other alternate sources would probably only confirm what is already known anyway. By all accounts the years from 1870 to 1890 were characterized by increasing impoverishment and dependency. The financial conditions of most southern white farm families deteriorated steadily. They increasingly failed to raise adequate foodstuffs for market, became heavily indebted, and lost their land in growing numbers. Indeed, it seems inconceivable that the material well-being of men who had always lived on the margin, with the bare minimum of land, education and worldly goods, would significantly improve during a period of general economic tribulation.¹⁹

The Tennessee veterans' economic and physical conditions immediately prior to enrolling in the home support this conclusion. Of the 143 cases examined, nearly 20 percent were confined in poor houses, while another 20 percent had been out of work for

¹⁹For an introduction to the vast literature chronicling the postwar struggles of southern farmers, see Gavin Wright, The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1978); Edward Magdol and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds., The Southern Common People: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Social History (Westport, Conn., 1980), part II; and Joseph D. Reid, Jr., "White Land, Black Labor, and Agricultural Stagnation: The Causes and Effects of Sharecropping in the Postbellum South," in Gary M. Walton, ed., Market Institutions and Economic Progress in the New South, 1865-1900 (New York, 1981), 33-55.

at least five years. Ninety percent of these men were on the dole, and fully two-thirds reported having no family to support them whatsoever. Estimated annual income among those who were employed ranged from \$1.00 a day to \$5.00 plus board a month. Low body weight and poor health were further indices of the debilitating consequences of their poverty.²⁰

A few veterans in the sample, however, did appear to overcome adversity and attain some measure of success after 1870. When John Young, who had spent most of the war in a Union prison camp, returned home to Nashville, the ex-Confederate had to rely chiefly upon his own resources for economic advancement, since his father had died years earlier. For a while Young worked as a farm laborer picking cotton and eventually put enough money away to pay for his medical training. In 1878 Young moved to Texas, where he practiced medicine for the next thirty-eight years. William Wade, a day laborer in antebellum Memphis and subsequently wounded at Shiloh, secured by 1880 a position as bookkeeper for a railroad, headquartered in Minnesota, which paid his wages until his retirement at age seventy in 1910. Andrew J. Denton of Maury County and Clement Nance of Bedford County were propertyless agricultural workers in 1860. But several decades later the veterans had purchased their own modest farms.²¹

²⁰For the impact of low socioeconomic status upon physical capacity and body weight, especially among the aged, see Joseph I. Goodman, "The Problems of Malnutrition in the Elderly," Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 5 (1957): 504-11; Robert H. Dovenmuehle et al., "Physical Problems of Older People," *ibid.*, 9 (1961): 208-17; Richard J. Anderson, "Medical Diagnoses in One Thousand Domiciled Veterans," *ibid.*, 12 (1964): 553-61; Dodda B. Rao, "Problems of Nutrition in the Aged," *ibid.*, 21 (1973): 362-67; and Matilda W. Riley, ed., Aging from Birth to Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives (Washington, 1979).

²¹For these veterans, see their Applications for Admission, TSH, TSLA. For additional information on Young, see his autobiographical sketch provided in Colleen M. Elliott and Louise A. Moxley, eds., The Tennessee Civil War Questionnaires, 5 vols. (Easley, S.C., 1985), 5:2260-61. For Denton and Nance's prewar economic status, see 1860 Census, Tenn., Maury, Spring Hill, 151; Bedford, Shelbyville, 37.

Each veteran (with the exception of Wade) ultimately found refuge in the Tennessee home for indigent ex-Confederates. His body wracked by rheumatism, at age seventy-two a widower with no children, Young was admitted in 1916, having obtained a transfer from the Texas home. Nance and Denton, both in their seventies and confirmed bachelors, were admitted in 1905 and 1909, respectively. Reportedly, Wade's family problems were more to blame than anything else for the submission of his application to the home in May 1911. According to one sympathetic observer, the veteran had "very foolishly married" a woman some forty years his junior, who was "indolent & self indulgent" and constantly upbraided him. Although his application was approved, Wade, acting "very plucky," refused to enter the home in Nashville, protesting that he would rather stay put and "take care of himself." He did, however, accept the winter clothing tendered him by the Minneapolis chapter of the UDC, which arranged a proper burial for Wade upon his death in February 1912.²²

For the majority of others, the years 1860 to 1870 had played a pivotal role in fostering the preconditions for home admission. As Table 1.6 demonstrates, three-fourths (75.8%) of those who resided in or applied for admission to the Tennessee soldiers' institution during its first decade of operation had owned \$1,000 or less at the outset of the war. Fifty-two year old Andrew J. Bonner, the first inmate admitted, in February 1890, had been a landless day laborer in Bedford County some three decades earlier. In 1870 Bonner, then a farmer and schoolteacher residing near Shelbyville, possessed \$300 in personal property, but still owned no real estate. Apparently, veterans who had formerly held substantially more wealth managed to avoid the institution longer. The richest and oldest veteran in the sample, ninety-year old William H. Maney, whose father's prewar Williamson County estate exceeded \$85,000,

²²Ibid. See also Wade's obituary, Con Vet 20 (1912): 241.

Table 1.6. Tennessee Soldiers' Home Inmates, by Date Admitted and Antebellum Wealth.

<u>Percentage of Veterans, Ranked by Wealth</u>					
Date Admitted	Zero	\$1-1,000	\$1,001- 4,000	\$4,001- 10,000	\$10,000 Plus
1890-1900	39.4	36.4	9.1	6.0	9.1
1901-1922	18.2	14.3	25.9	15.6	26.0
Mean Wealth					
(1890-1900) = \$3,766					
(1901-1922) = \$10,120					
N = 143					

was admitted in 1909, some twenty years after Bonner. Men who gained admittance to the home after 1901 had been on the average about three times more affluent than their predecessors in the home.²³

The war years were crucial in other respects. Early admittance may also have depended on whether and how badly a soldier had been wounded. The wiry constitutions of some veterans allowed them to remain active and self-supporting for many years, despite their physical infirmities. For example, Samuel Roe, an eighty-two-year-old gunsmith from Tipton County had been wounded four separate times, but did not apply for admittance to the Tennessee home until 1910.²⁴ Nevertheless, of the forty-eight Tennessee veterans in the sample who claimed they suffered from a war wound, 58.3 percent were admitted to the home before 1901. Slightly more than three-fourths (77.5%) of all known Confederate soldiers' home residents who claimed a service-related disability had been admitted during the first decade of operation.²⁵

In all probability many of these same men never married. As Table 1.7 demonstrates, nearly one-third (31.6%) of all inmates remained single, and about half of them applied for admission before the turn of the century. There is also some

²³Of the 41 farmers in the sample (Table 1.2), 25 (61%) applied for admission between 1889 and December 1900. The TSH, Register of Inmates, TSLA, lists Bonner, a former private in the Eighth Tennessee Infantry, as the first inmate admitted. Bonner's socioeconomic status may be traced in 1860 Census, Tenn., Bedford, Shelbyville, 199; 1870 Census, Tenn., Bedford, Shelbyville, 380; and his Application for Admission, dated 19 December 1889, TSLA. Bonner obtained a discharge from the home in August 1894. A bachelor and a physician, Maney served briefly as a hospital steward during the war. See his Application for Admission, TSH, TSLA, and 1860 Census, Tenn., Williamson, Franklin, 32.

²⁴Roe had been wounded at Shiloh, in the left knee; at Selma, in the wrist; at Brice's Crossroads, in the right hip; and on retreat from Corinth, in the groin. When applying for admission, he estimated his total estate amounted to \$25; precisely the same amount he had reported in 1860 Census, Tenn., Tipton, Covington, 10.

²⁵See the corresponding summary in the APPENDIX that illustrates these percentage distributions.

Table 1.7. Marital Status of Confederate Soldiers' Home Inmates, by State (from opening to 1922).

	<u>Percentage of Veterans</u>						
	GA	LA	NC	TN	TX	VA	Mean
Single	27.2	47.9	11.2	22.1	20.8	51.7	31.6
Married	14.6	12.1	15.0	23.2	17.1	26.2	19.1
Widowed	58.2	40.0	73.7	54.7	62.1	22.1	49.2
N	158	140	259	95	404	451	

evidence to support the contention that a significant number of those who did marry after the war, regardless of whether they were admitted before or after 1901, may have been sterile, and consequently produced no lineal descendants to care for them as they grew older or more feeble. Whether never-married or recently widowed, some veterans also may have suffered from severe social and psychological problems which significantly reduced the ability to adapt to a stress-inducing institutional environment, thereby increasing vulnerability and heightening mortality rates.²⁶

Some veterans, as sons of planters, had access to enough wealth, education and family support to aid them in their postwar recovery, thereby deferring institutionalization until relatively later in life. For example, William Nevins of Rutherford County relied upon his father's wealth and family connections to take care of him for many years after losing his leg at Murfreesboro in 1863. When the war closed Thomas Stokley Vinson worked as an overseer on his father's rice and sugar plantations near Centerville, Louisiana for several years. Eventually, Vinson returned to his native Gallatin, Tennessee, where people still remembering his grandfather and father elected him to various public offices. Henry Clay Nolen's father had been sheriff of Haywood County. After the war ended young Nolen returned home, got married, had seven children

²⁶Fully 40 percent of the married and widowed Tennessee veterans in the sample had no children. The large number of single veterans far exceeded national population averages. For example, between 1890 and 1930 the percentage of all males (age 55 and over) who had never married ranged from a low of only 5.6 percent in 1890 to a high of 10.1 percent in 1930. The percentage of widowed Tennessee veterans was nearly two times the national average--of 23.3 percent in 1890 and 27.1 percent in 1910--for all men 65 years and older. Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States (New York, 1969 [1933]), 204. Singlehood and widowhood, both of which threaten economic independence, appear to have acted as trigger mechanisms for home admission. See Russell A. Ward, "The Never-Married in Later Life," Journal of Gerontology 34 (1979): 861-69; Barbara F. Turner, "Personality Traits as Predictors of Institutional Adaptation Among the Aged," *ibid.*, 27 (1972): 61-68. For a statistical analysis of inmate tenure and mortality rates in the various homes, see APPENDIX.

and served as mayor of Brownsville for a number of years. A former member of the Ninth Tennessee Cavalry, Greenberry Dobbins borrowed money from his father and "went west."²⁷

Eventually even these veterans from more affluent backgrounds applied for admission to the Tennessee home. In 1911 Nevins, at age seventy-one, with only his sister (who had also never married) residing with him, was finally forced to enter the Tennessee institution. Vinson, at age 65, and Nolen, age 76, did so in 1908 and 1918, respectively. Since his return to Tennessee, Dobbins had fallen upon hard times. In 1913 his wife died and he himself had suffered a stroke in recent years. His estate totally exhausted and his nearest kin still residing in Utah, Dobbins, at age 77, finally applied for admission in 1918.

Others could point to personal failings for their postwar economic downfall. After his release from Johnson's Island, Joseph B. Scobey returned to manage his family's Wilson County plantation. Never married, he squandered much of his inheritance on race horses. One of Forrest's men, Edwin Whitmore, a scion of a formerly prominent Fayette County family, lost the bulk of what had been bequeathed to him by taking "too much liquor occasionally."²⁸

²⁷See the veterans' Applications for Admission, TSH, TSLA. See also Nevins' Tennessee Confederate Pension Application, TSLA, and Vinson's sketch in Elliot and Moxley, Tennessee Questionnaires, 5: 2110-12. Before the war, each family owned more than \$10,000 in assets, including slaves. 1860 Census, Tenn., Rutherford, Smyrna, 53; Haywood, Brownsville, 47; Sumner, Gallatin, 22; 1870 Census, Tenn., Rutherford, Murfreesboro, 264; Haywood, Brownsville, 387; Sumner, Gallatin, 749.

²⁸See John H. Cocke to John P. Hickman, 7 May 1895, accompanying Whitmore's application, and R. P. McClain to Hickman, 16 June 1909, attached to Scobey's Application for Admission, TSH, TSLA. See also 1860 Census, Tenn., Wilson, Green Hill, 46; Fayette, Somerville, 70; 1870 Census, Tenn., Wilson, Green Hill, 354; Fayette, Somerville, 293.

Whatever their reasons for failure, veterans not only in Tennessee but across the South aroused attention in the early 1880s. By then the disabled and indigent ex-Confederate had become a visible problem. He appeared on the scene in the urban areas, jobless, half-starved, weary, ragged, excessively dirty and sorrowful. He sat with shoulders sagging in a vacant doorway, desperately waiting for someone to pass by and offer him a job, a meal or some spare change. Elsewhere another one huddled next to his meagre fire in a vacant lot by the railyard, reflecting on painful memories. Down the street still another lay dying of consumption amid the foul conditions of the city almshouse. Wherever they were, realization of the suffering of Robert E. Lee's poor boys pricked southern consciousness and moved it to action.

CHAPTER II

THE "SACRED DUTY": ORGANIZING BENEVOLENCE

On April 9, 1884, the nineteenth anniversary of the surrender at Appomattox, an enthusiastic audience, comprised mostly of veterans, assembled to discuss the establishment of a home for needy ex-Confederates. Perhaps the most unusual aspect of the meeting was where it was taking place; not in Richmond, the proposed site of the institution, nor for that matter in any other city of the South, but in the heart of Yankeedom, New York City.¹

The large, flag-draped hall of the Cooper Union Institute resounded with cheers and hearty applause that evening, as several different luminaries held forth from the speaker's podium. Among them, ironically, was the so-called "Hero of Appomattox" himself, a recently retired Georgia Senator, General John B. Gordon, who then chaired a committee of Confederate and Union veterans promoting the Richmond home.² Gordon spoke at great length about a southern home "movement" that had commenced with the determination by men of opposing armies to become comrades. The general obviously referred to the Blue-Gray reunions of the previous two summers, during which Union veterans visiting New Orleans and Richmond had told of homes leniently subsidized by a "grateful government" and had volunteered to contribute to similar projects in the

¹For contemporary descriptions of the meeting, see the New York Sun, New York Tribune and New York Times, 10 April 1884.

² For background information on Gordon, see Ralph L. Eckert, John Brown Gordon: Soldier, Southerner, American (Baton Rouge, 1989). Regarding Gordon's affiliation with the Virginia home, see his letter to Charles U. Williams, 7 April 1884; and William H. Clarke to Williams, 20 December 1884, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL.

South. "This movement," Gordon predicted confidently, "will do more to cement a reunited country than all political harangues and platforms."³

Echoing Gordon's conciliatory keynote was legless "Corporal" James Tanner, the future GAR commander-in-chief and "moving spirit" behind the establishment of the New York Soldiers' Home at Bath. Tanner declared that it was the "sacred duty" of the GAR to "do something for the poor soldiers of the South." Human decency and the "common doctrines of Christianity" demanding it, "let us reach out the hand of sympathy," Tanner concluded, "now that we are one country, one flag and one destiny from Maine to the Gulf!"⁴ More than a half dozen other prepared speeches--one by Ohio carpetbagger Judge Albion W. Tourgee, and others by former Union Generals Wager Swayne and James O'Beime--filled the hall that night. All of them expressed the same theme of reunion, as did the red, white and blue bunting with the gilded inscription "Blue and Gray" that stretched behind the speakers' platform; and likewise did the specially

³Clarke to Williams, 20 December 1884, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL. Concerning Blue-Gray reunions, see: Paul H. Buck, The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900 (Boston, 1937), 135-39, 246, 256-60; Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South (New York, 1987), 67-68. For the particular reunion that may have contributed to the founding of the Virginia home, see C. H. Benson, "Yank" and "Reb": A History of a Fraternal Visit Paid By Lincoln Post No. 11, G.A.R. of Newark, N.J. (Newark, 1884). See also "The Confederate Soldiers Home of Richmond, Va.," Con Vet 34 (1926): 411-12.

⁴Regarding Tanner, at this time a Brooklyn tax collector, see Mary R. Dearing, Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R. (Baton Rouge, 1952), 327, 362, 379, 392-96, 432. For portions of Tanner's speech, see the New York Sun and New York Tribune, 10 April 1884. See also Emily J. Williams, "A Home . . . for the Old Boys': The Robert E. Lee Camp Confederate Soldiers' Home," Virginia Cavalcade 28 (1979): 41; "Corporal" James Tanner to Captain Arthur A. Spitzer, 3 August 1884, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; and R. E. Lee Camp, Minutes, 133, VHS.

designed medallion that featured Johnny Reb and Billy Yank shaking hands, proudly worn by many in the audience.⁵

The Cooper Union Institute meeting had been but one of several remarkable fundraising extravaganzas planned and coordinated by Gordon's committee on behalf of the Richmond home. In May 1884 Tanner and the GAR sponsored a "Testimonial and Entertainment" in the Academy of Music, in Brooklyn. The meeting featured an opening address by former abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher, and a stirring "lecture" by an Andersonville prisoner-of-war. Throughout the evening musicians played such crowd pleasers as "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Dixie," and "Marching Through Georgia"; the audience cheered "A Knot of Blue and Gray," superbly rendered by a Richmond tenor. When it had all ended, nearly two thousand dollars had been raised, much more than the amount donated during a special enactment of Richard III at the Metropolitan Opera House the previous week.⁶

Before long, Gordon's efforts on behalf of the southern soldiers' home at Richmond had captured the nation's attention. President Cleveland endorsed the project. Former President and General U. S. Grant gave his "hearty approval" in the form of a five hundred dollar check; William W. Corcoran, an influential Washington banker, donated ten times that amount; and the Appleton publishing family presented a comparable gift. Dozens of Union veterans organizations scattered from Sing Sing, New

⁵New York Sun, New York Tribune, 10 April 1884. On the speaker's platform also sat Generals Floyd King of Louisiana and George Sheridan, who spoke that night. For a sketch of the reunion medal, see James Tanner to W. C. Carrington, 28 April 1884, R. E. Lee Camp Records, Correspondence, VHS.

⁶The New York Soldiers' Home had sponsored a benefit in the same Academy of Music seven years earlier. Judith G. Cetina, "A History of Veterans' Homes in the United States, 1811-1930," (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve Univ., 1977), 218. For the Virginia home fundraising galas, see: Tanner to Carrington, 28 April 1884, R. E. Lee Camp Records, Correspondence, VHS; Clarke to Williams, 20 December 1884, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL.

York to Butte, Montana contributed. A theatrical troupe in St. Louis and another company touring the South set aside one-half of their proceeds from special performances for the home. Coloradan C. A. Spencer, a Vermont veteran, who considered Robert E. Lee "the Greatest General of modern times," donated his entire \$1,200 annual pension, claiming that he voiced "the feelings of nine-tenths of all" his old comrades, when he said he had "no better and truer friends" than the "old Soldiers of the Confederacy." For months, similar promises of both moral support and financial contributions poured into the R. E. Lee Camp, No. 1 headquarters, temporarily located at Monticello Hall, on Broad Street, in downtown Richmond.⁷

The Commonwealth of Virginia had authorized the Lee Camp to establish a home for "invalid and infirm" ex-Confederates in the former Rebel capital in March 1884, about a month before Senator Gordon began serving as publicity agent. Formed the preceding year, the veterans organization had primarily dedicated itself to "minister[ing] . . . to the wants of" disabled comrades languishing in poorhouses throughout the South. Forty charter members, consisting largely of skilled craftsmen

⁷For a sampling of contributions received, see: Thomas Pearson [Newark, N.J.] to R. E. Lee Camp, 23 October 1883; M. A. Dillon [Washington, D.C.] to "Sir," 29 December 1883; Charles Robinson [Davenport, Iowa] to "Post of Confederate Soldiers," 22 July 1883; H. C. Kessler [Butte, Mont.] to W. C. Carrington, 30 March 1884; Charles Spenser [Richmond] to Arthur A. Spitzer, 15 May 1885; J. Kling [Sing Sing, N.Y.] to R. E. Lee Camp, 11 May 1887; Washington Aid Association [D.C.] to Captain Charles U. Williams, 13 December 1884; C.A. DeFrance [St. Louis] to Williams, 12 December 1884, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL. C. A. Spencer [Grand Junction, Colo.] to R. E. Lee Camp, 24 February 1885, R. E. Lee Camp Records, Correspondence, VHS. See also Williams, "Lee Camp," 41; Foster, Ghosts, 61, 94; and Con Vet 34 (1926): 411-12. For nearly three consecutive weeks in May 1884, a hundred ex-Confederate wives, widows and daughters held a bazaar in the Richmond armory. The ladies eagerly collected more than thirty thousand dollars in receipts for the home. For references to the "Fair" committee's work, see R. E. Lee Camp, Minutes, 92, 96, 124, 131, VHS. See also: Southern Historical Society, Publications 12 (1884): 238-39; 20 (1892): 316; At Const. 9 April 1889. Not all gifts were accepted, however. For example, see the entry in R. E. Lee Camp, Minutes, VHS, for 7 May 1885, in which "Professor King," a balloonist, proposed to make an "ascension" for the benefit of the home. The next words read: "Motion tabled."

and clerical workers, elected Captain Charles U. Williams, an attorney, as their first commander, and other former Confederate officers--a publisher, druggist and dentist--as their executive committee. Subsequently, Richmond's mayor, William C. Carrington, succeeded Williams as commander; he was followed by Generals John R. Cooke and, in 1885, Fitzhugh Lee (Virginia's next governor).⁸

Within a few years the camp's membership rolls boasted the names of many more prominent and respected individuals; men like former Confederate General Peyton Wise, a tobacco inspector, Major Lewis Ginter, the city's largest tobacco manufacturer, and James B. Pace, bank president. By the 1890s the city's middle class clearly dominated the veterans' group that numbered about seven hundred; more than two-thirds held professional occupations. As membership increased in number and overall socioeconomic status, the camp expanded its scope, or in the words of member Henry R. Pollard, "ennobled its objects," when it formed a historical committee to collect and publicize the "gallant deeds and pure motives and high character of Southern soldiers."⁹

⁸The Lee Camp charter is found in Virginia Acts (1884), 521-22. The earliest record of the group administering relief is on 1 August 1883, less than four months after its founding. See R. E. Lee Camp, Minutes, 39, VHS. For further references to the organization's establishment see: William W. White, The Confederate Veteran (Tuscaloosa, 1962), 22, 111; Southern Historical Society, Publications 20 (1892): 316, 322; Foster, Ghosts, 93-94; Williams, "Lee Camp," 40. A firsthand account of the origins of the R. E. Lee Camp No. 1 is preserved in its Minutes, 3-7, VHS, as well as in scattered issues of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, 6-19 April 1883. According to another account by charter member Norman V. Randolph, the group had hoped to provide a home for all needy ex-Confederates everywhere. When no southern state assembly agreed to lend monetary assistance (Georgia, according to Randolph, did consent to enact a "liberal" pension bill, due in part to the Lee Camp's lobbying efforts) the veterans then decided to establish an institution financed by private donations instead. The corporate charter granted in March 1884 permitted the organization to do just that. Norman V. Randolph, "New Home for Lee Camp at Richmond," Con Vet 3 (1895): 312-13. For the pension legislation, see Georgia Laws (1887), 27-28.

⁹For Pollard's remarks, see "Tribute to the Late Gen. W. B. Taliaferro," Con Vet 8 (1900): 232-33. Pollard briefly served as commandant of the LCSH (R. E. Lee Camp, Minutes, 12, VHS). Foster, Ghosts, 93, 242, analyzed the socioeconomic composition of the Lee Camp. I verified the occupations of members and officers in Chataigne's Directory of Richmond, Va., 1883-84 (Richmond, 1884). Cooke, Lee, Wise, Ginter and Pace served on the first executive

With a successful fundraising drive behind it, the Lee Camp moved rapidly to establish the home. Fitzhugh Lee, as expected, accepted the camp's nomination to head the board of trustees (soon renamed visitors) which by November 1884 had purchased a thirty-six acre farm and homestead, formerly belonging to Channing Robinson, located on the outskirts of northwest Richmond. Eventually cottages which bore the names of prominent benefactors--Corcoran, Pace, Appleton and Ginter--would be constructed nearby the Robinson House. On February 22, 1885, Washington's Birthday, the Lee Camp Soldiers' Home (its official title) opened with a procession that commenced at Monticello Hall at eleven o'clock. Active camp members donning gray uniforms marched to the site where they heard Archer Anderson--Joseph Reid's son, the treasurer of the Tredegar ironworks, and a fellow member of the Lee Camp--present the dedicatory address.¹⁰

Anderson paid homage to those who had fulfilled their "sacred and solemn duty" by contributing to the "pious and beneficent work": fellow veterans; the "magic fingers" and "witching will" of southern women; and especially "The Great Captain" (Grant) who, after having "waged fierce and relentless war, stretched out a friendly hand and bade us hope and prosper." He then turned his attention to the home's future beneficiaries, or "recipients" as he preferred to call them, "devoted" private soldiers of "honorable record," who represented "supreme manliness," yet had since become disabled, poor and "unfit to earn their own livelihood." They now lacked food, clothing and shelter. Anderson rhetorically asked: "Shall we let these men starve, while we write books to emblazon their heroic deeds, and erect statues to their leaders?" No! It would be a

¹⁰Fitzhugh Lee to Arthur A. Spitzer, 13 August 1884; Charles U. Williams to A. S. Venable, 22 February 1885, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; Southern Historical Society, Publications 20 (1900): 316; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:62, VSL; Williams, "Lee Camp," 41.

shame for more fortunate fellow soldiers not to come to the rescue. Anderson concluded by emphasizing that the Lee Camp Soldiers' Home served not only as a building, but also as a "monument to a re-united country," the same theme that the Cooper Union Institute speakers had stressed some ten months earlier.¹¹

While seemingly everyone's attention had been focused on the founding of the Richmond home, ex-Confederates in New Orleans had been quietly establishing a home of their own. The project had been made possible through the combined efforts of two strong veterans societies, born during a period of intense political strife some ten years earlier.

The first organization, the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia (AANV), had been chartered in 1874, about the same time the White League coalesced. Comprised of more than a dozen different militia companies which united in opposition to the Radical Republican Kellogg administration, the White League attracted men with military backgrounds to its ranks, especially many former Confederate soldiers. In September 1874, they handily defeated state troops commanded by, among others, General James Longstreet, and forcibly removed Governor Kellogg from office.

The second group, the Association of the Army of Tennessee (AAT) also had ties with the White League. Some men already belonging to the prestigious Washington Artillery joined the AAT when it was formed in 1877. Three years earlier the unit had

¹¹At one point in his keynote address, General Gordon had referred to the home as an "enduring monumen[t] to real peace and real union." New York Sun, 3 May 1884. Archer Anderson, Address on the Opening of the Lee Camp Soldiers' Home (Richmond, 1885), 3-12. Five years later Anderson, a member of the Lee Memorial Association, would give the commemorative address at the unveiling of Robert E. Lee's statue, before an estimated 150,000 people. Foster, Ghosts, 101.

fought alongside of other militia groups against the corrupt Kellogg regime during the fabled "Battle of Liberty Place."¹²

In spite of the political activism of some of its members, each group, like most fraternal orders of the period, had functioned primarily as a benefit society, preferring to identify itself as "benevolent" and incorporating the word as part of its official title. Benevolence had taken two forms. First, each association aimed to provide its own dues-paying members and their dependents with assistance during personal and unavoidable crises: sudden unemployment, poverty, and "extreme cases of want and sickness." When a member "in good standing" died, for example, he could count on his comrades to give him a proper and decent burial in the group tomb the veterans had paid for and erected.¹³

¹²Although no complete published histories of either the AANV or AAT exist, their papers form a large part of the LHAC. For an introduction, see Herman Hattaway, "The United Confederate Veterans in Louisiana," Louisiana History 16 (1975): 5-7. Histories of the White League, on the other hand, are plentiful. For a sampling, see: Stuart O. Landry, The Battle of Liberty Place: The Overthrow of Carpet-Bag Rule in New Orleans, September 14, 1874 (New Orleans, 1955); John S. Kendall, History of New Orleans, 3 vols. (New York, 1922), 1: 359-75; Joe Gray Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863-1877 (Baton Rouge, 1974), 352-53; Frank L. Richardson, "My Recollections of the Battle of the 14th of September, 1874," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 3 (1920): 498-501. Richardson, who belonged to the Washington Artillery and the AAT, mentions other Confederate veterans who participated in the revolt. Landry, Liberty Place, 234-40, provides a handy reference for cross-checking the names of other ex-Confederates with Roll of the Association of the Army of Tennessee, Louisiana Division, Camp No. 2, U.C.V. (New Orleans, 1902), LHAC.

¹³In "Southern Fraternal Organizations in the North," Journal of Southern History 33 (1987): 603, Daniel E. Sutherland points out that practically all fraternal societies of the period renounced political partisanship. In contrast, Dearing [Veterans in Politics] argues that Union veterans formed ostensibly charitable, but essentially political organizations. McConnell, "G.A.R.," adopts both interpretations. Although there is no evidence supporting the contention that either the AAT or the AANV volunteered as a unit for service in the White League, it is probable that both existed as political pressure groups. For references to the burial rituals of these and other associations, see Charles R. Wilson, Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920 (Athens, Ga., 1980), 28-29; White, Veteran, 12, 20-22, 98-99, 103-04; Foster, Ghosts, 61. The quoted phrases originated from the AAT membership roll of 1902, 1-2.

Like other fraternal organizations, the separately founded AANV and AAT practically operated as exclusive social clubs, rather than as fraternities open to all ex-Confederates. More than two-thirds (67.9%) of the AAT membership, for example, held proprietary or professional occupations. Influential men--attorneys, physicians, clergymen, merchants, and elected officials--also dominated the AANV membership rolls. Each group established and originally enforced stringent membership guidelines. For example, the society was opened to anyone of "good moral character" who had served honorably, subject to two-thirds vote of the membership. The bylaws drafted by each organization permitted honorary memberships for local dignitaries, particularly leaders of other veterans organizations. Yet, the same rules barred survivors of different Confederate armies from joining. As for needy veterans not belonging to a particular society--or those men entitled to membership by virtue of their military record, but unable to afford to pay monthly dues--they could expect to look elsewhere for comradeship and assistance.¹⁴

Non-members, but comrades nonetheless, received second priority. In response to the yellow fever epidemic that devastated New Orleans in 1878, each association created and maintained for many years veterans benefits and relief committees which supervised the distribution of funds and other donated items of clothing, food and

¹⁴Foster, Ghosts, 242, determined the socioeconomic composition of the AAT. In analyzing the AANV, the identical methodology has been employed. A list of 215 AANV members is available in Roster, Louisiana Division, Army of Northern Virginia, New Orleans, La., Camp No. 1, U.C.V. (New Orleans, 1893), LHAC. The search for each veteran's occupation in Soard's New Orleans City Directory For 1883 (New Orleans, 1883) reveals that more than two-thirds (71.4%) of the AANV members fell in Foster's top category (proprietary or professional): 25 members practiced law, 34 owned mercantile establishments, 15 held city government positions, 17 were clergymen, 22 practiced medicine, 21 could not be found. Fully one half had been Confederate officers. This figure compares favorably with White, Veteran, 23, which asserts that former officers--especially "Generals and Colonels"--controlled Confederate veteran organizations. When finally chartered in 1879, the AAT chose as its first president P. G. T. Beauregard, a former commander (AAT Roll, 1-2).

medicine to "worthy" recipients. In the depression era of the mid-1890s several prominent members of the AANV founded a job agency in order to assist able-bodied comrades (and their spouses and children) in finding work. Headed by James Y. Gilmore, a journalist, and Hamilton Dudley Coleman, a local plantation machinery manufacturer and dealer, the Confederate Veterans Employment Bureau of New Orleans published and circulated a small pamphlet containing the names, addresses and occupations of hundreds of "exemplary and lawabiding" applicants.¹⁵

The veterans groups sometimes co-ordinated relief activities, as well. One instance of dual effort had been to convince state legislators in 1880 to enact a bill providing either artificial limbs or cash payments for crippled ex-Confederates. Both societies continued to lobby successfully for similar legislation throughout the decade. Beginning in 1884, for example, due largely to the efforts of the AAT and AANV, the state granted a quarter section of land to disabled and indigent Confederate veterans and widows.¹⁶

¹⁵For a discussion of a number of yellow fever epidemics, including the terrible 1878 outbreak which ravaged New Orleans, see John Duffy, ed., The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana, 2 vols. (Baton Rouge, 1962); and Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, 443-44. For Confederate veterans affected by the 1878 epidemic, consult the numerous letters contained in AAT Papers, Relief Committee Reports, LHAC. For example, see Philip Duffy to AAT, 11 August 1878; John Curran to Relief Committee, 18 September 1878; Augustus Reichard to P. G. T. Beauregard, 20 September 1878. The word "worthy" appears in William Kinney to AANV, 17 April 1895, AANV Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC, and is used in reference to relieving the "distress" of non-members. The palm-sized pamphlet [Confederate Veterans Employment Bureau. List of Applicants For Employment (New Orleans, c.1895), LAC], printed by Gilmore's Sugar Planters publishing firm, contained the names of more than two hundred individuals. For related correspondence, see: J. Y. Gilmore to AANV, 12 October 1895, AANV Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC; Gilmore et al. to "The People of Louisiana," 16 November 1895; H. Dudley Coleman to AAT, 11 May 1897, AAT Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC. White, Veteran, 100, tells of a Nashville Confederate organization that sponsored an identical enterprise initiated in that city about the same time.

¹⁶Under Act No. 69, Louisiana allocated twenty thousand dollars to purchase prostheses for "citizens" who had "lost limbs in Confederate service." By 1888 the law had been amended so as to award one-time, pro-rata cash payments to veterans who had also lost their sight, hearing, voice or mobility, provided either the AAT or AANV verified the disability. Louisiana

Another combined project resulted in the establishment of a soldiers' home. At an AAT meeting on June 13, 1882, Walter H. Rogers, a state appellate judge--whose obituarist credited him for having played a "prominent part" in the White League Revolt of 1874--proposed that the veterans petition the legislature for the establishment of a home. When the AAT president, Joseph A. Charlaron, put the proposal to a vote, the forty-five AAT members in attendance--several of whom held state senate and house seats--voiced their approval. Charlaron then appointed Judge Rogers to chair a joint committee of AAT and AANV members charged with drafting the appropriate legislation. In his official report the following year, Charlaron expressed his belief that the soldiers' home project would, in effect, unite the two Confederate organizations.¹⁷

In his abbreviated, yet authorized history written two decades later Charlaron, then head of the Confederate museum in New Orleans, recalled that the home had been founded in response to the increasing number of ex-Confederates who requested assistance. The AAT and AANV had just spent, collectively, thirty-five thousand dollars on a tomb for their own members, but they now had been unable to allocate enough funds to meet a more pressing demand. A state-supported relief program offered, in the veterans' view, a twofold panacea. Their improvident comrades would be cared for,

Acts (1880), 65-66; (1882), 94; (1884), 56; (1886), 212-13; (1888), 23-24, 53-54; New Orleans Times-Picayune, 28 January 1880. Georgia and North Carolina legislators enacted similar laws. See Georgia Acts (1878-79), 41-42; (1880-81), 50; (1882-83), 44; (1884-85), 32; White, Veteran, 107-8. By 1886, under Act No. 69, 226 veterans and widows had been granted a total of 123,103 acres of public "swamp" land. Louisiana Acts (1884), 123-24; (1886), 213-15; (1896), 90-91.

¹⁷AAT Papers, Minutes, 2:65-68, 136-37, LHAC. The idea for a home may have originated from Union veterans who had recently visited New Orleans during a Blue-Gray Memorial Day celebration. Foster, Ghosts, 67-68, describes the reunion and, 109-110, provides a sketch of Charlaron, who is also featured in Herman Hattaway, "Clio's Southern Soldiers: The United Confederate Veterans and History," Louisiana History 12 (1971): 216-17.

while at the same time the veterans organizations would be spared the brunt of the financial burden.¹⁸

Charlaron also retold, fittingly, the saga of the first, short-lived Confederate soldiers' home in Louisiana, chartered in March 1866. At that time a Democratic legislature--largely composed of former Confederate soldiers, merchants and planters--had been "easily persuaded" to appropriate twenty thousand dollars toward the establishment of a home for "all" wounded and maimed Louisiana soldiers. After Governor J. Madison Wells had signed Act No. 103 into law, he appointed eight members of the legislature (five of whom were ex-Confederate officers) to serve as a board of directors. Within a few months the board leased the widow Doussan's Lake Shore Hotel, overlooking Lake Ponchartrain, at Mandeville, St. Tammany Parish. Of the ninety-six inmates who eventually resided there, almost all were native Louisianians and over one-half suffered from chronic disabilities. The home managed to receive an additional ten thousand dollars the following year, before a Republican-dominated government rescinded the act in 1868. With no operating capital, the institution had to be abandoned. Fifteen years of "pillage and humiliation of reconstruction and carpetbag rule" followed, Charlaron noted sternly, before Louisianians could attempt to establish another home.¹⁹

¹⁸W. Miller Owen, "Confederate Monuments," Con Vet 1 (1893): 7; Col. J. A. Charlaron, "Louisiana's Soldiers' Home," CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1902), 71-72, LHAC. Charlaron's account is also available in manuscript, but contains no significant discrepancies.

¹⁹Charlaron, "Soldiers' Home," 69-70. The phrase "easily persuaded" is from E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (Baton Rouge, 1947), 352-53. Taylor, Louisiana Reconstructed, 73, 82, 103, 174, discusses the Wells administration and the composition of the 1866 and 1868 legislatures. White, Veteran, 110, rehashes Charlaron's account. For the enabling legislation, see Louisiana Acts (1866), 194, 196, 198. For a description of the home and its inmates, see Goodspeed's Biography and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1892), 1:266-68. Some Confederate veterans refused to consider the Mandeville institution a valid predecessor to the New Orleans endeavor. One notable detractor was Alfred J. Lewis, a New Orleans attorney, White League officer, and future AAT

The amendment to Act No. 103 prepared by Judge Rogers' committee mandated a modest appropriation of five thousand dollars over a two year period. Some "sticklers," as Charlaron referred to them, considered the enabling act, House Bill No. 309, unconstitutional. Most notable in this camp was Senator William W. Leake, of West Feliciana Parish. Regarded by his peers as a "devoted and gallant Confederate soldier," Leake argued against the amendment, because he believed it violated Article 51 of the Constitution of 1875 which, according to his interpretation, prohibited the state from funding private charities. The rightful responsibility for the welfare of Louisiana's "infirm, disabled paupers," he pointed out, belonged to the parishes. Had the bill been worded differently, so as to force the parishes, rather than the state, to appropriate the money, Leake declared that he might be persuaded to support it.²⁰

Were Leake's arguments only a ruse? Did his real objection actually lie in his inner, yet unspoken conviction that true men are responsible for their own lives, and should never look to others for assistance? Given the overwhelming negative attitude

president. A member of the 1866 legislature, Lewis, in 1910, denied flatly that the Camp Nicholls home had been in any "matter connected with or derived from" the earlier project. Why Lewis waited so long to make his point is unknown. Perhaps he objected to the board members Wells selected to oversee the home's affairs. Only Eugene Waggaman (a Jefferson Parish planter and one of "Lee's Tigers") had since seen fit to join either the AAT or AANV, or any other known veterans organization. For Lewis' resolution, see his open letter dated 2 March 1910, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC.

²⁰Charlaron, "Louisiana Soldiers' Home," 71-72; AAT Papers, Minutes, 2:71, LHAC. For Leake's arguments, see CNSH, Clippings and Pamphlets, LHAC. One of Leake's colleagues, the bill's co-sponsor, Senator Robert S. Perry of New Iberia, called Leake "devoted and gallant." See Perry's letter to Charlaron, 22 July 1882, AAT Papers, Correspondence, LHAC. Leake probably would have favored a law based upon the Georgia act that empowered each county to provide \$100 per year for every resident who had lost limbs in the "defense of the South," and who possessed less than \$1,000 of taxable property. Ten years later state lawmakers dropped the latter requirement. Georgia Laws (1875), 107-08; (1885), 112. McConnell, "G.A.R.," 381-92, found that some Union veterans shared Leake's opposition to soldiers' homes and pensions on the grounds that such would threaten a veteran's autonomy and manliness. Proponents dealt successfully with these worries by arguing that relief fulfilled the terms of the nation's "sacred contract" with her veterans.

which many veterans and the public at large held concerning institutional relief, opposition to the home was understandable.²¹ Charlaron remarked in his historical account written in 1901 that the Mandeville trustees had "found it no trifling task" to overcome among veterans their own "disinclination" toward the home. The new board, he added, would encounter the identical "prejudice" the next two decades. As one veteran stated, he felt a certain "humiliation" in applying for admission to a home, because one invariably "loses caste" when entering it. For similar reasons many ex-Confederates renounced pensions. Apparently nothing aroused an ex-Confederate's indignation more than a perceived assault on his manhood, regardless of the source. When Gilmore and Coleman published their list of unemployed New Orleans veterans in 1895, they carefully emphasized the "worthy class of citizens" desired an "opportunity to work," not "charity." A state-supported home--or indoor relief of any kind--violated the same principle. When AAT and AANV members read, mistakenly, that Leake, in debating the bill's legality, had publicly "called" them "paupers," each association passed resolutions condemning his "unjustified language."²²

²¹There already exists an enormous literature which discusses changing American attitudes toward social welfare. Michael B. Katz, In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America (New York, 1986) is particularly informative. For southern attitudes, Elizabeth Wisner, Social Welfare in the South: From Colonies to World War I (Baton Rouge, 1970) and Barbara L. Bellows, "Tempering the Wind: The Southern Response to Urban Poverty, 1850-1865," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of South Carolina, 1983) are useful. In the 1860s and 1870s some northern reformers objected to the establishment of a national asylum and state-supported veterans homes in that region for, ostensibly, the same reasons as Leake and other southern conservatives. See Judith Cetina's previously cited dissertation.

²²Charlaron, "Louisiana's Soldiers' Home," 70, 75. For negative attitudes toward pensions, see Wilson, Baptized, 82-83; Con Vet 6 (1898): 473-74; 7 (1899): 25; 16 (1908): 81; At Const. 10 April 1889. The phrases attributed to Gilmore and Coleman can be found on the first page of their bureau's pamphlet. For a copy of the AAT's July 1882 resolution censuring Leake, see William H. Thomas Papers, Duke. For Leake's response to the New Orleans veterans societies--in which he did not hold membership--see his letter to Charlaron, 13 July 1882, Joseph A. Charlaron Papers, LHAC. Foster, Ghosts, 24-35, argues that ex-Confederates remained highly concerned about honor and masculinity, vital components of a traditional value

The bill's proponents employed potent oratory in order to counter such attacks. They spoke of the state's longstanding obligation to provide a "compensation" and a "dignified retirement" to the brave, worthy men"--one senator actually dubbed them "living monuments"--who took up arms in the state's defense. Times-Democrat editor John Augustin, a former Crescent City White Leaguer, currently the AAT executive committee chairman, wrote that the home would provide a place where the "maimed, crippled and destitute survivors of so many glorious battlefields" could find "rest and peace for their old age." Future Governor Murphy J. Foster echoed the editor's remarks, stating that Louisianians "owed" the "helpless and dependent champions of our rights and liberties" not only a "debt" of gratitude, but also a "full share of veneration and love." An AANV officer referred to the home as a "resting place" for "deserving" ex-Confederates.²³

Each of the spokesmen emphasized that the proposed home would be the payment due for services rendered, not an outright gift of charity. This important distinction served as the crux of their arguments and a rationale for their enterprise. The sensitive issue apparently dogged the Louisiana home founders long after the legislature had passed the bill, and Governor Samuel D. McEnery, a veteran, had eagerly approved the measure on June 30, 1882. Nearly thirty years later, in his report to the AANV, Julian S. Levy, a member of the board of directors, concluded that it dishonored no man to reside in the

system discussed by Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (New York, 1982).

²³Perry of New Iberia called "maimed and infirm" veterans "living monuments." See his letter to Charlaron cited above. For Augustin's remarks, see his report to the AAT, 11 September 1883, AAT Papers, Minutes, 2:123, 138-39, LHAC. Governor Foster's message appears in Louisiana House Journal (1900), 11. The final quoted phrases are by Fred A. Ober, AANV vice-president, in his letter to Peter J. Trezevant, Louisiana House clerk, 29 May 1886, AANV Papers, Correspondence, LHAC.

home, for "that institution [was] no charity, but a monument erected by the state of Louisiana for the benefit of her brave defenders."²⁴

Additional decisions remained before the home could become fully operational. In April 1883, for example, the AAT and AANV jointly elected ten managers to serve without recompense as home administrators, financial consultants and an admissions review board. For chairman the board chose, unanimously, the current AANV president, Francis T. Nicholls, a one-armed, one-legged, one-eyed ex-Confederate brigadier, a former (and future) governor. The board members also appointed AAT president and second vice-president, Charlaron and Alfred J. Lewis as home treasurer and secretary, respectively. Duly organized, the board then proceeded to accomplish the half dozen tasks prescribed for it by law.²⁵

By June 1883 the managers had found a suitable location in the New Orleans vicinity for the home. They bought a large lot nicknamed, ironically, "La Folie," on Bayou St. John, near Esplanade Avenue, from ex-Confederate naval Lieutenant Joseph R. DeMahy. That purchase having absorbed the lion's share of the state's annual appropriation, the managers then appealed to parish police juries, as well as to the public directly for contributions. Upon hearing of the project, General John B. Gordon donated six hundred dollars in lecture proceeds. Other revenues originated from a lottery and a two-day sham battle held at the state fairgrounds. Before an estimated seven thousand paid spectators at the fairgrounds, the combined forces of the State

²⁴Louisiana Acts (1882), 73. The Assembly approved the measure (62-3) and the Senate voted in favor (27-5). Louisiana House Journal (1882), 409; Louisiana Senate Journal (1882), 293. The overwhelming support of the bill came at a time when Bourbon Democrats actively promoted a program of fiscal retrenchment. See William I. Hair, Bourbonism and Agrarian Protest: Louisiana Politics, 1877-1900 (Baton Rouge, 1969). Levy's statement is found in his letter to AANV, 14 October 1911, AANV Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC.

²⁵Charlaron, "Louisiana's Soldiers' Home," 73.

National Guard and a local GAR post, on cue, repeatedly, but futilely "charged" a Confederate fort manned by AAT and AANV members. The battle organizers naturally assumed the role of defenders, and, befitting the occasion, some "gallant" veterans suffered slight casualties, including one AANV member temporarily dazed by a shell burst. Anticipating such injuries, the AAT chaplain could be seen "everywhere on the battlefield" resuscitating soldiers by giving them a few sniffs "of a very valuable and important canteen."²⁶

The much publicized fund-raising stunts, like the "medicinal" therapy, proved remarkably successful. Home managers netted more than enough profits (about seven thousand dollars) to cover the costs of several buildings, designed by local architect William A. Freret, which construction crews had completed within eight months. On February 5, 1884, the institution admitted its first "inmate," James Adams, a one-legged veteran of the First Louisiana Infantry. About five weeks later, the Louisiana soldiers' home--since renamed Camp Nicholls--officially opened its doors. The ceremonies attended by more than six hundred centered around the home's seventy-foot flag pole, in front of the main building, where the daughters of former Generals Lee, Jackson and Hill proudly presented and hoisted the home's adopted blue and white flag, handmade by Stonewall's widow. Applause, hoorahs and Rebel yells, accompanied by a

²⁶bid.; Goodspeed's, Memoirs, 1: 147-48; Powell A. Casey, Encyclopedia of Forts, Posts, Named Camps, And Other Military Installations in Louisiana, 1700-1981 (Baton Rouge, 1983) 141-42, 262. A broadside dated 9 August 1883, addressed to the state's police juries can be found in CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC. The lottery--a contrivance Nicholls supposedly considered "anathema" maranatha "to true southern values," according to Wilson, Baptized, 89--and the sham battle are described in Augustin's letter to the AAT, 14 August 1883, AAT Papers, Executive Committee Reports, LHAC; Augustin's New Orleans Times-Democrat, 16-17 September 1883; AAT Papers, Minutes, 2: 118, 123, 128, LHAC; Charlaron, "Louisiana's Soldiers' Home," 74-75, and White, Veteran, 94.

thirteen gun salute, fired by the Washington Artillery's howitzer, "Redemption," filled the air. On this spring day, March 14, in New Orleans, the Confederacy lived again!²⁷

The philanthropic efforts so auspiciously conducted by the New Orleans veterans and, especially, the Lee Camp had provided an immediate model for ex-Confederates residing in at least three other states, North Carolina, Texas and Tennessee.

The earliest known attempt at organizing benevolence in North Carolina occurred in Charlotte in May 1884, when several prominent Army of Northern Virginia veterans publicly announced that they would begin soliciting and accepting donations for the "unfortunate victims of the Lost Cause." The recognized leaders behind the movement were undoubtedly well-acquainted with John Gordon and certainly mindful of the Richmond home. The group chose Zebulon B. Vance, a former Confederate general, North Carolina governor and present U.S. Senator, and Julian Shakespeare Carr, Durham's popular entrepreneur, to serve as first chairman and secretary, respectively. "The North Carolina Confederate Home Association" (NCCHA), as the organization initially called itself, attracted many of the state's premier Conservative Democrats, including the current chief executive, Alfred M. Scales, and other elected officials, who willingly volunteered their reputations and influence as directors and trustees. In spite of a formidable start, however, the movement stalled and was practically abandoned until March 1889, when the men re-organized under the name "Confederate Veterans Association of North Carolina" (CVANC) and dedicated themselves anew to completing the task.²⁸

²⁷Casey, Encyclopedia, 142; Goodspeed's, Memoirs, 1: 148; Charlaron, "Louisiana's Soldiers' Home," 74-75; White, Veteran, 110; Southern Historical Society, Publications 28 (1900): 229, 231-36.

²⁸Civil War Papers, Wharton J. Green Scrapbook, 369, NCDAH; "A Confederate Movement," Charlotte Home-Democrat, May 23, 1884. For information on Carr, see Mena Webb, Julie Carr: General Without an Army (Chapel Hill, 1987). See also the article in the Con Vet 6

With the aid of the Wake County Ladies Memorial Association, the CVANC raised enough money by September 1890 to lease an eight-room house located on Polk and Bloodworth Streets, near downtown Raleigh; by the following month, five veterans had been admitted. Further organization took place on Valentine's Day, 1891 when eighty-eight members of the CVANC officially constituted the "Soldiers' Home Association" (SHA) as an administrative body. According to the terms of the charter, the state deeded Camp Russell--a five-acre plot upon which a Confederate hospital had formerly stood--to the SHA. A three thousand dollar annual appropriation, paid in quarterly installments, accompanied the measure that had been approved in the assembly by a unanimous standing vote. As Julian Carr later recalled, "dire necessity" had finally "impressed upon [the] hearts of [the] people."²⁹

(1898): 234, which addresses Carr's specific involvement with the North Carolina home. In addition to Vance, Scales and Carr, NCCHA charter members included: congressmen Wharton Green and Thomas Skinner; former governor Thomas Jarvis; future Alliance governor Elias Carr; justices Joseph Davis and John Gilmer; iron manufacturer Robert Hoke, an ex-major general; William A. Graham, Jr. and Dr. John M. Worth, a son and younger brother of former North Carolina governors, respectively. Section 3 of the charter for the CVANC--as documented in North Carolina Laws, (1889), 683--permitted the group to found "a home or homes for indigent, infirm and invalid Confederate soldiers and sailors, or their widows and orphans." Carr was among the incorporators. For what was probably the very first effort at forming a statewide association of Confederate veterans, in October 1881, see the "North Carolina Society of Ex-Confederate Soldiers and Sailors," which is described in Green's Scrapbook, 368, and whose handwritten constitution may be found in the Leonidas L. Polk Papers, NCDALH.

²⁹For a sketch of the work of the LMA, which included several Confederate veterans as officers and advisors, see the clipping from The (Raleigh) Daily Call, 10 May 1889; the undated article, "The Narrative of a Half Century of Faithful Work," written by Fred A. Olds for the Raleigh News and Observer; as well as the society's Minutes, Wake County LMA Papers, NCDALH. Imitating the Lee Camp, the group sponsored a four-day Confederate military bazaar which netted about two thousand dollars for the home project. See the unpublished manuscript "Ladies Memorial Association of Raleigh, North Carolina" (c.1902) by Mrs. Garland Jones, Wake County LMA Papers, NCDALH; "Home for Old Confeds in Carolina a Great Success," At Const. 6 January 1901; Herbert Poole, "Final Encampment: The North Carolina Soldiers' Home," Con Vet (July-August 1987): 12. A clipping pasted inside the cover of the scattered and incomplete NCSH, Board of Incorporators, Minutes, NCDALH, and the Roster of Inmates of the Soldiers' Home, Raleigh, North Carolina (Raleigh, 1904), treats the rental home which has since been moved to 415 East Street. See also Fred A. Olds, "History of Soldiers' Home at

On March 24, 1891 the "people" celebrated. In his speech on the newly-refurbished home grounds, Lieutenant Governor Thomas Holt treated the veterans to an account of the "patriotic movement" that had culminated in the most "important event in our history." He praised Colonel William F. Beasley, a former president of the NCCHA, and saluted future inmates as "honored guests." Later that afternoon, in Mayor Fabius Busbee's office, the SHA selected a board of directors, with one of Lee's lieutenants, William P. Roberts, as chairman, and Samuel A'Court Ashe, the historian, as secretary. The board also rewarded Carr and William C. Stronach, a prominent Raleigh merchant, by appointing them to serve with Busbee as the executive committee. In April, after considerable preparation, the superintendent welcomed nine inmates to their new quarters.³⁰

Meanwhile, Texas ex-Confederates had a relatively easier time of establishing their home. Like the North Carolina project, the Texas institution had a direct link with the Richmond endeavor. After procuring a copy of the Lee Camp's constitution and by-laws, Major Joseph H. Stewart, a Maryland-born Texas banker and attorney, summoned

Raleigh," The Orphan's Friend and Masonic Journal, 3 December 1926, which discusses the historic significance of Pettigrew Hospital, the home site. The names of the eighty-eight CVANC members who incorporated the SHA, as well as the purpose of the organization, are provided in North Carolina Laws (1891), 793-96. The list included many of the same individuals associated with the NCCHA in 1884. For the legislature's handling and approval of the act founding the SHA, see North Carolina Senate Journal (1891), 179, 227, 241, 265, 268, 271, 380; North Carolina House Journal (1891), 272, 292, 327, 371. For Carr's recollection, see his handwritten letter to the the Raleigh News and Observer, c. September 1902, Julian S. Carr Papers, SHC.

³⁰NCSH, Board of Incorporators, Minutes, NCDAB; Poole, Final Encampment," 12; R. D. W. Connor, ed., A Manual of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1913), 166; Daniel G. Fowle to Samuel A. Ashe, 25 March 1891, Fowle Papers, NCDAB; William C. Stronach to Alfred M. Scales, 17 July 1891, Scales Papers, NCDAB. Beasley served as the NCCHA president until his resignation in April 1886, after "earnest efforts" at fund-raising proved unsuccessful. Other directors elected were: Senator Matt Ransom, Judge Thomas Fuller, and railroad executive Alexander B. Andrews.

in November 1884 a number of his fellow veterans to his office in the temporary state capitol building to form the John Bell Hood Camp. Original members consisted of two former and one future Texas governors (Senator Richard Coke, state treasurer Francis R. Lubbock and Congressman-elect Joseph D. Sayers, respectively) as well as several state officers, Travis County businessmen, and a handful of ex-Confederate generals, one of whom (R. Lindsay Walker) the group elected as its first commander.³¹

During the next year-and-a-half the Hood Camp concentrated its efforts on fundraising. By July 1886 the veterans had purchased a seven-room house and more than sixteen acres atop a high knoll overlooking the Colorado River in Austin. The home admitted its first inmates in November 1886. Four months later the Hood Camp held dedicatory ceremonies for the "Texas Confederate Home for Men."³²

The attempt to obtain public funding officially commenced in March 1887, about a week after the home had been formally dedicated, when Senator John H. Harrison of Waco introduced a bill to set aside proceeds from state land sales as an "endowment" for the institution. By this time Confederate veterans practically controlled the state government, possessing 60 of 131 House and Senate seats, as well as the governor's

³¹Confederate Gray Book, John Bell Hood Camp, No. 103, U.C.V. (Austin, c.1914); Austin Daily Statesman, 10 December 1884; The (Austin) Confederate Drummer, September 1886. See also the account by charter members Fred Carleton in Houston Chronicle, 20 February 1944, 2; and Henry E. Shelley to Col. Henry C. Lindsey, 23 November 1898, Lindsey Papers, THC.

³²For fund-raising, see the "Grand Gift Concert and Drawing" in Austin that featured locally prominent musicians and singers, and a raffle of more than two thousand donated prizes. Previously postponed due to low ticket sales blamed on "drought and other disasters," the long-awaited gala of December 1886 generated about eleven thousand dollars. The (Austin) Confederate Drummer, September 1886; Austin Daily Statesman, 27 December 1886; Frank Brown, "Annals of Travis County and the City of Austin (From the Earliest Times to the Close of 1875)," Unpublished Scrapbook, TxSA. For the home's purchase, opening and formal dedication, see: Henry E. Shelley, "The Confederate Home for Texas," Con Vet 6 (1896): 156-57; Austin Record, 12 March 1887; Austin Daily Statesman, 1 November 1888; John B. Armstrong and wife to Hood Camp, 19 February 1886, Texas Statutory Documents, Deeds, Abstracts and Cessions of Jurisdiction, State Eleemosynary Institutions, TxSA.

office and his cabinet. Although referred to the Committee on Public Lands, which in turn recommended its passage, Harrison's enabling legislation saw no further action. Apparently many legislators doubted the bill's legality, as had lawmakers some six years earlier when they narrowly defeated a \$2.5 million appropriation for artificial limbs for ex-Confederates. Austin attorney Fred Carleton, a founding member of the Hood Camp, joined by other "hearty" veteran "sympathizers," had voted against the measure, because they believed it violated the Texas constitution which strictly prohibited the state from allocating public monies to any "individual, association of individuals, municipal or other corporation whatsoever." The article, however, failed to restrict other forms of assistance. Thus, in 1881, the Texas legislature granted land certificates of 1,280 acres for every "permanently disabled" and indigent Confederate veteran and widow residing in the state. The next legislature repealed the act in 1883, after the public domain had been declared "exhausted."³³

Stymied, the Hood Camp eventually figured out how to circumvent the constitutional barrier. Under the plan developed by Attorney General James S. Hogg, and approved by Governor Lawrence "Sul" Ross, the group obtained in March 1889 a ten-year lease of the temporary capitol building, at five dollars per annum. This arrangement enabled the veterans organization to rent office spaces to various private individuals and, therefore, derive a "permanent revenue" for the home.³⁴

³³For Confederate veterans dominating Texas politics, see White, Veteran, 83-86. For Harrison's enabling bill, see C. W. Raines, Year Book For Texas, 1901 (Austin, 1902), 54. Texas House Journal (1881), 151-52, contains the final vote for the artificial limbs bill and Carleton's stated objection. Concerning the land certificate bill, see: H. P. N. Gammel, comp., Laws of Texas, 1822-1897, 10 vols. (Austin, 1898), 9: 122; and Thomas L. Miller, "Texas Land Grants to Confederate Veterans and Widows," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 69 (1965): 59-65.

³⁴Raines, 1901, 54-55; Gammel, Laws, 9: 138. For Ross, who later served as president of Texas A & M University [White, Veteran, 59] see Judith A. Benner, Sul Ross: Soldier

It was not a bad start, but much more funding was needed. In the ensuing general election the Hood Camp and other Texas ex-Confederate organizations made full state appropriations a campaign issue. The veterans pledged to vote against any candidate who failed to support the endeavor. They easily obtained the endorsement of Governor Ross, who believed the state must fulfill her "sacred duty." They also succeeded in having their demands fashioned as a plank in the platform adopted by Democrats convening at San Antonio. During his speech at Rusk, Texas, in April 1890, Democratic gubernatorial nominee Hogg declared that "Texas should now endow, support and maintain a Confederate Home." Perhaps Hogg, a fellow veteran, intended to ease conservatives' qualms when he added that "no inmate would feel as a pauper" in the home, but as "an independent proprietor surrounded by all the comforts of the home he lost when he responded to his country's call." In his inaugural address of January 21, 1891, Hogg continued pressing for a state-supported home; a "noble task," he called it, that lay "deep in the hearts of Texans." When "a state orders her men to fight," he reasoned, "it accepts the obligation to care for . . . maimed, tottering helpless men . . . too proud to accept pity."³⁵

Two days later, Austin representative Alexander W. Terrell, a Virginia-born ex-Confederate colonel, introduced legislation authorizing the establishment of the home as a state institution. House Bill No. 242 stipulated that, in return for \$75,000 in public funds, the Hood Camp would transfer the home property to the state. Under the plan a

Statesman-Educator (College Station, 1983), 185-6. Benner argues that Ross, symbol of the Lost Cause, pushed for economic modernization of Texas and sectional cooperation.

³⁵The portion of Ross's message concerning the home is found in Texas House Journal (1891), 49-50. For Texas ex-Confederate involvement in the election of 1890, see Raines, 1901, 56; "The Confederate Home in Austin Before the Turn of the Century," (1954), Unpublished Essay, TxCM; Brown, "Annals," 30: 103-10. For Hogg's statements, see Raines, 1901, 56, and Texas House Journal (1891), 110-11.

board of five ex-Confederates retained control of the home's management. By the third week in February, the Twenty-Second Legislature passed the bill by a combined vote of 101 to 16. The few opponents rightfully doubted its constitutionality, while the majority considered it "a debt" the state owed." It is signed. Bully!" one house clerk scribbled on the bill before forwarding it to Governor Hogg, who signed it into law the following day. Even though the measure clearly violated the state constitution, it became effective on March 6, 1891, the fifty-fifth anniversary of the fall of the Alamo.³⁶

Meanwhile, Tennessee moved toward establishment of a home. Like the Texas and North Carolina institutions, the Tennessee home had a direct tie to the Virginia enterprise, and especially to General Gordon, through the person of Sumner Archibald Cunningham. The latter, editor of Our Day, a monthly magazine intended for Confederate exiles in New York City, had served as Gordon's secretary to the committee on arrangements for the Cooper Union Institute meeting, and had worked closely with Corporal Tanner of the GAR. The three men, Tanner later recalled, remained "staunch, warm friends" over the next decade or so, even though Gordon relocated to Georgia and Cunningham soon returned to his native state of Tennessee, where in 1893 he founded and edited another monthly, the Confederate Veteran.³⁷

³⁶The circuitous path the bill took, after Terrell read it for the first time on January 23, may be followed in Texas House Journal (1891), 134-36, 319, 334, 336-39; Texas Senate Journal (1891), 211, 217, 232, 238-39; House Journal (1891), 398, 416; Senate Journal (1891), 255-56, 264; House Journal, (1891) 419, 438. See Gammel, Laws, 10: 14-17, for the final product, its approval date and the voting margins. See also Raines, 1901, 56. The state constitution had to be officially amended and the Confederate home bill was approved all over again in April 1895. This time legislators voted in favor of the measure (House Bill No. 540) 109 to 2. See Texas House Journal (1895), 324, 358, 423-24, 562, 584-85, 602, 606, 616, 623; Gammel, Laws, 10: 42-44.

³⁷For information concerning Cunningham, see: John A. Simpson, "S. A. Cunningham and the Confederate Heritage," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Oregon, 1987). Regarding the "Corporal" and Cunningham's friendship, see Tanner's account of the Cooper Union Institute meeting, Con Vet 18 (1910): 314-15; and 22 (1914): 11, in which Tanner recalled that Gordon had introduced the Tennessean to him as "Sam."

If Nashville had not supplanted Richmond or New Orleans as the center of Confederate postwar activity by the mid-1890s, it at least rivaled or even equalled those cities. Here, for example, representatives from several Confederate veterans groups in Middle and West Tennessee had formed a state organization, the Association of Confederate Soldiers, Tennessee Division, which by the early 1880s shared the same downtown offices as the Confederate Monumental Association, and the short-lived Confederate Historical Association. In December 1887, the state organization had founded Benjamin F. Cheatham Bivouac No. 1, named in honor of a recently deceased Mexican War veteran and Confederate general. At its zenith this group would function as the parent society for more than three thousand veterans scattered throughout the South. Nashville also came to be regarded as the birthplace of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and served as the site of the United Confederate Veterans' annual reunion in 1897 and again seven years later. With the publication of Cunningham's new magazine, adopted by many veterans groups as their official organ, the city's Confederate reputation was enhanced even more.³⁸

Contemporaries credited several prominent members of the Cheatham Bivouac with the establishment of the Tennessee Soldiers' Home. Like the Lee Camp, the AAT and

³⁸Cunningham joined the Cheatham Bivouac in June 1891. Within a few years he became regarded as an accepted leader of the veterans society. Simpson, "Cunningham," 215-18. A sketch of the state organization's founding in 1876 is available in Frank Cheatham Bivouac, U.C.V., Nashville, Confederate Gray Book (Nashville, 1911). Accounts of the Cheatham Bivouac's establishment may be found in J. Wooldridge, ed., History of Nashville, Tennessee (Nashville, 1890), 564-65; H. H. Crew, History of Nashville, Tennessee (Nashville, 1890), 566; Minutes of the Second Convention of Confederate Soldiers, Tennessee Division (Nashville, 1889) 4-5; and White, Veteran, 20. For the society's strict eligibility requirements for membership, see Con Vet 2 (1894): 38. See Mary B. Poppenheim for The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 2 vols., (Richmond, 1956), 1: 4-5, and White, Veteran, 39, for the Nashville reunions. The Confederate Monumental Association, which dedicated a statue at Mount Olivet Cemetery in May 1889, is first listed in George H. Rogers, comp., Nashville City Directory, Vol. 19 (Nashville, 1883), 24. See also Nashville Banner, 4, 16-17 May 1889.

the AANV, the Nashville organization drew its constituency largely from the upper socioeconomic ranks. Its strict bylaws limited membership to men who had fought "honorably," maintained an "unimpeachable" war record, and who had remained citizens "of good standing" since war's end. (The latter requirement was easier to document, as Cunningham discovered when he applied for membership.) Fully two-thirds of its members held professional postwar occupations considered compatible with the new, emerging South; only about one-fourth worked in the agricultural sector as farmers. A surprisingly large number were not native sons, but the surnames such as Cockrill, Overton and Porterfield represented the old Nashville elite. Attorneys, merchants and physicians dominated the group.³⁹ Some were inveterate joiners, a behavior that proved to be contagious. For example, the bivouac's first president, George B. Guild, served as vice-president of the state veterans association and (with his wife) was a contributing member of the Confederate Monumental Association. Commerce National banker Marcus A. Spurr once presided over the Confederate Monumental Association that included his wife (along with the wives and widows of other veterans) among its membership. Attorney John P. Hickman held the elected office of secretary in three ex-Confederate societies and two agencies; his wife joined the county-wide monumental association and worked tirelessly with the UDC, while their offspring actively participated in the city's two Sons of Confederate Veterans chapters.⁴⁰

³⁹Foster, Ghosts, 242, also analyzed the socioeconomic composition of this veterans society. Among the group's 14 charter members, 8 were merchants, 2 were lawyers, and 2 others were physicians. Nashville City Directory, Vol. 24 (1888); Wooldridge, Nashville, 564.

⁴⁰For information about the Guilds, see: Who's Who in Tennessee (Memphis, 1911), 421-22; Dan M. Robison and Robert M. McBride, eds., Biographical Directory of the Tennessee General Assembly, 1796-1901, 2 vols., (Nashville, 1975, 1979), 2: 362-63; Nashville City Directory, Vol. 24 (1888), 29; Vol. 28 (1892), 37; Nashville Banner, 22 October 1887. Regarding the Spurr, see Nashville City Directory, Vol. 22 (1886), 27; Nashville Banner, 22 October 1887. For the energetic Hickmans, see Who's Who, 424; Nashville City Directory, Vol.

The Cheatham Bivouac resembled the New Orleans organizations, more than the Lee or Hood Camps, in that it advocated from the outset a historical and archival mission. According to its official charter, members committed themselves to honoring their late comrades who had died in service or since the war, by writing about their heroic deeds, and collecting and preserving "all material of value" for later historians. At least two men utilized such records. Charter member William J. McMurray, a one-armed physician, ex-Klan organizer, and later president of the state health board, wrote a respectable account of his old infantry unit, the Twentieth Tennessee. Moreover, Guild authored a history of the Fourth Tennessee Cavalry, a regiment formerly commanded by his brother-in-law, Colonel Baxter Smith. At one monthly meeting the Cheatham Bivouac unanimously adopted a resolution--presented by its history committee chairman, Nashville Banner editor Gideon H. Baskette--condemning the state textbook, John J. Anderson's History of the United States, as "mischievous in tone and sentiment, untruthful in statement and tending to perpetuate the resentment of the civil war."⁴¹

During a November 1888 meeting, after the veterans had agreed to write historical "sketches" of their own "battle experiences," they discussed for the first time establishing a home for disabled and infirm ex-Confederates. Nashville physician Robert G. Rothrock, one of the bivouac's original incorporators, currently their surgeon and third vice-president of the Confederate Soldiers Association, introduced the

20 (1884), 25; Vol. 24 (1888), 29; Vol. 27 (1891), 36; Vol. 31 (1891), 41; Vol. 32 (1892), 37; Vol. 36 (1896), 37.

⁴¹For McMurray's background, consult William S. Speer, comp., Sketches of Prominent Tennesseans (Nashville, 1888), 372-74. His monograph is entitled History of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A. (Nashville, 1975 [1904]). For Guild's history, see A Brief Narrative of the Fourth Tennessee Cavalry Regiment, Wheeler's Corps, Army of Tennessee (Nashville, 1913). Concerning Baskette, see William Waller, ed., Nashville in the 1890s (Nashville, 1970), 239; and Nashville Banner, 7 September 1889, for his censure of Anderson's work.

proposal. The men agreeing, president John "Jack" Moore appointed a five-man committee (consisting of Baskette, McMurray, merchant Furgeson S. Harris and former judge Frank T. Reid, with Rothrock serving as chairman) to commence formulating plans. Then, the veterans group notified the eight other bivouacs which comprised the statewide Confederate organization and requested their cooperation.⁴²

In January 1889, Shelby County Democrat James M. Crews, a former private under Forrest, introduced the project to the Forty-Sixth General Assembly as Senate Bill No. 210, "an act to provide a home for disabled ex-Confederate soldiers" on the Hermitage grounds. The bill provided that the property formerly belonging to Andrew Jackson and his heirs, but long since deeded to the state, be entrusted to the Association of Confederate Soldiers, for a period not to exceed twenty-five years. In return, the veterans promised to provide and maintain "homes" for needy ex-Confederates of "good character," with their "widows and their orphan children." All able-bodied residents would be expected to work. Income generated through the proper cultivation of the large, four hundred-plus acre farm, or through the development of other suitable cottage industries, would be re-invested in the non-profit enterprise. Finally, in order for the "charity" to be set on a firm basis, the bill stipulated an outright grant of ten thousand dollars.⁴³

⁴²Benjamin F. Cheatham Minutes, 1: 33, TSLA. For a published report of the meeting, see Nashville Banner, 3 November 1888. Mark Cockrill and Mrs. John P. Hickman also produced their own versions of the meeting. See Cockrill's story in the Nashville Banner, 13 May 1892; and Hickman's paper presented to the historical committee, UDC, Nashville Banner, 7 March 1908. The Nashville City Directory, Vol. 24 (1888) listed the men's occupations and Rothrock's multiple posts.

⁴³

The first public announcement of the bill appeared in the Nashville Banner, 30 January 1889. See also Nashville Daily American, 9 February 1889. The quoted phrases have been extracted from the measure's final version, as found in Tennessee Acts (1889), 342-44.

The likelihood for approval of the Crews bill appeared highly propitious in 1889. In the preceding six years, in response to veterans' demands, the state of Tennessee had implemented two modest pension programs for disabled ex-Confederates. In addition, proponents could now point to the homes already operating in Louisiana, Virginia and Texas. Numbers, as in the other states, aligned decidedly on the veterans' side. Ex-Confederates pervaded practically all state governmental branches, while Conservative Democrats--those most likely susceptible to Old South loyalties--controlled overwhelmingly both the Senate (24-9) and the House (66-26).⁴⁴ If selected newspaper editorials accurately reflected popular sentiment on the issue, then most Tennesseans favored the undertaking. The Memphis Daily Appeal, for example, regarded it "a measure which commend[ed] itself to every right thinking citizen of the state." As former Confederate General William H. Jackson, the owner of Belle Meade plantation, explained: We "ruled the State"; our "wish was the will of the people." Whatever was asked for disabled veterans, it was given. Even Governor Robert L. Taylor, from East Tennessee, referred to public support of the proposal as a "sacred obligation," and could be counted among the veterans' staunchest allies. "Our legislature," he declared, owed a special debt of gratitude to her "decrepit heroes of the Lost Cause."⁴⁵

⁴⁴The first pension measure, signed by Governor William B. Bate, provided ten dollars per month until death to any Tennessee ex-Confederate who had lost his vision "while engaged in battle." Tennessee Acts (1888), 323-24. The second program increased the monthly allotment to twenty-five dollars and extended entitlement to limbless veterans. Tennessee Acts (1887), 105-06. The computations for the political affiliations in the Forty-Sixth General Assembly may be found in Robert H. White, ed., Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 8 Vols. (Nashville, 1952-1977), 8: 283. See Robison and McBride, BDTA, for each member's Confederate background.

⁴⁵Memphis Daily Appeal, as quoted in the Nashville Banner, 7 January 1889. For other editorials concerning the project, see the debate and final vote coverage in the Nashville Daily American, 16 March 1889; Nashville Banner, 29 March 1889; Chattanooga Daily Times, 16 March 1889; Knoxville Journal, 30 March 1889; Memphis Daily Appeal, 25 March 1889.

The legislation did not glide effortlessly through the Assembly, however, for dissenters objected to the bill for a variety of reasons. Several senators argued against furnishing the needed appropriation, claiming that the state could ill afford supplementing the venture. Another group took exception to an act benefiting former Confederates solely. It urged that deserving Mexican War veterans, as well as "honorable" Federal volunteers from Tennessee, with service-related disabilities, be admitted on an equal basis. One East Tennessee legislator went so far as to recommend additional, but separate facilities for black veterans. Horrified at the latter suggestion, Confederate home supporters succeeded in having the motion tabled immediately. In the House challengers formally managed to amend the Crews measure in favor of "all" white soldiers, but these parliamentary maneuvers likewise ended in failure.⁴⁶

Ironically, the most serious roadblock originated from an unlikely assortment of men and women in Nashville, many of whom were either Confederate veterans, wives or widows, or ex-Confederate sympathizers. They worried that using the Hermitage grounds would "detract or overshadow" Old Hickory's memory. As one member feared, if the Crews bill passed, "the remains of Jackson and his wife would be removed to Mt. Olivet, their relics and heirlooms scattered to four corners of the earth, and the home would forever pass out of existence." By mid-January 1889 the group, now formally

White, Veteran, 87, provided Jackson's statement, while White, Messages, 7: 221, 344, reproduced Taylor's eulogy.

⁴⁶The series of legislative wrangling and maneuvering over the bill, from its first reading to the final vote, may be followed in: Tennessee Senate Journal (1889), 196, 215, 413-15, 513; Tennessee House Journal (1889), 557, 588, 671, 684-87, 729, 731, 754, 757. See also the newspaper accounts cited in note 45. For an earlier, aborted attempt by a group of Tennessee lawmakers to convert the Hermitage into a home for Mexican War veterans, solely, see Tennessee Senate Journal (1885), 439; Nashville Daily American, 18 March 1885; and Robert Rutland, "Captain William B. Walton, Mexican War Volunteer," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 11 (1952): 177-78.

known as the Ladies Hermitage Association, petitioned the legislature for the purchase of a sizeable portion of the Jackson estate. The revenue the state derived from the sale, they pointed out, would be sufficient to establish a soldiers' home someplace else.

Anxious Cheatham Bivouac representatives immediately requested a conference with the Hermitage group. Veteran John Hickman proposed that the Crews bill be amended so as to entrust the mansion and adjacent twenty-five acres to the association's caretakers, but Mrs. Andrew Jackson, III refused to agree to "anything of the kind." The two organizations remained deadlocked, until the Jackson group reluctantly accepted the Hickman compromise, thereby narrowly averting disaster.⁴⁷ As expected the ex-Confederate lobbyists triumphed ultimately in the legislature by a comfortable thirty-three vote margin. Consistent supporters of the Crews bill as amended were either Democrats or confirmed Independents who hailed primarily from the state's middle and western divisions; roughly one-quarter of these men satisfied all three criteria.⁴⁸

Middle Tennessee Senator Clement J. Moody, though not a veteran, spoke for the majority. In his "brief, earnest [and] eloquent appeal" before a chamber filled with many visitors (including a number of Hermitage ladies) the Democrat said that it was "high time" for the state to demonstrate its appreciation for the "brave men" who had

⁴⁷The first quoted material is from a letter, signed by "Jackson," in the Nashville Banner, 7 January 1889. Original members of the LHA can be found in the At Const, 26 April 1889; and Wooldridge, Nashville, 566-67. The account of the compromise meeting between the LHA and Cheatham representatives is based on the article that appeared in the Nashville Banner, 12 January 1889. For a review of the controversy, see Nashville Banner, 7 March 1908; Stanley F. Horn, The Hermitage: Home of Old Hickory (Nashville, 1960 [1950]), 44-45; and Nashville Tennessean Magazine, 3 January 1954.

⁴⁸Benjamin F. Cheatham Bivouac Minutes, 2: 60-63, TSLA. The House voted on the measure four separate times, the Senate only once. By "consistent supporter" is meant someone who cast his vote in favor of the Crews bill each time. For the final House (57-33) vote, see Tennessee House Journal (1889), 731. For the Senate (21-8) tally, see Tennessee Senate Journal (1889), 513. Background information for the 119 Tennessee lawmakers who deliberated the bill's fate is available in Robison and McBride, BDTA.

returned from the war "in tatters and rags to look upon the ashes of their ruined homes." House member Joel Battle Fort, of Robertson County, also "too young to know which side was right," voted aye, he said, because the federal government had already helped Union soldiers, while the state had practically "done nothing" for ex-Confederates.

East Tennessee Republicans, Union veterans and representatives from counties which had formerly voted against secession comprised the bulk of the forty-one dissenters. Thomas O. Morris, the bill's House sponsor, attempted to win over their votes by stating that "Republicans should show manhood and do justice to men who gave their lives and property in behalf of a cause they believed to be right." Republican Stephen C. Pyott of Hamilton County apparently listened to Morris' arguments, for he supported the "just and proper" measure, maintaining that the former Confederate leaders "had been cared for" by electing them to political office, so the "men who bore the muskets" should be given a home "to rest their worn out bodies." Another East Tennessee Republican senator, calling ex-Confederates the "brave[st] men as ever lived," endorsed the bill. Once having cleared both legislative bodies, the act became official with Governor Taylor's signature on April 4, 1889.⁴⁹

Almost a year later the Tennessee Soldiers' Home admitted its first veteran. By February 1891, total inmate population rose to twenty, while at least three times that number awaited entrance into the home. Believing that future inmates could not be adequately cared for in the available facilities, the board of directors requested an endowment of \$25,000 towards the construction of a single large building, and an

⁴⁹Tennessee Acts (1889), 344. For Moody's speech, see Nashville Daily American, 16 March 1889. Fort's comments are available in Knoxville Journal, 30 March 1889. The argument by Morris, a former Nashville mayor, is in Nashville Banner, 29 March 1889; and Nashville Daily American, 30 March 1889. Pyott's explanation appears in Nashville Banner, 15 March 1889; and Chattanooga Daily Times, 16 March 1889. For David R. Nelson, the East Tennessee senator representing Blount, Monroe, and Roane counties, see Nashville Banner, 15 March 1889.

additional \$10,000 for maintenance the next two years. Each request experienced little difficulty gaining state legislative approval.⁵⁰

The main building officially opened with dignified fanfare on Thursday, May 1, 1892. The dedication activities began early, with a number of Nashville's leading citizens (including Dr. and Mrs. J. Berrien Lindsley, of the Ladies Hermitage Association) as participants. Representatives of veterans groups and ladies auxiliaries from across the state had congregated at the capital in order to attend the long-awaited celebration. They rendezvoused at the new quarters of the Cheatham Bivouac, at 31 Baxter Court. Shortly after eight o'clock the procession of "pleasure wagons" started moving through the streets, arriving at the Hermitage about an hour later.

The ceremonies commenced sharply at eleven with an invocation given by the Cheatham Bivouac's chaplain, who was followed by Captain Mark S. Cockrill, president of the home's board of trustees since 1889. Nashville's Military Academy principal William R. Garrett, the day's orator, deemed it perfectly fitting that Tennessee's Confederate veterans should be cared for and buried on the estate formerly owned by Jackson, who had loved the soldiers of the Volunteer State. After a "brilliant speech" by local attorney Allen G. Hall of the Young Men's Democratic Club, George B. Guild, Nashville's mayor, offered a host of resolutions: one praising the "blessed" men and women who conceived of the idea of erecting such a "monument"; another in honor of the home's architect W. C. Smith; and a third, declaring the home as "an asylum of perfect rest, joy and comfort to the old, indigent and disabled Confederate soldier who gave his all for the cause of his people." Before the day ended, three charter members of the Cheatham Bivouac (Cockrill, McMurray and Richard H. Dudley, a prominent Nashville

⁵⁰Tennessee Senate Journal (1891), 173-74.

merchant) were publicly commended for their "indefatigable" efforts, and "time and money" given to the home.⁵¹

The dedication of a soldiers' home had become a familiar ritual by the spring of 1892. Already Confederate veterans in several states had celebrated the achievements of Johnny Reb, as well as those whose moral and material contributions had rendered institutions such as the soldiers' homes possible. Thus far, the "movement" for organizing benevolence in the South had been a remarkable success. Sympathetic southerners and northerners alike had responded to the perceived needs of homeless and disabled ex-Confederates with measured alacrity and zeal. Former enemies had demonstrated time and again that it was the "sacred duty" of a civilized people to compensate those who had forfeited their health and fortune in defense of a cause. Perhaps the universal acceptance of this principle made what transpired in Gordon's home state of Georgia appear all the more incredible.

⁵¹The account of the ceremony is based largely on the story in the Nashville Banner, 13 May 1892.

CHAPTER III

THE HOME THAT GRADY BUILT

At eight o'clock in the morning, on September 30, 1901, the Georgia Confederate Soldiers' Home in Atlanta suddenly and mysteriously caught fire. Within an hour the whole structure had been reduced to a jumbled pile of smouldering ashes and blackened chimneys. Thankfully, the night watchman had alerted the staff and residents in time, and everyone had escaped unharmed. But the building itself, which had long been marred by controversy, had vanished in smoke and flames. "It seemed that the fates were against it," bemoaned one observer, "and its future dark and uncertain."¹

Indeed, the home must have seemed jinxed. It had been in actual operation for only a few months before the conflagration occurred, the latest in a series of misfortunes which had beset the institution since its formal inception over a dozen years earlier. For most of the time between the completion of its construction in 1891 and the fire in 1901 its doors had been closed, and the edifice had been all but abandoned. On four separate occasions the state legislature had refused to appropriate money for it. Forced into bankruptcy, it was ordered auctioned to the highest bidder; no other soldiers' home experienced as much trouble getting started. Georgia farmers had been frightened by it, politicians viewed it as an unnecessary expense, and even some Confederate veterans railed against it. Except for the sheer determination of a handful of dedicated men and women, the home would not have opened at all.

Its remarkable story began in March 1889, when Major Joseph Stewart was in New York City directing a fund-raising campaign for the Texas home. After having

¹ At Const. 1, 2 October 1901; Con Vet 10 (1902): 490.

completed a successful winter tour in Boston, Stewart met with influential GAR members and prominent ex-Confederates (who had organized by now) comprising the same network that ex-Senator John B. Gordon had tapped. Also like Gordon, Stewart had tentatively set April 9, the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Appomattox surrender, for the kickoff event.²

Two days before the scheduled date, an article appearing in the New York Herald produced such "a howl" that it forced Stewart to postpone his meeting indefinitely. The newspaper carried the April 6, 1889 editorial, "Shall We Go Begging For Them?," written by Atlanta Constitution publicist Henry W. Grady. More than two years earlier Grady had delivered his landmark address "The New South" before New York City's fashionable New England Society. Already renowned as a spokesman for a modern South and a peerless champion of captains of industry, Grady promised that the "New" would always honor the "Old."³

Grady opened his editorial by stating that the "sorry tale" of "our old veterans" had been "dragged through the North" long enough, and he called upon Major Stewart to "come home!" He claimed that he had never supported Stewart's campaign in which ex-Confederates are exploited. Although operating in New York for over a month, Stewart had little to show for it. Had New Yorkers been more sympathetic, and had they given

²For Stewart's decision to go north, see Frank Brown, "Annals of Travis County and the City of Austin (From the Earliest Times to the Close of 1875)," Chapter 30: 107, Unpublished Scrapbook, TxSA, and C. W. Raines, Year Book For Texas, 1901 (Austin, 1902), 54-55. For the founding of the ex-Confederate organization, namely the New York Southern Society, see Daniel E. Sutherland, The Confederate Carpetbaggers (Baton Rouge, 1988), 134-35.

³The quoted phrase regarding the advent of Grady's editorial is from Brown, "Annals," 30: 107. Raymond B. Nixon, Henry W. Grady: Spokesman of the New South (New York, 1943), 305. For the editor's reverence of the past, see Paul Gaston, The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking (New York, 1970), 165; and Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913 (New York, 1987), 80.

more freely, Grady explained, that would have been acceptable; but the "painful spectacle" of "prolong[ed] begging" was disgraceful, if not "humiliat[ing]." Therefore, "Come Home, Major Stewart," he demanded, and allow southerners to fulfill their "sacred duty" of taking care of their own "poor and helpless heroes."⁴

Grady's scathing remarks did nothing to boost Stewart's efforts and, in fact, as one contemporary recalled, they "greatly chilled the ardor of the people in that section." The New York Journal angrily retorted that the Atlanta editor unjustly criticized the "slow" response by northern citizens, since southerners themselves had taken nearly a quarter of a century to do anything for their veterans. Grady agreed. The delay had indeed been "piteous," but "that is past," he contended; Georgians would now commence building a home of their own.⁵

The idea of a Confederate soldiers' home in Georgia had already been discussed for almost two years, but no one seemed to have made much progress. Supposedly, E. J. Roach, an Atlanta physician, had suggested the home to members of the Confederate Survivors Association (the Eighteenth Georgia Infantry) meeting in Acworth in August 1887, but the veterans took no definite action. State senator Tom Massengale later boasted that he had argued, while stumping at Warrenton sometime the following summer, that Georgia "owed . . . her soldiers . . . a monument . . . building in which they might find shelter."⁶

⁴At Const. 6 April 1889. See, Nixon, Grady 343-44; Rollin G. Osterweis, The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900 (Hamden, Conn., 1973), 127-42, which discusses Grady's contributions as an imagemaker.

⁵Raines, 1901, 55; New York Journal, quoted in At Const. 10 April 1889. For comments by the Texas press, see At Const. 18 April 1889; and Austin Daily Statesman, 23 June 1889. Soon, Stewart heeded their call and abandoned his work.

⁶See "The First Resolution Ever Passed," At Const. 13 April 1889, regarding the claim for Roach. In his letter printed in the At Const. 18 April 1889, Massengale endorsed Grady's

The meeting that took place in the parlor of Atlanta's Young Men's Library in August 1887 featured plenty of speeches and action. There, members of the Atlanta LMA and over a dozen members of the Fulton County Veterans Association discussed founding a home in order to ameliorate the condition of "needy" ex-Confederates. Some of Atlanta's "first citizens" attended, including: Captain John Milledge, the state librarian; ex-Governor Alfred Colquitt, one of Georgia's senators; Lowndes Calhoun, currently Fulton County's ordinary; W. A. Hemphill, Constitution Publishing Company treasurer; and Samuel M. Inman, reputedly one of the state's richest men, and Grady's confidant. The group proposed "prompt steps" for raising money; but the response was not as favorable as anticipated and the veterans pondered their next move.⁷

Grady's so-called "immortal edit" injected a potent dosage of enthusiasm and publicity into the project. Philanthropic motivations notwithstanding, however, the editor's involvement with the home appears to have emerged from a basic desire to foster his own image and influence and mobilize popular support behind another scheme altogether. Grady had played upon ex-Confederate sympathies before. Although not a veteran, he held an honorary membership in the Fulton County Veterans Association. Inman and Hemphill were, for that matter, charter members, and Judge Calhoun currently occupied the presidency. Originally numbering about two hundred strong, the

⁷The only known account of this fascinating meeting is an undated, loose clipping which headlines read: "Indigent Veterans. A Movement Started to Give Them a Permanent Home. S. M. Inman Starts the Ball. An Earnest Meeting of the Ladies and Members of the Veterans' Association--Entertainment to be Given." Confederate Veterans File, AHS. The clipping matches the type, column width and four-point headline style used by the At Const. but its exact date has not been determined. The August 1887 date is predicated in part upon the fact that references to the upcoming Piedmont Exposition, which took place in October 1887, were made during the meeting. The meeting is also alluded to in Robert L. Rodgers, comp., History of the Confederate Veterans Association of Fulton County, Georgia (Atlanta, 1890), 121-22, 128. For Calhoun, consult William J. Northen, ed., Men of Mark in Georgia 7 vols. (Spartanburg, S.C., 1974 [1907]), 3: 165-66. Nixon, Grady, 271-72, discusses the link between Hemphill, Grady and Inman.

group had organized in response to Milledge's call on April 19, 1886, just prior to the city's widely-acclaimed visit by Jefferson Davis. The old Confederate ex-president had accepted an invitation to dedicate a statue to the late Senator Benjamin H. Hill. In characteristic fashion Grady had seized the opportunity to resurrect the political career of General Gordon who, having abandoned his business ventures in New York, agreed to re-enter Georgia politics. Grady had arranged for Gordon to accompany Davis on his journey from Montgomery to Atlanta by a special train. It also carried a host of other dignitaries as an honor guard, including Grady, Hemphill and Evan P. Howell, the principal owner and editor-in-chief of the Constitution. The publicity stunt not only ensured Gordon's gubernatorial victory but also the continued dominance by Georgia's "New Departure" Democrats for at least another term.⁸

The 1886 state election had also been a triumph for the "Atlanta Ring," a loose political federation with broad interstate connections, based principally in New York. The "Ring" represented merchant, banker, railroad and planter interests. Grady, Howell and Gordon, joined by triumvirs Senator Colquitt and his colleague Joseph E. Brown, dominated the group that conspired foremost to maintain and tighten its control over state politics and, secondly, to make Atlanta, the "Gate City," Georgia's premier city or even the capital of the New South.⁹

⁸The word "immortal," used to describe Grady's editorial, appears in W. H. Carr, "The Founding of the Home," in The Thin Gray Line, 1861-1922 (Atlanta, 1922), 47. For the historic founding of the veterans' association and Davis' visit, see Rodgers, Fulton Veterans, 6-10, 12-13, 102, 108-18; At Const. 22 October 1888; Foster, Ghosts, 95; and C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge, 1951), 155.

⁹Unless other sources are credited, this account of the "Ring" is based upon two articles by Harold E. Davis, "Henry W. Grady, Master of the Atlanta Ring, 1880-1886," GHQ 69 (1985): 1-38; and "Henry Grady, The Atlanta Constitution, and the Politics of Farming in the 1880s," ibid., 71 (1987): 571-600.

But opposing the "Ring" were hordes of disaffected farmers already mobilizing in March 1887. Grady feared that, if white farmers formed a third party, then Republicans, supported by easily duped black voters, could influence or win elections.¹⁰ In order to avert such a disaster, Grady sought to mollify disgruntled farmers by strenuously advocating an agricultural program that featured crop diversification, scientific methods and a protective tariff. Farmers, however, balked at the attempt to put "new wine in the bottles of ring politicians." The Constitution grudgingly admitted the program's failure, but not before June 1888, when Grady and Gordon (seeking re-election) finally embraced the Georgia Alliance movement. The strategy worked, Gordon remained in the chief executive's office, the party of the New Departure won another victory, and the incipient populist rebellion subsided, temporarily.

Against this complex background of political intrigue can be placed Grady's advocacy of the soldiers' home in April 1889. The timing appears to have been right. Immediately following the 1888 election, for example, the Constitution embarked on another massive campaign to convince farmers that the "Ring" was the farmers' friend. For three months Grady set aside a full page of Sunday editions and scattered dailies to discuss the farmers' troubles, and reassured them that the future looked bright. Beginning in late March 1889, and throughout the summer, Grady personally delivered his message to farmers at mass meetings in Georgia's piedmont and western black belt regions, Alliance strongholds. Earlier that month he had urged ex-Confederate William J. Northen, a wealthy planter from Hancock County, to adopt the role of a peacemaker

¹⁰The idea of controlling the black vote was the "central consideration" in Georgia postwar politics. Numan V. Bartley, The Creation of Modern Georgia (Athens, 1983), 98.

between Georgia's commercial and agricultural interests. Northen subsequently obtained the endorsement of the Alliance and in 1890 would win the governor's chair.¹¹

The movement to build a Georgia home may indeed have been yet another effort, at least on Grady's part, to demonstrate to farmers that "wool-hat boys" and "silk-hat boys" shared common interests. The institution would provide shelter for countless impoverished veterans, many of whom resided in rural Georgia. A large number of ex-Confederates and their sons comprised the Alliance ranks. In the forthcoming legislature of 1890, known Alliance members would fill as many as 102 of 175 (58.3%) house seats; more than half (59.8%) were Confederate veterans and another thirty percent were sons of veterans. Surely farmers would not dare oppose the state's establishment of the home, Grady must have thought.¹²

He initiated the Georgia Confederate Home subscription drive in 1889--on the day he penned his eloquent appeal of April 6--by donating the first thousand dollars. Various members of the "Atlanta Ring" followed suit. Governor Gordon endorsed the project, though he cautioned Grady about eschewing northern philanthropy. Senator Brown matched Grady's gift; as did James Swann, the absentee president of Atlanta National Bank; Sam Inman, and his younger brother John, the renowned "Carpet bagger

¹¹For Grady's advice to Northen, see Nixon, *Grady*, 311-13, and C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1969 [1938]), 164. For more about the Georgia 1890 election, the farmer's threat in that state, and Grady's political agenda, see Alex M. Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (New York, 1967 [1922]), 102-16; Barton C. Shaw, *The Wool-Hat Boys. Georgia's Populist Party* (Baton Rouge, 1984), 22-44; and Lewis N. Wynne, *The Continuity of Cotton: Planter Politics in Georgia, 1865-1892* (Macon, 1986), 81-96, 146-75.

¹²William F. Holmes, "The Georgia Alliance Legislature," *GHQ* 68 (1984): 486-87, computed the number of Confederate veterans in the 1890 Assembly. The same source that he used--thumbnail sketches of house members as provided by the *At Const.* July 19, 1891--indicates that 32.6 percent were sons of veterans.

in Wall Street"; and railroad lawyers Patrick and John C. Calhoun, grandsons of the "Great Nullifier," both staunch supporters of Grady.¹³

Other compeers of the "Ring" (notably, ex-mayors George T. Hillyer and James W. English; and current mayor John Thomas Glenn) gave liberally to the cause. John Temple Graves' Rome Daily Tribune announced it stood solidly behind the "movement," adding: "it is better to build homes for live heroes in need," than to memorialize the dead. As expected, members of the Fulton County Veterans Association welcomed the assistance. Amos Fox, a respected physician, police commissioner and part-time elixir salesman, currently the group's treasurer, dubbed Grady's campaign the "grandest movement," while Lowndes Calhoun re-emphasized the veterans' desire to build a home, not a "poor house."¹⁴

The project's ability to transcend publicized disagreements between Grady and his long-time nemeses seemed even more remarkable. Former Republican Governor Rufus B. Bullock, whom by now Grady had barely forgiven, donated \$750 on behalf of the Atlanta Cotton Mills. Diehard ex-Confederate Charles C. Jones, Jr., who in the past had decried Grady's vision of a "New South," wrote that the "sacred obligation has too long been neglected." Augusta Chronicle editor Patrick Walsh, one of Grady's fiercest intrastate critics, viewed the home not as a "charity," but as a "holy duty." Fellow

¹³John Inman, the Calhoun brothers, and Swann, all ex-Confederates residing in New York City, formerly contributed to the Richmond home and probably heard Gordon deliver his famous Cooper Union Institute speech some five years earlier. See Grady's rousing editorial with boldfaced type in the At Const. 7 April 1889, especially page 17, which he devoted entirely to the home project. Regarding Gordon, Brown and John Inman's endorsements, see *ibid.*, 9 April 1889.

¹⁴At Const. 7 April 1889. Hillyer wrote Grady: "Keep the Confederate veterans' names out of the dust." *Ibid.*, 11 April 1889. Graves, a prominent and respected Democrat, was a lifelong admirer of Grady. See Nixon, Grady, 285, 291, 331.

Augustan James C. C. Black, another Grady antagonist, sent a few dollars, some favorable words of encouragement, and the promise of a speech in support of the institution.¹⁵

Donating money to Grady's home soon became the rage. By April 14 nearly thirty-five thousand dollars had been pledged by over three thousand people, about half of whom resided in Atlanta. On the night of April 16 a "very enthusiastic gathering" of local home subscribers convened at the city's Chamber of Commerce building. Called to the chair, Evan Howell spoke briefly about the heroism of the Confederate soldier. While Howell was still speaking, Grady walked into the room, greeted by applause and cheers beckoning him to address the crowd. Adept at making impromptu speeches, Grady spoke for nearly an hour.¹⁶

Grady reminded his audience that it had assembled that evening in order to establish a "different" kind of institution. He then reiterated his four-point plan which he had outlined in his columns a few days earlier. An "ideal" soldiers' home, as he envisioned it, would permit families to reside with veterans. "Don't make a home for veterans only," he warned. Southern women shared "suffering" and "poverty" when their husbands returned home "crippled and disabled," so do not separate them now! Secondly, he recommended that the home should offer employment opportunities. "Give every man in the home a patch of ground," he advised, "so that visitors may find them tilling the soil, the most ancient and honorable of all" trades. (A great standing ovation followed.)

¹⁵For Grady's feud with Bullock, and their eventual reconciliation, as well as his differences with Jones, see Nixon, Grady, 72-73, 313, 319; and Woodward, Watson, 125-26, 133. For Black and Walsh's comments, see At Const. 7 April 1889.

¹⁶The At Const. 28 April 1889, reported that pledges totaled \$42,598. Yet the total amount actually received fell several thousand dollars short of that figure. For a directory of contributors--which included Henry W. Grady, Jr., the editor's son--see GSH, List of Persons Subscribing Contributions Towards the Erection of the Home, GDAH. The proceedings of the subscribers' meeting are found in At Const. 17 April 1889.

Third, a cottage system, rather than a central building plan, should be adopted. And finally, Grady favored locating the home in the Atlanta vicinity. He had personally received, he claimed, proxies "from all over the state" approving such a location. And he was confident that the legislature would agree to maintain the home; several members had already assured him of support. Grady then sat down, but afterwards he frequently interrupted the meeting, delighting the audience with several amusing anecdotes and with announcements of new pledges.¹⁷

A host of other speakers followed. Augustus M. Foute of Cartersville--whose people had donated over four hundred dollars--promised to do all that he could in the Assembly. "Only one man voted against the soldiers pension bill in the last session," he bragged, "and he has been sorry ever since!" "Establish the home," Mayor Tom Glenn cried defiantly, "and if the state can't or won't sustain it, Atlanta will!" Attorney William D. Ellis, an ex-Confederate colonel from South Carolina, assured everyone that Georgia had no constitutional barriers which would prevent the home's public support. Cheered as he entered the room, General John R. Lewis, a Vermonter, asserted that he spoke on behalf of every "true Union soldier" when he considered it "a privilege to stand shoulder to shoulder with [them] in a cause like this." Erstwhile carpetbagger Hannibal I. Kimball, the owner of Atlanta's grandest hotel, confessed that, had he been southern born, he could not have been "more behind the movement."¹⁸

¹⁷For Grady's plan, see At Const., 11 April 1889. The editor had apparently adopted the "practical" proposal submitted by his friend William H. "Tip" Harrison, Governor Gordon's secretary, who conceived of a "model home" with three thousand acres divided into ten acre plots for each veteran and his family. Harrison opposed a main building design, as he explained, because "this makes the place appear like a prison or poorhouse, leaves no room for employment [and] creates discontent after the novelty wears off. . . ." Ibid., 7 April 1889.

¹⁸Ibid., 17 April 1889. The pension bill Foute made reference to is the same one Norman V. Randolph claimed the R. E. Lee Camp of Richmond had influenced. (See Chapter II.)

After the speeches ended, Sam Inman proposed that the subscribers proceed with the business at hand and elect a board of twenty-five directors. Thirteen would be from Fulton County, with Mayor Glenn, Governor Gordon, and Senators Brown and Colquitt serving as honorary vice-presidents. The motion carried. A specially-appointed committee then retired from the room, only to return within a few minutes with the names of its nominees. The committee tapped Grady, Howell, Inman, as well as other men who had been associated with the home from the beginning--Lowndes Calhoun, Hillyer, Fox, English, Massengale--to hold director positions.¹⁹

The board then, in turn, elected officers during its meeting on the following day. For president, a more qualified man could not have been found than the one who (according to Howell) had conceived the whole idea, and who "pushed the boat out from the shore himself," Henry Grady. All of the seventeen directors in attendance, except the nominee, stood up and voiced their unanimous consent. Grady protested, preferring instead that the group bestow the honor on a veteran, but the men would have nothing of it. Speaking for the group, Ellis answered that the home would properly be considered a gift from Georgia's "rising generation" whom the young editor represented marvelously. Thus, Grady accepted.²⁰

Under Grady's direction the board went to work immediately, fearing that any delays would cost between twenty to thirty percent in pledges. On May 8 it decided to locate the home on Madame Emmy Vonder Hoya Schultze's prime 119-acre farm, about three miles from downtown Atlanta and one mile east of Grant Park. By June 1 the board completed the transaction that required an immediate outlay of more than nine thousand

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., 19 April 1889; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 1-7, GDAH; Rodgers, Fulton Veterans, 178.

dollars. Then, the first sign of trouble came in the form of a dispute over the institution's proposed design. Grady had envisioned and publicly advocated a "community" of cottages, each inhabited by a veteran and his family, arranged around a central administration edifice. But cost projections for such a layout greatly exceeded capital earmarked for that purpose. According to the most conservative of estimates, for example, fifteen cottages with four rooms and a kitchen, for each veteran and his family, could be constructed at about one thousand dollars per unit. On the other hand, for approximately the same \$15,000, a large building that provided ample space for around one hundred residents without families could be completed. So, the board voted to construct the main building first and, if funds permitted, to add the cottages later.²¹

The compromise proved more costly in other ways, however. Grady's closest friends, Howell, who served as building chairman, and Sam Inman, the finance committee head, resigned over the disagreement. Nevertheless, the directors proceeded the best they could. Judge Calhoun granted a charter to the "Confederate Soldiers' Home of Georgia," its official title. County commissioners approved and supervised the construction of a road to the site. Work crews cleared and surveyors marked off the land. The respected architectural firm of Bruce and Morgan--the same company responsible for Grady's and Hillyer's residences, the Governor's estate, as well as downtown stores and offices for Senator Brown and Sam Inman--designed a handsome seventy-five room, three-storied mansion. By December the Atlanta company which had been awarded the contract had finished the home's foundation, had begun erecting the

²¹GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 7-21, GDAH; At Const. 17, 19 April 1889; Con Vet 10 (1902): 490.

wooden framework, and had projected a completion date for sometime in July. Then, unfortunately for the home, on the day before Christmas Eve, 1889, Grady died.²²

The "saddest meeting ever" occurred on January 21, 1890, when the directors confronted the unthinkable of choosing a suitable replacement for Grady. Yet how could they manage without him--the New South spokesman, the "Ring" leader, the farmer's friend, the ex-Confederate's benefactor, the man largely responsible for bringing such disparate causes together? Certainly they would have to press on, he would have demanded that, remarked Lowndes Calhoun, Grady's successor. Moreover, the home would be greater than a building, for it would be a living memorial to an esteemed comrade. As the years pass by, read the board's eulogy, the "very last survivor will go down to his grave worshipping at the shrine of Lee and Jackson, and loving the memory of Grady!"²³

On April 26, 1890, Confederate Memorial Day, a "vast multitude" participated in the home's cornerstone dedication ceremonies. Hymn singing, band playing, prayers, and Masonic rites comprised the liturgy for the solemn affair. Inside the four-foot square, white marble stone itself had been lovingly placed cherished relics from a collective past. Seated on the speaker's stage were Governor Gordon and his staff; the featured orator, Augusta's James C. C. Black; Lowndes Calhoun, the new chairman of the home's board of directors; as well as several distinguished visitors, not the least of whom were Generals Kirby Smith, James Longstreet and Joseph Johnston. Near the stage and the scaffolding which buttressed the unfinished home sat Mrs. Ann E. Grady,

²²GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 7-22, GDAH; Bruce and Morgan, Architects Business File, AHS; Nixon, Grady, 330-31.

²³Rodgers, Fulton Veterans, 182; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 23, 28-30, GDAH; At Const., 26 April 1890.

who commented after the activities had concluded that her son "would have been truly happy."²⁴

The slow progress made by the work crews, however, would not have pleased Grady at all. When July came, the building was still not ready: the veranda had not been erected and the interior was only two-thirds completed. Furthermore, work on the home's cisterns had not begun and gas lighting had yet to be installed. The contractor said he fully expected to have the facility opened no later than September 1. There was little to do but to wait and hope he was right.²⁵

Meanwhile, a committee appointed to tender the property to the state proceeded with the drafting of a bill to be presented in the upcoming first term of the Alliance-controlled legislature. On November 21, 1890 Colonel Allen S. Cutts of Americus, a "prominent Allianceman" himself, introduced the measure that provided for the state to maintain the home for twenty-five years, after which the property would revert to the state "for charitable purposes only." Already Georgia Democrats had approved an act providing artificial limbs and a pension bill for disabled and indigent veterans; and in the previous fall session modest benefits had been extended to a small group of Confederate widows. But Cutts's soldiers' home bill of 1890 would be lost in the finance committee when its members, convinced that the state's title to the home ought to have been "absolute and unconditional," struck out the charity proviso. Rather than agree to the compromise, the home's directors, during a called meeting at the capitol on

²⁴Sealed in the cornerstone were some Confederate currency, minie' balls, war diaries, letters from Jefferson and Varina Davis, an inmortelle from the sarcophagus of Grady and, curiously, a copy of Lee's plans on how to use blacks in the war. At Const. 25-27 April 1890; Rodgers, Fulton Veterans, 182-83; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 33, GDAH.

²⁵Ibid., 1: 41, 44, GDAH.

December 6, recommended that the bill be withdrawn and re-submitted later when the legislature convened the following summer.²⁶

By mid-July 1891, a year behind schedule, the building was finally completed. Even so, a half dozen different cost overruns had depleted Grady's subscribed endowment of more than thirty-nine thousand dollars, leaving trustees with operating capital of only forty-one dollars and a penny. Nevertheless, Clark Howell, Evan's son, the new Constitution editor and House speaker, expressed confidence that the upcoming legislature would pass the bill by a "big vote."²⁷

Cutts re-introduced a slightly modified version of the home bill on August 13, 1891. Made special order of the day for August 19, the measure was put off twice until the whole house had an opportunity to consider it for the very first time on August 25.

Proponents marshalled and deployed what must have become by now the standard arguments in favor of a veterans' home. Cutts called upon all those who harbored "any ill feeling towards" Atlanta, to push it aside and do "their duty to the old soldiers." "It is a labor of love as well as of duty," added E. W. Martin of Fulton County. Albany's William E. Wooten invoked the name of Grady and reminded his fellow legislators that "every other state [was] moving in the same direction," citing Virginia, Tennessee, Texas and Louisiana as examples: so why not Georgia? Macon's John T. Boifeuillet favored the

²⁶Ibid., 1: 53-56, GDAH; At Const., 7 December 1890; Georgia House Journal (1890), 244; Georgia Laws (1887), 27-28; (1889), 39-40. A separate bill increasing pension allowances for widows also failed to pass in the Senate, which the Alliance controlled too. According to Holmes, "Georgia Alliance," 507, the farmers' legislature unanimously approved a bill providing widows of Confederate veterans \$100 per year. Although Georgia House Journal (1890), 30, supports that assertion, the bill actually remained in the Senate finance committee at the time the session ended. Georgia Senate Journal (1890), 86; At Const., 10 September 1891. See also James R. Young, "Confederate Pensions in Georgia, 1886-1929," GHQ 66 (1982): 47-52, which notes that payments to widows did not go into effect until 1892.

²⁷GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 45, 57-62, GDAH; At Const., 26 August 1891. For more concerning Clark Howell, see Northen, Men of Mark, 4: 233-37.

venture as "a sound business proposition," while William H. Fleming of Augusta explained that the bill would provide for a "class" of homeless, unmarried veterans rendered dependent by poverty and disability. Fairburn banker William T. Roberts, whose father had been killed at Gettysburg, vowed that he would never "see the day when" a Confederate veteran languished "in the county poorhouse."²⁸

Such "strains of eloquence," admittedly, had little effect upon certain realists. Long active in Georgia politics, Dr. Issac A. Hand, an Allianceman, viewed the home as a "white elephant," not worth the costs and of "no real benefit." "Don't let sentiment" fool you into voting for the bill, warned James T. Chappell, a veteran from Laurens County, who questioned its constitutionality. Webster Countian W. M. Sears, a veteran and a member of the Alliance, argued that the state could ill-afford being "saddled" with such unnecessary expenses. W. C. Bryan, a Primitive Baptist preacher from Floyd County, declared that the soldiers in his district would rather receive additional pension benefits than this "class legislation." Veteran M. L. Everett of Lumpkin boasted that his constituents in Stewart County could build a "far better home" for a fraction of the costs. "Money is not the object," roared one Allianceman from Brooks County, "it is a matter of principle." We "don't want the home." We "never asked for it!"²⁹

Former Macon mayor William A. Huff, the House finance committee chairman, decided he had withstood the rhetorical barrage long enough. "I am not an Allianceman," he proclaimed as he took the floor. The farmers "came here to protect their rights, and I sympathize with them." But they must understand, "it is a home" that is being proposed,

²⁸For coverage of the legislative debate concerning the Confederate home bill, the best source is At Const. 26-27 August 1891. Biographical profiles of the House members are available in ibid., 19 July 1891.

²⁹Ibid., 19 July, 26-27 August 1891.

not a poorhouse nor a prison; "there is no trick about it!" Nevertheless, M. A. Baldwin, a veteran and a "zealous" Allianceman, interrupted Huff with the pointed interrogatory: then why force veterans to leave their families for the home? "Do you know of any soldiers who would go there?" Huff responded by producing a list of seventy-five needy applicants from all over the state. He also sent a copy of Grady's "Shall We Go Begging?" editorial of April 6, 1889 to the clerk's desk to be read, adding: "The men who come to the home" are "wandering about" without families, wives, sisters and aunts to care for them. "It is not a question of money . . . , it's a question of honor!"³⁰

Such lively, often intense, debate raged for nearly two days, until on August 26 the measure finally came up for a vote in the form of a last-minute substitute bill. It resembled the one the home trustees had already rejected in the previous session. Submitted by home antagonist James Chappell, the bill tendered the home property to the state, in fee simple, unconditionally. The members also agreed to report the bill adversely; that is, an "aye" vote was considered a vote against the bill. Augusta's Fleming abruptly moved that the vote be by roll call, and his parliamentary maneuver carried too. In the end, 94 members sounded out in favor of the bill, 62 opposed, while 19 abstained from voting. The legislation providing state support for the home Grady had built had been killed.³¹

"Defeated! . . . Old Soldiers Repudiated. And The People's Gift To Them The State Rejected. A Day That Will Be Remembered": thus fumed the Constitution the next day. Several Grady associates expressed disbelief and regret over what had happened. Having observed the debates with "deep concern," Lowndes Calhoun was "exceedingly sorry" and

³⁰Ibid., 28 August 1891.

³¹ibid. The bill's course, from its introduction by Cutts to the final vote, may be followed in Georgia House Journal (1891), 474, 534, 590, 640-41, 647-50.

thought the legislature had made a grave error. Similar sentiments were registered by Hemphill, English and Ellis. "For some reason the Alliance members fight every measure that would benefit Atlanta," Ellis grumbled. The home "is not an Atlanta project, but . . . a broad, philanthropic enterprise!"³²

Reaction from across the state and throughout the nation virtually echoed Ellis' remarks. Americus, Savannah, Macon and Augusta were "disgusted," "indignant," and "astonished." LaGrange considered the action "niggardly," "unwise" and "unpatriotic." Sparta "deplore[d]" the bill's defeat, while Albany "condemned" it. "Oh! For a word from the lips of dead Grady," remarked the Athens Daily Banner, "to say to Georgia veterans: 'Be patient yet awhile! Chide not your people for this deed, for it is not their own. . . .'" One report from New York City had ex-Confederates walking the streets "with bowed heads"; supposedly, no event since Grady's death had "caused such a sensation." Confederate carpetbaggers in Chicago were, allegedly, "dumbfounded." The Cincinnati Gazette dismissed the argument that veterans would not go to the home, pointing out that those who "seek relief" usually have neither families nor shelters. New Orleans veterans believed Georgians had every right to be upset, for no one was fond of a party that "forgets its obligation to Confederate soldiers." In North Carolina people thought the action of the Georgia legislature was, indeed, a bit "strange."³³

At an "indignation meeting" held in Atlanta on the night following the bill's defeat, a "great crowd" numbering perhaps as many as five thousand were told whom to blame. It was Leonidas F. Livingston, the president of the Georgia Farmers' Alliance, and "Sockless" Jerry Simpson or perhaps Mrs. Mary Lease of Kansas, notorious Alliance

³²At Const. 27 August 1891.

³³Ibid., 28 August-10 September 1891.

organizers, who conspired to defeat the measure. Surely they were the cause of this "treachery." This "is what we might expect of the third party should it get into power," one speaker declared. "Grady has been mocked," exclaimed the demagogic Rev. Sam Small. "Let us send our Cincinnatuses of the alliance back to their plows!" Another orator suggested that the names of the ninety-four--more like "93 men and a nigger," someone else interjected--who voted against the home be inscribed on a marble tablet. "Make it black marble," another man yelled, "and turn its face to the wall in shame!"³⁴

When the legislature convened the next morning, "excitement ran high" after Cutts moved to have the vote against the home reconsidered. Several members protested that they were "personally insulted," having been "branded" traitors at the indignation meeting. Warner Hill of Greenville, one of the ninety-four, condemned the "raging mob" as a bald-faced attempt to "bulldoze" the legislature, but would he and his comrades capitulate? "No! Let them indignant. We have sworn to support the constitution and we will do it!" Hill then revealed that sixty-one veterans had voted with him against the measure, and twenty-nine home advocates were members of the Alliance. Both groups had indeed split their votes. Among those voting for Cutts's bill were Robert H. Jackson, the first state president of the Georgia Alliance; former Granger John L. Branch of Polk County; future Populist Lucius C. Mattox of Clinch County; and of course, Cutts. All four men were Confederate veterans. Although neither a veteran nor an Allianceman himself, Hill admitted that he had answered Grady's call and contributed his "little mite to build the home." Even so, he had voted against the home and he called on his fellow members to

³⁴Ibid., 27-28 August 1891; Woodward, Tom Watson, 177-78. Only two black members (Republicans) sat in the 1891 Georgia Assembly. J. M. Holzendorf, a thirty-five-year-old farmer-teacher from Camden, voted against the bill, while Lectured Crawford, a minister and former slave representing McIntosh County, abstained. At Const., 19 July 1891; Georgia House Journal, (1891), 648; Holmes, "Georgia Alliance," 507.

"stand by their convictions . . . and show the world that [they] did what [they] thought was right in the sight of God and men!" (Cries of "We'll do it, we'll do it" resounded throughout the chamber.)³⁵

Future governor William Y. Atkinson, the son of a planter from Coweta County, and a friend of Hill, also made a "violent speech" against the home. "Don't be influenced by the yells of mobs and the cries of demoniacal preachers," Atkinson warned. Although we "have nothing against Atlanta," he insisted, "we will not accept a "little kitchen apartment" located in this city. Home champions E. W. Martin and John Goodwin, a former Atlanta mayor, countered by denying that there was anything said or done at the meeting that could be misconstrued as "disorderly or undemocratic." Atkinson's cross-state rival, William Fleming, added that it had been "an honest meeting" composed of "honest citizens" who had exercised their constitutional right of peaceful assembly. (This statement brought those seated in the gallery to their feet, cheering and applauding for several minutes.) After the Assembly finally came to order, Atkinson asked whether the "93 and the nigger" would stand by him in defeating Cutts's motion to reconsider? ("Yes! Yes!," could be heard.) Would they defend their honor and demonstrate that they could not be bullied? ("Yes! Yes!," the clamor grew louder.) Therefore, "let's vote down" the motion! And the Assembly did just that, overwhelmingly (94-44), before adjourning. Thus, on August 28, 1891, three of the "wildest and most exciting" days in the history of the Georgia legislature came to an end.³⁶

When the home's directors met with Governor Northen in Confederate Hall, on September 9, somewhat cooler heads prevailed. President Calhoun analyzed the situation

³⁵At Const. 28-31 August 1891; Holmes, "Georgia Alliance," 508.

³⁶Ibid., 29 August 1891; 26 October 1892.

in this manner: even though the building had been completed and was currently out of debt, there was no money left to maintain the institution. And, since the legislators had in their "wisdom" deemed it "proper to reject the gift," what action should the board now take? The organization of a joint-stock company, with capital set at a quarter million dollars, evoked some discussion. But that proposal, according to Evan Howell and others, would take a year or more of litigation, and would ultimately involve thousands of people. What about selling the property, suggested Nelson Tift, and dividing the proceeds among its incorporators at a pro rata share? No, the trustees agreed, that too would be "impracticable," if not premature. The board also dismissed a motion to have the city of Atlanta assume operation, opting instead for a plan to close the home temporarily until the next legislature convened. Wait until the "people can express their will," counselled Sam Inman, and if it is rejected again, then the board would accept the fact that "the people do not want" a veterans' home. Meanwhile, director Clement A. Evans of Augusta issued an address calling on "the people of Georgia" to rally behind "this good and great cause." The unoccupied building, guarded by a lone Confederate veteran, he said, deserved a better fate, and would be opened, no matter how long it took.³⁷

The trustees were hopeful of success not only through the development of popular sentiment but also through party loyalty. By the time the new legislature convened, the wisdom of the wait-and-see strategy had become apparent. The hotly contested home issue (as well as others throughout the session) had revealed that there were deep divisions within the Alliance. Farmers had failed to give solid support to their own platform. Only a small minority of Alliancemen bolted the Democratic fold and formed a new party. It was indeed a "new" legislature. Only 17 of the 175 House members of the

³⁷GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 63-73, GDAH; At Const. 29-30 August, 1-3, 9-10, 12 September 1891.

previous session retained their seats; a scant 11 of the much maligned "94"--headed by Warner Hill and W. M. Sears--were back; meanwhile, home advocates Martin and Boifeuillet also returned.³⁸

The board met again after a thirteen-month-long recess and gave unanimous consent to the proposed soldiers' home legislation. The directors voted to amend the previous bill by reducing the state's annual maintenance appropriation from twenty-five to twenty thousand dollars, and granting the state "absolute" control five years earlier than what had been originally requested. To introduce the measure, the board handpicked William Fleming, who presented the bill at roll call on October 27, 1892. There was every reason to be optimistic about the bill's fate, remarked the Constitution, since "many new members" had pledged their support. With a different House, Fleming was more confident and emboldened than ever, predicting that his bill would "go through like a greased streak of lightning." At the same time, Lowndes Calhoun and other members of the Fulton County Veterans Association waged an aggressive campaign, culminating in a pre-debate home inspection tour arranged specifically for a number of "antagonistic" representatives and senators.³⁹

The debate on the bill finally began on November 23, 1892. Fleming spoke "calmly" for nearly one hour, emphasizing the "sound investment" the project represented during a period of economic uncertainty. According to his calculations, the property would quadruple in value in twenty years. "Old" Bill Smith, a veteran from

³⁸Holmes, "Georgia Alliance," 515. The figures used in describing the composition of the 1892 Assembly have been arrived at by comparing the names of members listed in Georgia House Journal (1890), 753-57 with those which appeared on the roll in Georgia House Journal (1892), 3-6.

³⁹At Const. 27-29 October, 23 November 1892; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 81-82, GDAH; Georgia House Journal (1892), 14.

Gwinnett County, adopting a more emotional tactic, appealed to the "young men" of the Assembly to approve the bill for the sake of Grady, needy ex-Confederates and the "dear, dead old South of long ago." Sears of Webster County, the first to speak for the opposition, claimed that he knew of relatively few "old soldiers" who were willing to enter the home. Another representative from southwest Georgia said he disapproved of the institution because he feared that veterans would invariably have to "knuckle [under] to the nods and wiles" of their former "superior officers." Harvey Johnson of Fulton County disputed these assertions, arguing that it would cost less to support the veterans in the home rather than on county poor farms. But surely the most impressive speech in behalf of the bill came from William H. Styles, of Liberty County, one of only two black members. A former body servant of a Confederate soldier, Styles asserted that that he was willing "to do anything" he could "to relieve the distresses" of Confederate veterans. If the federal government provided homes for Union veterans--and "hundreds of colored soldiers benefit from these," Styles declared--then certainly Georgia should have a home of its own. In fact, his people would "be willing to be taxed now" to support the institution. For this reason, Styles cheerfully cast his vote for the "monument" to the patriotism of Grady and all Georgians.⁴⁰

Endorsements by Styles and others helped push the soldiers' home bill through a gauntlet of amendments. First, one legislator wanted to limit appropriations to no more than fifteen thousand dollars, which the House adopted. Next, Warner Hill, no friend of the home, moved that the bill be submitted to a direct vote of the people in January 1893. This the members grudgingly approved (75-71). A motion that only Confederate

⁴⁰At Const. 24 November, 3 December 1892. In honor of his defense of the home, Styles--a vocal opponent of Jim Crow legislation--received a gold-headed ebony cane presented by negrophobe Sam Small, on behalf of the Fulton County Confederate Veterans Association. *Ibid.*, 20 December 1892; Shaw, Wool-Hat Boys, 60, 138-39; Georgia House Journal (1892), 469.

veterans were eligible to vote in the special referendum failed, but the legislators agreed to a provision that only veterans could serve as home officers. The Assembly also determined that a veteran could not receive a pension and reside in the home simultaneously. Finally it defeated a recommendation that fathers of veterans could be admitted. When the measure as amended finally came up for a vote on December 3, 1892, it passed by a substantial margin (121-43).⁴¹

Yet, it was a Pyrrhic victory. In analyzing the opposition's votes, the Constitution noted that all belonged to the Populist party, which had recently adopted a plank against the home. Indeed, seven members representing the "terrible" tenth district, in counties lying northwest and west of Augusta, and nine members from counties situated south and east of Columbus (both third party strongholds) remained loyal to their party's directive. Also, voting against the bill were four remaining stalwarts of the "94", three of whom were now active Populists. "It is remarkable," Clark Howell noted wryly, that men who supposedly championed popular referendums should vote against a measure that contained one. But the hidden irony at the time was that not everyone who voted in favor of Fleming's omnibus bill actually sympathized with the home. Warner Hill, for example, and three of his colleagues who had formerly opposed the institution, switched their votes in the 1892 session, as a disingenuous ploy to derail the project ultimately.⁴²

At least that was how contemporaries interpreted Hill's amendment requiring a popular referendum. A few days after the bill had already gone to the Senate for approval on December 9, Fleming revealed publicly that he and his supporters had erred

⁴¹At Const. 3, 9 December 1892; Georgia House Journal (1892), 469-73.

⁴²At Const. 9 December 1892; Shaw, Wool-Hat Boys, 66, 96-97.

by acquiescing in Hill's amendment. Fearing that any dispute over this "technicality" would jeopardize the home entirely, they had "made no attack," hoping that their allies in the Senate would be able to strike the referendum. But the bill had already emerged from the Senate finance committee with Hill's amendment intact, and on December 13, just hours before Fleming made his disclosure, the bill passed. If allowed to stand, Fleming warned, the measure would invariably be declared unconstitutional, since the legislature currently lacked authority to delegate its power. Moreover, the referendum frightened Fleming and others into thinking that, once the legislation had been turned over to the people, "the black vote," controlled by the Republicans and Populists, would surely conspire to reject it. Reluctant to risk that, Senate sympathizers on the following day, December 14, moved that the measure be indefinitely postponed, prevailing by a vote of 23 to 16. "The third party was determined to kill the bill under any and all circumstances," concluded the Constitution. "The mischief is done . . . There is little more to say."⁴³

Stunned by the bill's failure, the home trustees who met in the capitol on January 12, 1893 were in no mood, having been thrice rejected, to "await another turn" and ask the state to help again. Of the several alternatives suggested that day--adopt the old stock-company plan, convert the home into a reform school for delinquents, collect voluntary subscriptions, or sell the home outright and refund the money--the board chose, reluctantly, the latter option. Toward this end, on February 14, John Milledge filed a petition in court for the right to amend the home's charter and dispose of the property. But not until mid-December 1894 was a bill of equity finally granted.

⁴³At Const. 13-15 December 1892; Georgia Senate Journal (1892), 340, 350, 363, 368-71, 383-84. "Shame! Shame!! Shame!!!," scolded the Brunswick (Ga.) Times. For reaction by other newspapers regarding the legislature's "mischief" and "cowardice," see At Const. 20 December 1892; Con Vet 1 (1893): 9.

Afterwards Lowndes Calhoun announced that he would soon call a meeting of the board to discuss the best method of selling the home and property (which he said had cost "something over" \$50,000) either privately or by public auction, adding: "That is really the only thing we can do."⁴⁴

Assembling on January 28, 1895, after a two-year hiatus, the board discussed for several hours a deal wherein the state's Free Arch Masons were willing to pay \$25,000 for the home as a "refuge" for orphans. Several trustees--including James English and Clement Evans--belonged to the Masonic order which promised to allow as many as ten disabled veterans each year to reside in the home. But upon further deliberation the next morning, the board declined the offer, fearing that it lacked authority to give control of the home to "any one or any order" unless the support of ex-Confederates was guaranteed. Perhaps the trustees were also disappointed by the low bid and hoped that the home would fetch a higher price in the near future.⁴⁵

During this period of general economic instability, a better proposal was not forthcoming. Over the next few years, as the property was advertised for sale or lease at various intervals, the committee charged with disposing of the home received no bids whatsoever. Inasmuch as the home had been plagued by adversity from the outset, apparently no one wanted to borrow trouble. Meanwhile, the scanty contributions received since July 1891 had been totally exhausted, and the home which had since stood vacant, closed and guarded, as a "silent monument," fell deeper into debt as insurance premiums went unpaid. Calhoun successfully negotiated a substantial loan at zero

⁴⁴At Const. 15, 17, 20 December 1892; 13 January, 14 February 1893; 20 December 1894; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 83-89, GDAH. The board's minutes end with the January 1893 meeting and do not resume until two years later.

⁴⁵At Const. 29-30 January 1895; 28 October 1897; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1: 90-99, GDAH.

interest through fellow trustee and home treasurer Paul Romare, who served as vice-president of the Atlanta National Bank. But that evasive action succeeded in keeping the home solvent only until October 1897, when a court order finally forced the board to attempt to sell the property at public auction.⁴⁶

On the day before the home was scheduled to be "exposed for sale" in April 1898 at the Fulton County Courthouse, the Constitution reported that certain UDC chapters, headed by the wives of Ellis, Hemphill and Evans, had determined to "save the home Grady built." The newspaper admitted that it had all but written off the failed endeavor. "Would to God" that history had been different, the article read, and the votes against the home had been fewer, "but no, the denial cannot be made. The empty hallways, the cheerless rooms, the air of wildness and desolation and desertion which marks out the building as a haunted castle, forbids any denial!" Grady's call for Major Stewart to come home, the "sacred fund" drive which Grady spearheaded, and even Grady's death could not overcome "some little technicalities of the law, some little jealousy of location." But the ladies of the UDC will come to the rescue, the Constitution boasted.⁴⁷

According to a prior agreement reached with Calhoun, Evans, Romare and others members of the board, the ladies would pay five thousand dollars; a modest price, but one nevertheless that would be enough to cover the home's indebtedness and prevent it from falling into unfriendly hands. It had been rumored that several independent parties were interested in purchasing the property and making it into a reformatory, a sanitarium, a

⁴⁶The board's minutes end abruptly following its October 25 1897 meeting to discuss the court's decree. No date for Romare's loan of more than five thousand dollars has been found, though it is believed to have been made before the forced sale in April 1898, when the home was \$4,600 in arrears. Ibid, 1: 99-106, GDAH; At Const. 3-6 April 1898; 23 January 1901.

⁴⁷Ibid., 3-4 April 1898; Con Vet 6 (1898): 145.

summer hotel or even a college. Yet the ladies believed that it would "disgrace" the state were the home to be used for anything other than what Grady had envisioned.⁴⁸

It is not known if the board actually intended to go through with the sale or whether it was simply using the UDC as a means of delaying foreclosure. In either case, the April 5 auction did not go as the UDC planned. Following Lowndes Calhoun's proclamation of the opening of bids for the property, Mrs. Hallie A. Rounsaville, state president of the UDC, as expected made her bid official. As the auctioneer (Tip Harrison) was about to declare that the home had been sold, "an outsider," E. G. Willingham, owner of a lumber company, startled the crowd by bidding \$10,000. After hurriedly consulting with the other commissioners, Calhoun stated that the bids were "too low," and promptly declared the sale off, which the crowd greeted with "hearty applause and cheering." For his part Willingham, a veteran, was censured by various UCV camps in the days which followed, until the Constitution finally disclosed that he had been secretly planted in the crowd by some of the directors to insure against losing the home. In spite of the confusion--or perhaps because of it--the board had somehow avoided sacrificing the home that Grady built.⁴⁹

In the ensuing months the home received a boost it so desperately needed. From July 20 through 23, 1898, for example, upwards of fifty thousand visitors "invaded" the Gate City to participate in the festivities of the eighth annual UCV reunion. In honor of the occasion, the Constitution issued a special commemorative number devoted entirely to the celebration of the Confederacy's achievements. The paper featured numerous pen sketches of famous southern patriots, personal reminiscences of the war,

⁴⁸At Const. 3 April, 20 July 1898.

⁴⁹Exactly why the board reneged on its deal with the UDC is unclear. Ibid., 6-8 April 1898; Con Vet 6 (1898): 145.

histories of Sherman's march through Georgia, the siege of Atlanta and other important battles. More important, it also carried an account of the "unhappy" and "pathetic" history of the soldiers' home, how Grady had conceived the "noble plan," and how the state legislature had prevented veterans from benefiting from it. Clark Howell thought the home's history in the courts was "too well known to be repeated." After the veterans adjourned, the committee in charge of local arrangements for the reunion announced that it would donate nearly four thousand surplus dollars to the home, provided that the Georgia Assembly accepted it as a state institution by January 1901. Headed by Clement Evans, the committee consisted of Calhoun, Harrison, Fox, Hemphill and Howell, all avid supporters of the home.⁵⁰

Under the legislation introduced in November 1898 by Joe Hall of Bibb County, the home would again be offered to the state in fee simple. The UCV's cash donation, together with the state's unexpended widows pension fund, would be enough to support the home during the first twelve months. If too few Confederate veterans entered the home, the property would then be sold or donated to another charity. Hall was especially prudent in attaching independent funding to the bill, since Georgia currently faced a huge budget deficit and many legislators favored retrenchment. In spite of these precautions, however, Hall's bill eventually bogged down in the finance committee before the whole house had time to consider the measure.⁵¹

Understandably discouraged, the directors were forced to recommit the home to the auction block in May 1899. Yet in the wake of another of the Constitution's public outcries, "light bidding" convinced the court commissioners to deny the sale. Although

⁵⁰At Const. 5 June, 20-24 July, 26 October 1898; 4 June 1901.

⁵¹Ibid., 26 October, 8-11, 22 November 1898; Georgia House Journal (1898), 391.

the home that Grady built was closed, there still remained a glimmer of hope that it could somehow be revived before the 1901 deadline.⁵²

With time running out Major William T. Gary introduced on October 29, 1900 another bill in an apparent last-ditch effort to salvage the home endeavor. Finally emerging from the finance committee, the bill was made special order of the day for December 3. Gary, a veteran and a railroad lawyer from Augusta, made an "impassioned and eloquent" speech on behalf of the "unfortunate" men across the state who had neither shelter nor families and would benefit from the Atlanta home. He exclaimed that "God, on Mount Sinai, had commanded that we honor our fathers . . . and they would be honored if the home was given to the veterans." Critics turned a deaf ear to such an appeal, however, replaying a scene that had occurred in the House on several previous occasions. The proposal, they charged, was unnecessary, their county poorhouses were "good enough," the requested \$15,000 annual appropriations would "take away" from the veterans' pensions and there was no reason "from an economical standpoint" that the bill should be passed.⁵³

The home's proponents had heard it all before, though conspicuously missing from among the various objections raised was the rabid anti-Atlanta bias which had formerly consumed the home's most stalwart foes. Even so, the bill failed to receive a constitutional majority by a narrow two-vote margin. Believing that many of the bill's friends were absent and since only three votes were needed, Gary moved for its

⁵²At Const. 3 May 1899. Without the aid of the board's official minutes or any other firsthand account, I have been unable to fill the void between May 1899 and October 1900.

⁵³Georgia House Journal (1900), 126, 533, 562-65; At Const. 30 October, 4, 13 December 1900; 4 June 1901.

reconsideration. This time, the bill passed (106-50) and was transmitted immediately to the Senate.⁵⁴

There the bill's co-author, Bill Smith of Buford, who had been an advocate of the home since its founding, guided the measure through committee and brought it safely to the floor of debate. Supporting him were Clark Howell, the Senate president, and Senator George M. Tatum, a former Allianceman from Walker County, one of the "immortal ninety-three and a nigger," who now confessed that he favored the bill "with all his heart."⁵⁵

Tatum's self-confessed conversion was by no means indicative of a general revolution in sentiment by home detractors. In fact, the favorable action had been probably due more to a definite change in personnel. Only eight members of the 1900 Assembly, for instance, had occupied seats in either the 1890 or 1892 lower house. Although three advocates of the 1892 legislation now supported Gary's bill, Populists J. R. Hogan and M. L. Everett, among the original "94," cast their votes against it. Also, two others who had abstained from voting in 1891, split their votes in 1900; while Lectured Crawford, McIntosh County's black representative, this time voted against the measure.⁵⁶

Representing the Populist minority in the Senate was James Dennard of Wilcox County, who, like Tatum, had been one of the infamous "94." Dennard echoed the reservations voiced by his House colleagues Hogan and Everett, claiming that the veterans' institution would needlessly "burden" the state. Several others said that they

⁵⁴Georgia House Journal (1900), 562-65, 796; At Const. 13 December 1900.

⁵⁵Georgia Senate Journal (1900), 435, 454, 487-89; At Const. 13, 16 December 1900.

⁵⁶Ibid., 13 December 1900; Georgia House Journal (1900), 562-65, 796.

refused to be wooed by the appeal to sentiment. On December 15, 1900, time had come for the Senate to vote on the measure. A large number of veterans seated in the galleries and gathered on the floor anxiously awaited the bill's outcome. Finally, to the delight of the crowd, the bill passed (25-10) and was sent to the governor's office for his signature.⁵⁷

After over eleven years of "expectant waiting," Governor Allen Candler, a veteran, who in his last message to the Assembly had recommended the state's acceptance and maintenance of the Confederate Soldiers' Home, signed the bill into law on December 19. Four days later Candler named eleven of his fellow ex-Confederates, one from each congressional district, to serve as trustees. The board at its first meeting elected Lowndes Calhoun president, and began liquidating the home's debt, making necessary renovations on the building "from garret to cellar," drafting the rules and regulations, interviewing candidates for superintendent and reviewing applications for admission.⁵⁸

On January 19, 1901, Robert E. Lee's Birthday, during a special awards ceremony in the Assembly chamber at the state capitol, the UDC honored Major Gary, Senator Smith and Lowndes Calhoun for "their magnificent fight," by presenting each of them a medal of achievement. The medal's principal design consisted of a laurel wreath encircling a facsimile of the Stars and Bars; the reverse side bore an inscription in reference to the home, "Momentum Aere Perennium" (a monument more enduring than bronze). In presenting the medal to Gary, Clark Howell stated that he thought it "providential" that the original bill had been defeated a decade earlier, "for it [had]

⁵⁷At Const. 16 December 1900; Georgia Senate Journal (1900), 488-89. True to his word, Tatum supported the bill.

⁵⁸At Const. 16 November, 13, 20, 22 December 1900; 12, 23-25 January, 12 April 1901; Georgia Laws (1900), 86-88.

aroused the state to a recognition of its duty to the Confederate soldiers." No other state had been more generous in granting pensions during the 1890s than Georgia. Indeed, by 1899 the payments totalled nearly five million dollars, representing on average more than one-tenth the state's total expenditures during the same period.⁵⁹

On June 3, 1901, Jefferson Davis's Birthday, the institution for which Grady had worked so diligently, admitted its first veterans, some forty "gray hair remnants" from twenty-six different Georgia counties, including several former third-party strongholds. During the opening ceremonies Governor Candler praised the home, not as "a pauper's retreat"--"God forbid it shall ever be looked on in that light!"--but as a gift to which the state's veterans were entitled. In his speech, Lowndes Calhoun reminded everyone of the "long years of struggling and waiting" which had passed. He publicly thanked the fine people who stood before him--the UCV and the UDC, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, the Order of Robert E. Lee, and the Children of the Confederacy--for never surrendering, and he promised those admitted that day that "everything possible will be done to make the hours you pass here pleasant and agreeable, not tedious and burdensome." Bill Smith also spoke, making several references to Grady, and was "warmly applauded," as Grady's mother, mother-in-law and daughter seated on the speaker's platform nodded in polite approval.⁶⁰

Formally re-dedicated and declared officially opened, the home, rejoiced the Constitution, was "at last a fact!" Little did anyone know that in a few short months fate would once again strike a swift and terrible blow against the home that Grady built. The

⁵⁹At Const. 19-20 January 1901; Young, "Pensions in Georgia," 48-49. Moreover, legislation permitting the state's disabled and indigent ex-Confederates to sell life insurance and "intoxicants" and practice medicine without licenses were on the books by 1900. Georgia Laws, (1895), 92-94; (1897), 24-25; (1899), 99.

⁶⁰At Const. 3-4 June 1901.

September 1901 fire ravaged the institution, but Calhoun and the new board of trustees were as committed as ever to see it re-opened. Leasing Atlanta's Thompson Hotel as a temporary facility, the board on October 28 had Major Gary introduce a bill in the state legislature granting an additional \$20,000 for the rebuilding of the soldiers' home. In late November the House approved (94-36) the measure, and a few days later the Senate concurred (29-6). By October 1902 a new southern colonial style brick building had been finished and stood ready for occupancy, barring any other unforeseen tragedy.⁶¹

In spite of the multitude of setbacks and obstacles encountered in the past, Grady's vision had become reality. Georgia had finally established a home of its own, paid for primarily by southerners, in recognition of the Confederate common soldiers' achievements. The "Ring," which had worn threadbare prior to Grady's death, had since completely unraveled. The feared fusion of the state's farmers, blacks and Republicans, had never fully materialized. Georgians had largely remained loyal to the Democratic party, Populism had since become a vanishing creed and the black vote had been effectively neutralized. Yet the home remained. Its survival was significantly more than a memorial to one man. It was a tribute to the powerful and enduring sentiment; one that had given impetus and meaning to the founding of all Confederate soldiers' homes in the New South.

⁶¹Ibid., 4 June; 1, 2 October 1901; Georgia House Journal (1901), 159, 679-70; Georgia Senate Journal (1901), 433, 532-33; Georgia Laws (1901), 14; Con Vet 10 (1902): 490-91.

CHAPTER IV

A DISCIPLINE FOR HEROES

"No better choice" in speaker or topic could have been made, assessed the Daily Picayune correspondent who attended the 1906 commencement at Newcomb College of New Orleans. Miss Lois Janvier, who had entitled her essay "The Confederate Soldier's Return Home," recounted for her classmates how the valiant "Southern hero," battle-scarred, but unconquered in spirit, had arrived home. Afterwards he grappled unswervingly to overcome adversity, finally living to see his name honored and respected across the land. His was a shining model that represented the "fairest jewel" of southern achievement. "The essay was most thoughtful," the reporter noted, "its imagery stirred the imagination and fired the soul. . . ." ¹

To the men and women who sought to perpetuate his memory, Johnny Reb served as a living relic from a mythic past to be preserved and enshrined. Long before the turn of the century the myth of Johnny Reb had been persistently nurtured and promoted by those who favored the establishment of soldiers' homes. In his speech at the opening of the Lee Camp Home in Richmond in 1885, Archer Anderson had praised the "supreme manliness" of the "devoted" Confederate soldier, who by virtue of self-discipline had attained "moral perfection." Not everyone, he admitted, had reached this ideal, but "they strove to attain it." As a result many veterans of Lee and Johnston had since become "useful, loyal and zealous citizens." ²

¹New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 30 May 1906.

²By Johnny Reb "myth" it is meant the complex mix of fact and distortion that comprised a particular attitude toward the Confederate common soldier. To many, Johnny Reb symbolized valor, obedience to duty and self-sacrifice--true southern values. For a discussion of the myth's origins, its salient axioms, as well as its many expressions, see Guy S. Davis, "Johnny

Gideon Baskette's Nashville Banner had exploited the Confederate myth in much the same manner as Grady's Constitution. A few days after the soldiers' home bill had been introduced in the Tennessee Assembly in 1889, for example, the Banner printed in full Baskette's address recently delivered to the Cheatham Bivouac. His speech, as much rhetorical as it was autobiographical, focused on the Confederate private soldier, "who bore so large a share of hardship" during the war. Baskette had seen with his own eyes comrades who were poorly armed, barefooted, hatless, and had clothing "often the more ragged than any beggar." Despite Johnny Reb's sometimes "picturesque, grotesque, unique," appearance, he was the "model citizen soldier, the military hero of the nineteenth century!" Surely men of such caliber merited special attention.³

The origins of the soldiers' homes in the New South began as much with ideas about honor and social responsibility as with the underlying assumption that an indigent, but worthy ex-Confederate deserved better than a bundle of straw in a county almshouse. The philanthropists who founded, supported and governed the South's first veterans institutions felt compelled to use their wealth and free time in ameliorating the lot of their less fortunate brethren. Life within a filthy asylum cluttered with alcoholics, tramps, blacks, the insane and "the roughest sort" was unnatural, impersonal and demeaning. Critics worried that the almshouse represented the loss of autonomy,

Reb in Perspective: The Confederate Soldier's Image in the Southern Arts," (Ph.D. diss., Emory Univ., 1979). See also Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913 (New York, 1987), 122-26; William W. White, The Confederate Veteran (Tuscaloosa, 1962), 37; Charles R. Wilson, Baptized In Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920 (Athens, 1980), 37-54, 127, 189; Frank E. Vandiver, "The Confederate Myth," Southwest Review 46 (1961): 199-204. For Anderson's remarks, see his Address on the Opening of the Lee Camp Soldiers' Home (Richmond, 1885).

³Nashville Banner, 12 January 1889. For another firsthand expression of the myth, in a nutshell, see: "The Confederate Soldier," Con Vet 11 (1903): 322.

wherein the indigent veteran would surely experience degradation and manipulation.⁴ On the other hand, the benefits of a "home" atmosphere and the solicitude of "family" members would provide ideal conditions for comfort and rest. "It is" indeed "a lamentable sight to see a battle-scarred soldier of the Confederacy in a poorhouse," exclaimed the Richmond Dispatch in 1892. "It is disgraceful that any worthy veteran . . . should be forced to live like a pauper." As Georgia's Clement Evans had put it two years earlier, "true men" should never be forced into the poorhouse to become the "common objects of uncertain charity" or "face the frown of impatient and heartless strangers."⁵

"Rescued from the friendless pauper's forlorn fate," destitute Confederate veterans residing in a soldiers' home would have every need supplied by those who understood best their "infirmities and idiosyncrasies." Institutional care would entail much more than just escape from a demoralizing environment. The best foods, clothing, tobacco, medical care and "respectable companionship" would all be shamelessly

⁴For accounts of almshouse conditions, see Crandall A. Shifflett, Patronage and Poverty in the Tobacco South: Louisa County, Virginia, 1860-1900 (Knoxville, 1982), 72, 138; Joy J. Jackson, New Orleans During the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1896 (Baton Rouge, 1969), 190-93; and David J. Rothman, Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and its Alternatives in Progressive America (Boston, 1980), 22-24. For avowals by those determined to prevent ex-Confederates from suffering the indignity of the asylum, see: Frank Freeman to John P. Hickman, 20 May 1901, TSH, Application for Admission, W. G. W. Clay, TSLA; A. T. Barnes to Hickman, 19 April 1912, TSH, Application for Admission, G. W. Bruer, TSLA; R. C. Taylor to [James W. Pegram], 13 March 1890, LCSH, Application for Admission, William Johnson, VSL; Rebecca Cameron to Lisa T. Rodman, 30 October 1900; Rodman to Daughters of the Confederacy, 14 November 1900, John W. Hinsdale Papers, Duke. See also Calvin C. Burnette to J. E. Graves, 15 July 1910, LCSH, Application for Admission, VSL. The appalling fact that many Union veterans resided in poorhouses as well prompted in part the establishment of soldiers' homes in the North. See Stuart C. McConnell, "A Social History of the G.A.R., 1867-1900," (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins Univ., 1987), 359; and Judith G. Cetina, "A History of Veterans' Homes in the United States, 1811-1930 (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve Univ., 1979), 114-121.

⁵LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1896), 5, VSL; Southern Historical Society Publications (1892), 315-16; At Const. 12 September 1891; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:102, GDAH.

provided by former comrades. In the Georgia home, reported Lowndes Calhoun, "old, diseased and worn out" men received "good and kind attention." Similarly, Texas governor James Hogg envisioned the home as "an elysian retreat where the pains of" a southern soldier "could be soothed by gentle hands."⁶

The Tennessee home served as a "handsome" and "comfortable" facility fully equipped to provide solicitude and compassion to old and disabled men who might have otherwise lived out the remainder of their lives alone, uncared for and forgotten. The brick, two-story building consisted of a pair of symmetrical wings, adorned with wide galleries, rounded porticos and fluted pillars. An imposing raised letter board bearing the inscription "Confederate Soldiers' Home" stretched across its central facade. The lower story contained reception rooms, a parlor, library, dining hall and a "modern" kitchen; fifty "dormitories" for a maximum of 125 occupants comprised the upper level. Interior hallways connecting each room converged at the center of the building. The economical design also included an engine room, equipped with steam furnace and boilers, and laundry facilities, located in the basement, while a ten thousand gallon cistern set astride the roof provided "running water," as well as the means for fire protection and waste disposal.⁷

Peace, quiet, comfort, convenience, a nourishing diet--"the tenderest treatment possible"--were fundamental components of all the homes' paternalistic functions. Yet

⁶At Const. 12 September 1891; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:36, 102, 133, 139; 3:52, GDAH; "Texas Confederate Soldiers' Home A Model," Con Vet 20 (1912): 61; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 14, TxSA; C. W. Raines, Yearbook for Texas, 1901 (Austin, 1902), 56; Fred A. Ober to Peter J. Trezevant, 29 May 1886, AANV Papers, Correspondence, LHAC; AAT Papers, Minutes, 2:123, 138-39, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 4:53-56, LHAC.

⁷This sketch is based upon various published photographs and descriptions of the institution. See Con Vet, 1 (1893): 59; 12 (1904): 325; and Nashville Banner, 12 May 1892; 7 March 1908.

for those earnest men who bore legal and financial responsibility for them, the institutions would also have to be maintained in due order. Hopes for effective and efficient care could not become realities without an appropriately hierarchical control of every person within the home and every aspect of its administration. Trustees sought not only to "shield" veterans from "the tempestuous outer world," but they also struggled to impose a desired order within the home walls.⁸

Toward this end, trustees prescribed work for veterans under their charge. Physical, emotional and moral benefits abounded in labor, advocates contended, even for the poor and aging. North Carolina managers required residents to labor "for their [own] comfort and happiness," while Louisiana's Camp Nicholls put men to work in order to avoid inactivity and "its pernicious consequences." The "bitter monotony of enforced idleness" would "naturally cause men to become dissatisfied with their surroundings," warned Virginia's Lee Camp board of visitors. Therefore, some form of "light and congenial employment" to help "dissipate the spirit" seemed appropriate. Apparently it was difficult for persons, especially those approaching retirement themselves, to accept the idea that a formerly industrious and prudent laborer would no longer be able to provide for himself. With adequate supervision and discipline, an inmate might become independent. At least one man expressed the hope, if an old and disabled veteran entered a home, perhaps "he can be made almost self-supporting."⁹

⁸Board of Visitors to J. C. Batchelder, 16 April 1912, LCSH, Correspondence, VSL; Raines, 1901, 58; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:102, 182-83; 3:237; 4:40, GDAH.

⁹Joseph H. Cocke to John P. Hickman, 7 May 1895, TSH, Application for Admission, Edwin Whitmore, TSLA; Herbert Poole, "Final Encampment: The North Carolina Soldiers' Home," Con Vet (July-August 1987): 12-13; W. N. Jones to Charles Dupry, 11 October 1893, North Carolina Board of Public Charities, Report, NCDH.

Both Henry Grady and John Gordon, two key spokesmen for Confederate soldiers' homes, stressed that a veteran who remained active retained his self-worth. When the Constitution launched its fundraising drive in April 1889, Governor Gordon recommended that Georgians consider establishing a "Confederate Co-operative Industrial Home," essentially a workhouse. The plan featured a number of "advantages," Gordon asserted, for veterans and their families would work at manufacturing clothing, shoes, baskets, or canned fruits. By supporting themselves, he argued, inmates would maintain their self-respect and self-reliance, and develop bodily strength. In addition, a self-sufficient home would relieve the Georgia legislature of the burden of taxation. This," Gordon boasted, "is effective philanthropy." Even though Grady envisioned a farming community inhabited by soldiers and their families, he, like Gordon, expected residents to work, either on individual five acre plots or collectively. "There should be," he said, an abundance of "home cultivation": gardens, orchards, dairies, pastures which would allow the veteran to "feel that he is helping at least to earn his daily bread."¹⁰

Although opting for neither Gordon's nor Grady's plan, the Georgia home trustees decided to incorporate labor for ex-Confederates "as a means of recreation." Before the institution finally opened, the board mandated "light work" for convalescing and ambulatory residents. Duties ranged from waiting on tables, night patrol and building maintenance to cleaning rooms, "scouring" hallways, cooking, dishwashing, and waste disposal. Some men also repaired shoes and clothing, and toiled in the home garden.¹¹

¹⁰At Const. 9 April 1889.

¹¹GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:61, 146, 293, GDAH. Beginning in 1906, administrators finally began hiring black servants to relieve inmates of the more undesirable and strenuous chores. GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1906), 9, GDAH. The TSH trustees reserved the right to establish either a farm or factory, whichever would render the "charity"

Other soldiers' home administrators prescribed work for their residents. Texas managers, for example, required each able-bodied inmate to perform his portion of work with "alacrity and good faith." The superintendent could assign any "reasonable labor," beyond the mandatory duties of keeping quarters clean and neat. Refusal to obey an officer's orders, the rules read, would result in "prompt dismissal" from the home. Veterans at the Texas home mended fences, hung shingles, pitched hay, patched clothing and resoled footwear in exchange for "tobacco money," i.e. a few dollars with which an inmate could purchase small items, including chewing or smoking tobacco.¹²

Lee Camp veterans had to clean their rooms "properly" and "beautify the home as directed by the Commandant," as well as "do such work as their physical ability will allow, without remuneration." In 1892 William A. Shiplett reported that, in the two years he had resided at the Virginia home, he had been detailed to nurse sick and bury deceased inmates, and build a barn. During the same period another man had worked in the office as a file clerk; a third had grazed horses and minded cows, while a fourth had shoveled coal. The alternative to working, the board of visitors informed inmates, was "the gate--do the work or go out of the gate."¹³

Camp Nicholls' directors also demanded "strict obedience" to the rule governing "inmate duties." They held each man responsible for his own clothing, bedding and

as "nearly self-sustaining as possible." Tennessee Acts (1889), 342-44.

¹²"Texas Confederate Soldiers' Home A Model," Con Vet 20 (1912): 61; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 13-18, TxSA; Texas House Journal (1895), 392-93; (1905), 298-99; (1911), 762-64; Austin Daily Statesman, 7 December 1913.

¹³Emily J. Williams, "A Home . . . for the Old Boys': The Robert E. Lee Camp Confederate Soldiers' Home," Virginia Cavalcade 28 (1979): 43-44; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Investigative Committee Report (1892), 71-75, 80, 90-91, 124, VSL; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1: 24, 45, VSL. See also the letter by inmate J. H. Allen addressed to the Board of Visitors, c.1885, LCSH, Correspondence, VSL.

quarters, enjoining him to "keep them properly cleaned and in good order." The same rule applied to the grounds and buildings, while another rule prohibited the practice of hiring substitutes. At the Louisiana home during the 1890s veterans painted cisterns, repaired buildings, whitewashed trees, pulled weeds and cleaned privies. In 1900 the board appointed a dozen "suitable" inmates to form a home fire brigade, responsible for manning extinguishers and drilling regularly. Beginning in 1888 directors even permitted inmates, by written request, to labor outside the home, only to rescind the rule eight years later.¹⁴

Home founders assumed that residents would want to work anyway, basing their assumption on old notions of social responsibility, and on the persistent popular image of Johnny Reb. One of the fundamental motivations in founding Confederate soldiers homes had been an unquestioned distinction between the worthy and unworthy poor, between the prudent and industrious objects of a benign stewardship and those less deserving. At the same time, though battle scars had since rendered him unfit to earn a livelihood and old age and poverty had overtaken him, the common southern warrior still remained a shining model of honor, valor and manliness--therefore, too proud to accept pity. It would not be considered charity if men worked in the home. Thus, it was only natural that administrators expected inmates to work when given an opportunity.

Veterans like A. B. Carter reinforced these beliefs. Having lost his right arm at Spottsylvania and unable to perform "hard labor" ever since, the Shelby County, Tennessee farmer requested that president Fitzhugh Lee would give him "something to do" in the Virginia home to enable him to support his wife and daughter. In fact, they too

¹⁴As a work incentive, the board threatened to "debar" violators from the privileges of the home for up to one year. CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:22, 141, 474; 5:87-88, LHAC; CNSH, Superintendent Report (1891), LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, House Committee Report (1900), LHAC; CNSH, Rules and Regulations (1882) LHAC.

"would do anything that came in their line," he averred. Impressed by the old man's determination, Lee forwarded Carter's application to the board, concluding that "this seems to be a deserving case." Other applicants manifested a similar desire to remain active. Former North Carolina sergeant Daniel C. Hill claimed that he would "gladly work" in the Virginia institution. One Nashville ex-Confederate obviously delighted in telling trustees about his vast experience in growing sweet potatoes. Equipped "with this knowledge," he boasted, "I can be of much benefit to our home." A fellow Tennessean, aged seventy-one, fancying himself "a very competent veterinarian," believed he would also be "of great service out there [at the home] in looking after the horses, cows and other stock." Another veteran put it simply: "I want to come," but "I do not want to be idle."¹⁵

The whole process of distinguishing between deserving and improvident recipients began with admission applications. Formal entrance criteria in all early soldiers homes were similar. Potential inmates had to meet several basic standards. Moreover, trustees had to be convinced that a veteran's indigence had been caused by a war-related disability, or other uncontrollable events, and certainly not due to idleness and other personal failings.

For starters, trustees required applicants to furnish evidence of their military service (no imposters were wanted). Only an honorable discharge or imprisonment by the enemy excused a soldier from the fighting; therefore, deserters need not apply.

¹⁵W. W. Heard to Michael B. Bergeron, 29 December 1903, CNSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, LHAC; Heinrich Dubel to Board of Visitors, 4 April 1887; Samuel V. Corbett to William H. Terry, 26 April 1886; V. Wren to James F. Chalmers, 8 May 1892; Nathan J. Lewis to James W. Pegram, 15 March 1885; A. B. Carter to Fitzhugh Lee, 11 February 1885; G. W. Richardson to Pegram, 19 February 1886; J. B. Clark to Fitzhugh, 23 May 1885, LCSH, Correspondence, VSL. Daniel C. Hill to W. P. Smith, 11 July 1890, R. E. Lee Camp Records, Correspondence, VHS. See also the Admission Applications of Robert F. Cattels and James Cowen, TSH, TSLA.

Moreover, men who had renounced the southern cause by swearing an oath of allegiance to the U.S. were ineligible. A Camp Nicholls applicant, for example, had to provide two vouchers which bore the names and ranks of former comrades. A faulty memory could jeopardize approval of one's application, for what if an applicant could no longer accurately recall the details of his enlistment? In such cases, advised the South Carolina state historian, home officials should ask the veteran "who his captain was," explaining: "If he does not know that, then you may be sure that he is not what he claims to be. . . . Every soldier should know the name of his captain." Virginia trustees insisted on notarized affidavits (preferably signed by two men who had served in the same regiment) and a judge's certificate. If two "reputable" witnesses could not be found, Texas applicants had the option of submitting their old discharge papers. With application received, home authorities then contacted the U.S. Adjutant General's office for verification of an ex-Confederate's service record, taking on the average about a week before a response arrived. We desire "the Soldiers Home to be a home for . . . Worthy Disabled Ex-Confederate Soldiers," exclaimed Camp Nicholls board member Fred A. Ober, "not an asylum for tramps, whose records could not be verified as ever having performed honorable service!"¹⁶

¹⁶Admission requirements comprised part of the enabling act for each institution. See: Georgia Laws (1900), 86-88; Virginia Acts (1884), 521-22; Texas Laws (1895), 42-44; Tennessee Acts (1889), 342-44; Louisiana Acts (1882), 73; North Carolina Laws (1891). For the South Carolinian's remarks, see W. W. Morris to G. Valentine, 9 June 1913, TSH, Application for Admission, J. F. Houser, TSLA. For Ober's quip, see his letter to Peter J. Trezevant, 11 May 1886, AANV Papers, Correspondence, LHAC. Despite the stringent selection criteria, imposters occasionally gained admittance to the homes, but were usually dismissed. See GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:72-73, 76, GDAH; NCSH, Board of Incorporators, Minutes, 103, NCDH; New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913. See also LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:205, VSL, in which an inmate admitted to having deserted, but was allowed to remain in the home because he had been a "good soldier."

Home authorities also required confirmation that a veteran actually lacked the physical ability and means to reside on the outside. Admission procedures at the Texas home incorporated a series of physical examinations. By law, an applicant first had to be checked by a private physician, followed by a home examining panel of three who determined whether the prospective inmate was disabled to the extent that he could no longer "earn a support." If a periodic evaluation by the home surgeon indicated that the inmate's condition appeared to have improved, the managers reserved the right to issue an honorable discharge to any man "found having sufficient ability . . . to support himself." Such action was necessary, so the law read, in order to "prevent the Home" from becoming "a refuge for lazy, able-bodied men." Although required to labor, a Texas inmate, paradoxically, risked forfeiture of his right to reside at the home, when he exhibited physical well-being by working too diligently.¹⁷ At the same time, none of the homes admitted patients suffering from chronic or contagious diseases. The former undermined the institution's limited ability to provide beds for curables, while the latter endangered its population and staff.

Administrators appeared equally concerned about a veteran's financial fitness, but lacked effective methods for confirming such. Each home sought to admit only the indigent, generally interpreted as those unable to provide for themselves and their families. In Texas in 1915 that meant owning property valued at not more than one thousand dollars. In Louisiana, even the paltry sum derived from a Confederate pension (eight dollars per month in 1900) was enough to disqualify an applicant. In both states,

¹⁷No wonder the "majority do nothing," growled the Texas home physician, "but make up beds, attend meals and sleep." Austin Daily Statesman, 7 December 1913; Texas Laws (1895), 42-44; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 16, TxSA.

however, prospective inmates did not have to document their claim of poverty.¹⁸ As in Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina, applicants simply swore or affirmed their economic status before a public official. In Tennessee, respondents merely had to answer in an acceptable manner such questions as: "In what business are you now engaged, if any, and what do you earn?" or "What estate have you in your own right, real and personal, and what is its value?" Admission boards rarely investigated responses, for they understandably viewed applicants as genuinely needy, almost by definition. After all, none but the poor and desperate would willingly seek the dubious comforts of an institution, no matter how well managed.¹⁹

However poor he might be, an applicant still had to be morally worthy. The Lee Camp board of visitors insisted that, though a man possessed a good war record, if his disability had been caused by "his own bad habits and character," he would not be admitted. Henry E. Shelley, president of the Texas home board of managers, professed in 1898: "I do not believe," that we, as founders, or the State, intended "to support any . . . insubordinate, vicious, . . . obnoxious and disagreeable . . . characters." Instead, added superintendent James Q. Chenoweth, inmates should be "worthy men" who "cheerfully" conduct themselves according to the "high standard" represented by "the true" and "honorable Confederate veteran."²⁰ Precoded application forms, in which answers had to fall within some acceptable range of responses, screened undesirables. Some "closed"

¹⁸Louisiana Acts (1900), 124-26; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 9, TxSA; Walter Guion to Henry H. Ward, 30 October 1900, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC.

¹⁹One Tennessee veteran confessed that he owned 160 acres, which he said he would gladly deed to the home if granted entrance. The board, however, denied admission. F. M. Vaughn to John P. Hickman, 1 June 1899, TSH, Application for Admission, John S. Gregory, TSLA.

²⁰The phrase attributed to the Lee Camp is printed on its Applications for Admission, VSL. For the other quoted statements, see TxHM, Superintendent Report (1892), (1898), (1904), (1909), TxSA.

questions read: "Do you use intoxicants to any extent?"; "Is your mind ever unbalanced?"; "Has applicant opium, chloral or any other drug habit?" Home authorities would, of course, automatically reject anyone who answered "yes" to such indiscretions. "Insane persons and habitual drunkards," both demoralizing elements in a home, would be excluded and left to the almshouse. After all, or so it was believed, a true ex-Confederate was the model of sobriety. Only those who had "borne a good moral character" and "good habits" since the war would be granted a haven. Thus, it was only natural that endorsements attesting to the moral worth of a veteran accompanied his application. And, it was just as fitting that home officials demanded that each prospective inmate agree to "abide by and obey all rules," to conduct himself "as a soldier & gentleman," and, most of all, to remain "orderly."²¹

Order was a word held most sacred by those gentlemen who sat on the boards of Confederate soldiers' homes and wrote the bylaws. Order meant discipline and routine; it implied centralized control over inmates, as well as staff. "An authorized authority," recommended Camp Nicholls president George Lord, "should be at all times ready to preserve good order and discipline at the Home." Rules governing the "proper conduct" and "management" of the home are "absolutely necessary," and for the "best interests of all concerned," avowed Texas board members in 1892. Our "institution cannot be maintained without reasonable discipline," stressed Georgia board president Lowndes

²¹For veterans promising to cooperate with home authorities, see E. F. Grigg to R. H. Boshier, 15 October 1902; Clarence Thomas to James Pegram, 30 September 1887, LCSH, Correspondence, VSL; Washington Taylor to Randolph, 10 April 1893, LCSH, Application for Admission, R. B. Banks, VSL. For moral endorsements see, for example, the TSH, Applications for Admission of George W. Brown, Joseph C. Alsup, Patrick Butler, Vincent Willoughby, A. W. Baxter and Charles T. Clifford, TSLA. For a highly unfavorable endorsement, see J. B. Pleasants to Charles H. Epps, 22 July 1886, LCSH, Application for Admission, John E. Brooke, VSL. Regarding administrators' expectation of gentlemanly deportment among inmates, see GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:264-65; 4:18-19, GDAH; and A. J. Montague to Norman V. Randolph, 12 April 1899, LCSH, Correspondence, VSL. See Wilson, Baptized, 87, for a discussion of the claim that Johnny Reb was sober as a soldier, almost a teetotaler.

Calhoun a decade later. Twelve years afterwards, Horatio W. Bell, Calhoun's successor, would claim that rules not only protected the rights of inmates to enjoy the "advantages of the[ir] home," but are necessary to "reform and improve the[ir] behavior and deportment." Without discipline, another trustee insisted, "then you might as well give up. You could not manage a Soldiers' Home or anything else. . . . You have got to have it." To be an inmate was to exchange independence for security, to subject oneself to the physical and moral authority of trustees, superintendents and attending physicians.²²

The desire to impose an ordered discipline upon the home was not limited to the sphere of rhetoric. The internal function of homes would be as paternalistic and ordered as administrators could devise. In practice it meant drawing up a system of regulations which provided for semi-military routines and disciplinary codes and enforcing them. Inmates would stand in formation at roll call, twice a day, answering to their names, unless sick or excused. The commanding officer would inspect each man's dress and appearance to ensure that institutional policies mandating weekly baths, "trimmed hair and beards", and "clean and neat" home uniforms were observed. Uniforms had to be worn whenever an inmate left the home on a pass or around the home on Sundays and holidays when outsiders would most likely visit. Written passes were required to leave the home grounds--fully enclosed by a "substantial fence" and guarded by a night watchman--so as "to protect the inmate and preserve order and discipline." Inmates

²²The emphasis placed upon order came, of course, at a time when there was a tremendous preoccupation with personal self-control and stability within society. Robert H. Wiebe, The Search For Order, 1877-1913 (New York, 1967). GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:36; 3:246-47, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1906), 10, GDAH; Joint Committee of House and Senate Investigation of the Confederate Soldiers' Home of Georgia, Stenographer's Transcription, (1906), 191, GDAH; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:386, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1902), LHAC; CNSH, President Report (1911), LHAC; TxHM, Superintendent Report (1909), TxSA; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), TxSA; (1902); (1904), APL.

were, almost literally, incarcerated. The grounds, barracks and quarters would be subjected to careful inspection, "daily if necessary." Bells would dictate daily activities: to rise at 6 a.m., to extinguish lights at 9 p.m., to assemble for dress parade, and especially to eat. At the Texas home, one bell would sound at precisely fifteen minutes before each meal; a second call twelve minutes later signaled when inmates would "congregate around" the mess hall; followed by a third, when the men would finally enter the room and seat themselves. In addition, each inmate would "always occupy the same seat . . . and his hat must be hung upon a rack for that purpose."²³

Every aspect of the inmate's life thus would be subjected to the institution's paternal oversight. Swearing, gambling, boisterous conduct, expectorating on the floors, defacing the premises, carrying weapons, fighting, panhandling and impertinence were all grounds for punishment. Some prohibitions seemed frivolous. For example, Texas trustees warned residents against reclining on their beds with their boots on, going to the superintendent's home in their shirt sleeves or committing any "nuisance" on or "about the buildings." Nor would "any old soldier" in Camp Nicholls, "no matter

²³For a rare glimpse of the daily routine within a Confederate veterans' institution, see The (Austin) Confederate Home News, 23 February 1912. Regarding the use of bells in dictating inmate functions, as well as policies regulating personal hygiene, see TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 15-18, TxSA. For roll calls, inspections, curfews, passes, guards and other surveillance devices, see: Confederate Soldiers' Home of Georgia: Act of the General Assembly, Board of Trustees . . . Rules and Regulations (Atlanta, 1901), AHS; New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 19, 148, 164-65, 458, GDAH. For uniforms, see TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 14; (1893), 6, TxSA; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:22; 2:133, VSL; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:5-7, 28, 55, 304, LHAC; TSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 35, TSLA; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:35, 201, 219; 3:132; 4: 22-24, GDAH; Poole, "Final Encampment," 12-13. In 1896 Texas Superintendent William P. Hardeman recommended that a barbed-wire fence some six to ten feet tall be strung "entirely around the premises" so as to insure against the "constant aggression of hogs and dogs," as well as to deter theft. TxHM, Board of Managers, Superintendent Report (1896), TxSA. For other home enclosures, both suggested and actual, see Con Vet 1 (1893): 59; J. B. Hodgkin to Henry C. Stuart, 10 February 1914, Executive Papers, Henry C. Stuart, VSL; H. H. Crew, History of Nashville, Tennessee (Nashville, 1889), 566.

how many battles he [had] fought," be "allowed to smoke or chew in bed." Managers in every home fought a similarly ceaseless battle against alcohol. Inmates could not frequent any saloon or "bar-room" within a mile radius of the home, while those found intoxicated faced prompt "restraint" or dismissal. Moreover, inmates would be expected to conduct themselves in a "gentlemanly and orderly" manner, so as not to "annoy or inconvenience [their] comrades," and to "yield respect and obedience" to all officers "appointed over them."²⁴

Imposing order also meant selecting a strong executive to oversee daily management. Trustees envisioned the home as a family writ large, presided over by a superintendent or steward, the father of this extended family, through whom the board exerted its legal authority. In that family the roles of authority and deference would be carefully acted out; home staff were expected to be "faithful" and "earnest," the residents "contented" and "grateful." When trustees sought to fill vacant superintendent positions, they solicited recommendations of wife as well as husband, for she too bore an appropriate responsibility for maintaining the institution's moral health. Serving as matron or stewardess, the wife resided with her husband on the grounds of the institution they managed. Superintendents possessed no special training and claimed none. They were most often, like trustees, Confederate veterans. In many cases home boards preferred a man who had formerly exhibited some measure of responsibility and executive and financial ability. His key attributes would be honesty, sobriety, industry,

²⁴Rules governing inmate behavior were reminiscent of the discipline prescribed for wartime hospitals. See Horace H. Cunningham, Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service (Baton Rouge, 1958), 90-93, 211-12. TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 13-18, TxSA; New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913; Confederate Soldiers' Home of Georgia: Act of the General Assembly (1901), AHS; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:49, GDAH; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:158; 2:410, VSL; Texas House Journal (1895), 392-93.

prudence, piety and kindness, yet possessing "enough firmness to command respect." Such virtues were indispensable if he was to serve as father to the home's family.²⁵

Whatever his background--farmer, gentleman, bookkeeper, merchant, policeman, prison guard or hotelkeeper--a superintendent learned inevitably that his was a "troublesome undertaking." To say the least, confided Georgia superintendent George N. Saussey in 1917, it was "no bed of roses." His was an almost impossible task; the demands of the position were extraordinarily diverse and consuming. In addition to enforcing all rules and regulations, maintaining good order, cleanliness and economy, his responsibilities also involved purchasing, hiring and firing, and shuffling mounds of paperwork--invoices, ledgers, reports, admittance records. In short, he controlled people as well as things. Like a good father, the superintendent would assume personal responsibility for the physical and moral condition of his children. Ironically, the more earnestly he functioned as patriarch the more intrusive he must have seemed to inmates and staff.²⁶

By their own admission, the most "disagreeable" and "unpleasant" duty superintendents and administrators had to contend with was disciplining inmates. "It is" indeed "a pity," Georgia trustees worried, "to have to correct these fathers and grandfathers . . . with bleached and bald heads, but we must, however much we may

²⁵GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:30, 55; 3:92, 269-70; 3: 272-73, 276; 4:2-5, 22-24, 66, GDAH; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 5, 10-11, TxSA; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:62, VSL; The (Austin) Confederate Home News, 17 February 1912; CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1902), LHAC.

²⁶The particular occupations cited here were those of the Georgia home's first five superintendents, from 1901 to 1906. See Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 167, 229, 233, 244, 249, 290, GDAH, in which inmates were asked to critique their superiors' performances. Superintendents, as well as other home officers, were subject to annual elections, which explains in part their high turnover rate. For the application letters of several candidates, see GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:152-4, 156; 3:240, GDAH, wherein Saussey's comments may be found.

revere them as heroes." Ideally, no self-respecting Confederate veteran would require reform. Yet, contended administrators, exacting "moderate" or "reasonable" punishment on "disobedient and refractory" inmates served, regretfully, as another method of winnowing out the undeserving. Our home "is meant for the worthy and not the unworthy," that is, not "those who violate rules," remarked Camp Nicholls' co-founder Judge Walter Rogers. "The good and true soldier on the firing line," claimed Louisiana superintendent H. H. Ward in 1908, "can readily be distinguished whenever found. . . . Real soldiers to the end obey the rules and regulations." Texas superintendent James Q. Chenoweth obviously shared the same sentiment. "The rules are no burden upon a large majority of the inmates who were faithful soldiers and good citizens," he declared, but they are "for a few who demonstrate they were neither good soldiers nor good citizens." The metaphor of the family applied here too. When children disturb the peace of a home, so the argument went, they are disciplined, sometimes "even to disinheritance." So, when old men are "childish and hard to control," advised Georgia officials, use the rod, "seeking always to be just," as well as "forbearing."²⁷

Punishments prescribed for those who violated or refused to conform to the regulations varied. Depending upon the particular infraction, penalties ranged from caution to expulsion. In between were reprimand, either privately or publicly at morning roll call; restraint or "quarantine" to the grounds or quarters; suspension of passes or privileges, for one to four weeks; or perhaps extra "fatigue" or guard duty. Trustees guaranteed an inmate "under arrest" or "on charges" a "fair opportunity" to be

²⁷CNSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 2:267, 392-93, LHAC; CNSH, Rules and Regulations (1884), 4-8, LHAC; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:229, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Investigating Committee Report, 24 June 1904 [located in Minutes], GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1906), 6-7; (1914), 6-7, GDAH; Con Vet 16 (1908): 181; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1904), APL; Texas House Journal (1901), 638-39; (1913), 942-43.

heard and present "testimonies" in his behalf, along with the right of appeal. Senior members of the board or a specially appointed investigating committee would be both judge and jury. The superintendent or one of his subalterns functioned as prosecuting attorney, while the inmate or another inmate served as his counsel during the entire "court-martial" proceedings.²⁸

Administrators reserved the stiffest penalties for the more serious violations. For example, the Lee Camp stipulated that "conduct unbecoming a Confederate veteran," particularly behavior "calculated to incite insubordination and subvert discipline"--the equivalent of mutiny--would result first in a public reprimand by the board president, or two to four hours of extra work per day, plus from one to six months confinement. A repeat offense would be met with a dishonorable discharge. Habitual drunks could expect rough treatment as well. An inmate who imbibed too freely too frequently could be sentenced to ninety days confinement, one-third of which he would be locked in a punishment room equipped with iron bars and fed bread and water every third day. If deemed "drunk and disorderly," "abusive," or "incapable of proper behavior," an inmate in the Texas home was placed under arrest by the superintendent who would then summon a policeman "to take him to the calaboose to be dealt with as other offenders against the law." In the eyes of those who wrote the bylaws, disrespectful language and conduct toward home officers or visitors, disobedience and the refusal to work, "outrageous behavior," and being absent without official leave constituted "just cause"

²⁸TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 8, 16, TxSA; CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1887), 4, LHAC; CNSH, Rules and Regulations (1888), LHAC; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:34, 4:116, GDAH; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 398, GDAH; Confederate Soldiers' Home of Georgia: Act of the General Assembly and Rules and Regulations Governing the Home (Atlanta, 1917), 8, 19, AHS.

for dismissal. "Expulsion is necessary," in such cases, warned one Georgia trustee. "If you don't have something like that sort . . . very soon you will have pandemonium."²⁹

If expelled, an inmate carried with him a "taint of humiliation and disgrace." His uniform would be confiscated and replaced with "a citizen's suit." All personal effects he had entrusted to the superintendent's iron safe would be returned. And he would be furnished transportation back to his former place of residence. Branded "a person unfit," he would be barred from the grounds and denied the opportunity to apply for reinstatement for as long as twelve months--maybe longer, if he failed to prove to the board that he intended to amend his ways.³⁰

As oppressive as this energetic and overbearing stewardship appeared, home officials genuinely preferred to "keep a man in the Home" rather "than to turn him out." "There are, of course, gradations of worth and deserving among the inmates," the Texas board of managers conceded, "but it may be safely said that the lowest on the list has fully earned exemption from subsistence as a common pauper." The dismissal "of an old Confederate soldier from the Home is a punishment not to be inflicted except in extreme cases, when it is absolutely necessary for the preservation of peace, order and discipline," concluded trustee Charles D. Phillips of Georgia. No veteran ought to be forced "out upon the cold charity of the world, destitute and helpless," vowed president Bell in 1915, except as a last resort. Acknowledging that, while it was natural for "age

²⁹A. J. Montague to Norman V. Randolph, 12 April 1899, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:41, 45, VSL; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Investigating Committee Report (1892), VSL; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 325-30, 468-69, GDAH; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 17, TxSA; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:50; 4:263, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1906), 11, GDAH; Tennessee House Journal (1911), 947.

³⁰GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:241, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1906), 11, GDAH; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:128, VSL.

and disease" to "cause men to become dissatisfied" in an institution, the Lee Camp warned, once "their expression of dissatisfaction" becomes "malicious, add[s] calamity and attribute[s] dishonorable motives to the Board," then, and only then, "it becomes a matter of public concern" and the inmate must be rebuked.³¹

Were the trustees taking their responsibilities too seriously? Were they being too "harsh and uncharitable?" Home officials invariably thought otherwise, pointing out that only a "handful" of intractable inmates posed disciplinary problems, while "a large proportion" honorably conformed to a "few simple" rules and seemed to appreciate "the advantages . . . bestowed upon them." In the Georgia home, explained Clement Evans, discipline was redemptive, not punitive: "the good would be made better, and the bad would be reclaimed through the influences about them." The boards invited visitors to see for themselves that the veterans are "constantly under" as "proper [a] moral condition" as a mother would "provide for her children." Superintendents encouraged inmates to attend "regular gospel services," conducted by a home chaplain who was charged with taking an "active interest in all that relates to good discipline and the moral and spiritual welfare of the inmates." Offered for a resident's "amusement and entertainment" were bi-weekly prayer meetings, "old fashion" singings, memorial observances, Sunday school lessons, reading clubs, temperance rallies and Easter egg hunts. Recognizing that there must be "food for the mind and heart, as well as the body," the Lee Camp established a home library filled with nearly one thousand volumes, about one-third of which were "religious works." Tennessee's trustees supplied their home library with "good [w]hol[e]some reading matter, religious and secular," not "yellow

³¹TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 3, TxSA; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:273; 3:144, 246-47, GDAH; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:392-93, LHAC; W. W. Heard to Michael B. Bergeron, 29 December 1903; 10 February 1904, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Executive Committee Orders No. 27, 28 May 1908, VSL.

back" literature. In 1915 the North Carolina board appealed for contributions to purchase a phonograph for its residents, to "brighten up idle hours with stirring martial music, sweet ballads of the Old South and the infectious music of to-day." In sum, each board aimed to make its home a secluded, "comfortable, peaceful, delightful, and orderly abiding place for . . . worthy old Confederate veterans."³²

In gratitude for their sacrifices, homeless heroes were afforded "more than a roof." Their "table is supplied with the best the market affords," asserted one official, "nor are they lacking in clothing." Residents received uniforms "to suit the season," shoes and underwear, while a first class laundry kept them "looking like they had just stepped out of a bandbox." With such amenities as steam heat, electric lights, hot and cold running water, showers and tubs, we provide "more comfort and conveniences than ninety percent of the inmates ever enjoyed before," boasted a Georgia superintendent. "Our Soldiers Home is a model of comfort, neatness and convenience," beamed the UDC of North Carolina in 1916.³³

³²CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1886), 5; (1902), 14, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:25-26, LHAC; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 1:290; 2:83, 218, 290; 3:7, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1901), GDAH; Rules and Regulations Governing the Home (1917), 12, AHS; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 177, GDAH; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 16, TxSA; Lawdon R. Mason to Charles P. Bigger, 28 February 1899; J. J. Quantz to Lee Camp, c. August 1888, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; Tennessee Acts (1909), 41; Nashville Banner, 7 March 1908; George N. Saussey diary, GDAH; Raleigh News and Observer, 5 December 1920; R. E. Lee Camp Records, LCSH Library Register, VHS; TSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes (1909), 38, 51, TSLA; Poole, "Final Encampment," 17; Virginia Senate Journal (1899), 5; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1904), 6, VSL; Martha Haywood to James Joyner, c. 1915, James Y. Joyner Papers, NCDH; Con Vet 9 (1901), 549-50.

³³The phrase and thesis "more than a roof" is, of course, borrowed from Ethel McClure, More Than a Roof: The Development of Minnesota Poor Farms and Homes for the Aged (New York, 1968). Julian S. Levy to AANV, 14 October 1911, AANV Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC; New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913; Texas House Journal (1911), 50; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:123; 3:200, 263; 4:43-44, 279, GDAH; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1918), 5, VSL; Con Vet, 24 (1916): 439; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:104-

The locations of the various homes attested to their superior functions. No better site could have been found for the Tennessee institution, according to Bromfield L. Ridley of Murfreesboro, than the Hermitage grounds. "It is known as 'Clover Bottom,'" with "bluegrass covered with majestic hickories, towering poplars and strong-armed oaks," seemingly a "sacred place." The Texas home, according to the state's governor in 1911, "is happily located upon one of the most interesting and attractive sites in the vicinity of Austin." Georgia's home was situated on a "beautiful, healthful site, with good water, fresh air, pleasant surroundings . . . ample for gardens and orchards." Camp Nicholls was "an ideal place for a Home. An air of cleanliness is found everywhere," exclaimed the superintendent in 1908. "The grounds are well kept and shaded by large water oaks with moss hanging from each branch. . . . A man who would 'kick' here would not be satisfied in paradise--if he should get there."³⁴

Southerners could indeed take great pride in all that was being done on behalf of needy Confederate veterans. At least that was how many soldiers' home apologists saw it. The South was fulfilling an "obligation held sacred among all civilized nations" to provide for her "sons, who in the full vigor of their manhood, offered their lives in response to her call." In leaving "nothing to spare," soldiers' home administrators had also created a place of residence that exerted control over the lives of others believed incapable of taking care of themselves. Many of the elements which comprise a "total institution" pervaded the soldiers' homes of the New South.³⁵ Home officials obviously thought it

06, LHAC.

³⁴Con. Vet 8 (1900): 264; At Const. 9 April 1889; 12 September 1891; Raines, 1901, 56; New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913; Texas House Journal (1911), 50.

³⁵For the clearest presentation of the concept of "total institution," see Erving Goffman, Asylums: Essays in the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (Garden City, N.J., 1961). Also useful are Michael Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (New York, 1979); and Michael B. Katz, In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of

necessary to adopt disciplinary methods in order to define proper behavior and normalize activity. The emphasis on order and inspection not only reflected a desire to prevent disturbances, but also to transform individuals. Moreover, physical exertion eliminated the hidden dangers of idle time.

Institutional architecture revealed these same basic attitudes. Rooms distributed along interior hallways within a main edifice with a pair of symmetrical wings permitted an internal supervision of inmate movement. High wooden and stone or even barbed wire fences, ostensibly constructed for guarding home property, actually confined "captive" residents to the grounds and thereby isolated them from the wider society. Removed from the demoralizing influence of the poorhouse, aging ex-Confederates were enclosed behind the protective walls of the homes where they could be venerated, preserved and reformed.

"It has been the purpose of the Board," read the Camp Nicholls report to the Louisiana legislature in 1886, "to establish a home, and in all respects to make the inmates feel that it is their home."³⁶ In spite of this assertion, basic human needs--comfort, solicitude, compassion--fell unavoidably under bureaucratic control. Residents reaped the ambiguous benefits of an energetic paternalism; and the more they recognized this, the more they grew to resent it.

Welfare in America (New York, 1986). For an assessment of the "social control" theory and its critics, see Walter I. Trattner, ed., Social Welfare or Social Control?: Some Historical Reflections on Regulating the Poor (Knoxville, 1983).

³⁶CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1886), 4, LHAC.

CHAPTER V

INSIDE THE WALLS: DISORDER AND RESPONSE

"So you will see," Confederate veteran Benjamin J. Rogers wrote to one of his former comrades in late December 1904, "we have a home in the true sense of the word for the old boys." Sixty-five years old himself, Rogers was speaking about the Lee Camp Soldiers' Home. Normally, inhabitants of such institutions were not the sort who kept journals or diaries, or who wrote to concerned family members or friends, who then carefully preserved their letters or postcards. For this reason, Rogers' account provides a rare glimpse from an inmate's perspective of life inside the walls.

"I like the place so far," he declared, for the accommodations provided him could not have been more comfortable. His room, located in "Joe Johnston Hall," near the main building on the thirty-six-acre complex, was equipped with electricity, steam heat, hot and cold water, and was completely furnished. In addition, home officials had issued him all the clothing he needed: a full uniform, including hat, overcoat, shoes, underwear, socks and colored handkerchiefs. On Mondays, his clothes were taken to the laundry room, washed and returned in paper bundles by the end of the week; on Fridays, soap and tobacco were dispensed freely. He had enjoyed eating "good wholesome food" and "plenty of it." If necessary, medical care by a pair of physicians and trained nurses was available around the clock.

In return for this benevolent treatment, all he and "the boys" would have to do at the home, observed Rogers, "is to fall too . . . and behave themselves." The superintendent was always there to make sure that the rules were strictly obeyed. Each resident was required only to clean his room every morning, and to perform guard duty

on a rotating basis. Mandatory labor was minimal. "Taken all in all," Rogers concluded, it was "an ideal spot for an old Confed to spend his declining years at."¹

In the public mind, as well as in the thoughts of the great majority of founders, the Confederate soldiers' homes of the New South were as Rogers portrayed: peaceful places where inhabitants could indeed find rest and be comforted. A newspaper edited by and for Texas inmates, but also intended for "old vets on the outside," had nothing but praise for the Texas institution. "At all times," the newspaper bragged, it was a "good place," where "any reasonable man can feel happy and contented, if he so desires." In an article appearing in the Confederate Veteran, J. O. Bradfield, an inmate, rejected the supposition that the Texas home was some kind of "poor farm" where "the old men" suffered "all sorts of troubles and inconveniences." Nell B. Lewis, inspecting the North Carolina Soldiers' Home on behalf of a Raleigh newspaper, believed that the inmates obviously enjoyed their leisurely lifestyle, spending most of their time sitting "about the place alone or in groups," reading the Bible or magazines, or whittling canes or toys, mostly "dozing in the sun" and "chewing Apple Tobacco." The establishment seemed a fitting location, the reporter remarked, for elderly men to "sit and think" or "jest sit," and "idly watch the days pass by." Will Branum, a Daily Picayune correspondent touring Camp Nicholls, witnessed basically the same scene: veterans sunning themselves on benches, leading lives "uneventful" and "almost monastic in . . . quietude." For it was there that men marked time, and waited "to die like soldiers, with their boots on."²

¹Howson W. Cole, "Life in the Camp Lee Soldiers' Home: A Letter of Benjamin J. Rogers, December 27, 1904," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 70 (1962): 468-70.

²Confederate (Austin) Home News, 17 February 1912; "Last of the Southern Confederacy and Our Most Romantic Heritage," Raleigh News and Observer, 5 December 1920; "The Last Roll," New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913; "The Confederate Homes of Texas," Con Vet 24 (1916): 489.

Even so, the establishments were not as idyllic and serene as they appeared. There were some depressing monotonous realities which aging veterans had to accept. Taylor Thompson, an inmate in the Texas home for more than fourteen years, knew that fact all too well, as reflected in a poem he composed and entitled, "Waiting For Death":

Just sitting 'round, waiting for death--
That's what we are doing, my boys;
Just waiting to draw the last breath,
For long since we have done with life's joys. . . .³

No one really wanted to enter a home in the first place, except that small minority of the least enterprising and lacking in self-respect. William G. Roberts of Bristol, Tennessee "did not want to go to the soldiers' home" in Nashville and almost had to be "forced to go." Irishman John Huffernan of Memphis opposed public relief "as a general thing" and hesitated applying for admission to the soldiers' home "on account of its public character."⁴

Benjamin Rogers, too, expressed similar concerns about biding time in an institution. When he composed his letter, he had spent less than a month in the Lee Camp; and already he worried about "seeing a lot of old men in all conditions of decrepitude day after day," which he feared would grow "monstrous" to him. And within

³The poem appeared in the 15 May 1912 issue of Thompson's Confederate (Austin) Home Vidette, which superseded the Home News.

⁴B. G. McDowell to John P. Hickman, 28 June 1900, TSH, Application for Admission, William G. Roberts, TSLA; C. W. Frazer to Hickman, 19 July 1895, TSH, Application for Admission, John Huffernan, TSLA. See also Charles Moore, Jr. to AANV, 26 August 1880, AANV Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC; John A. Clements to William "Tip" Harrison, 1 June 1901; John O. Dean to W. Lowndes Calhoun, 14 January 1901, GSH, Board of Trustees, Correspondence, GDAH; W. B. Taliaferro to Fitzhugh Lee, 19 August 1887, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; Francis H. Williams to James S. Hogg, 24 November 1890, Governors Records, James S. Hogg, TxSA. Branum noted that "a few inmates are inclined to be supersensitive, and attribute their presence in the home to some weakness which might have been averted. . . ." New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913.

that same short period Rogers had learned that the institution was an environment in which an inmate paid a price in dignity. For example, as he observed, each man was assigned a seat at long tables in the large mess hall, while home officers and employees ate in a private dining room. Rogers also disliked the rigid practice of passes, wherein an inmate would only be permitted to leave the grounds up to three times a week, providing there were no charges against him. One can only speculate how or if Rogers ever resolved these issues in the eleven years he resided at the home before his death.⁵

The soldiers' home was an object of fear and an asylum for the dependent and socially isolate, or so it seemed, especially to men as sensitive as Asa Wall, of Frederick County, Virginia. A former assistant surgeon of the U.S. Army, before casting his lot with the Confederacy, Wall objected to the selection criteria employed by the Lee Camp Home on its application forms and felt particularly incensed about the policy barring habitual drunkards, lunatics and traitors. "Now these interrogations" made him "feel a little queer to say the least," he confessed. First of all, "the line of demarcation between sanity & insanity has never been satisfactory determined." Secondly, he argued, home administrators had no right whatsoever to investigate his "morals in this manner." Were it not for his advanced age of sixty-five years, the fact that he had never married, and that he was impoverished and in poor health, he would not have applied for admission at all.⁶

Other applicants for admission feared governing boards would attribute their poor physical condition and low economic status to some moral incapacity or personal weakness. H. O. Bass of Powhatan County, Virginia wrote the commandant of the Lee

⁵Cole, "Life in the Camp," 468-70.

⁶Wall to James W. Pegram, 4 November 1895, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL.

Camp Home in 1905 that, while he was a widower, without money, and had "no place to go," his request to enter the home was "not on account of any dissipation from drink or otherwise," but "just my misfortune in some way I hardly know what." Thomas Bullock, a sixty-nine-year old ex-Confederate from Spottsylvania County, Virginia, three times wounded, partially paralyzed, and though not "altogether helpless," in "destitute circumstances," wrote: "[If] I could provide for myself even in the poorest way I would not ask for entrance." Another veteran, J. B. Hodgkin, informed the Virginia governor that many of his former comrades had "a great aversion" to entering the state's soldiers' home, for they viewed it as "the last step, the next service being that of the undertaker."⁷

Annoyed, hesitant, desperate and fearful, Wall, Bass, Bullock and Hodgkin, all wound up as inmates of the Lee Camp Home. Admitted in 1896, Wall soon earned the reputation of a "hard drinker" and was dishonorably discharged four years later, having "abused, and assailed the Home on all occasions." Bass, apparently still uneasy about his dependency on charity, was granted at least two furloughs, so that he could make his "own living," before being re-admitted a third time in January 1906. He died at the home five years later. Bullock survived only four weeks in the home. Doctor Hodgkin, after only a few months, left the institution in July 1913, allegedly on account of "health reasons." For these men, conditions inside the walls were apparently different from those prescribed in bylaws or envisaged by founders or represented by newspaper reporters.⁸

⁷See the letters to Charles Euker, 30 November 1905 and to J. E. Graves, 7 March 1910, LCSH, Application for Admission, H. O. Bass and Thomas S. Bullock, respectively, VSL. For Hodgkin's complaints (and suggestions), see his letter to Henry C. Stuart, 22 January 1914, Executive Records, Stuart, VSL.

⁸bid. See also W. W. Coldwell to E. J. Boshee, 11 June 1902, LCSH, Application for Admission, Asa Wall, VSL.

Yes, problems did exist, administrators acknowledged, not with the institution itself, but with some of the men who resided there. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, home authorities--trustees, superintendents, physicians, matrons, chaplains--complained again and again of failures in discipline. Most of these were relatively minor, though they were potentially detrimental to the homes' hygiene standards. Inmates spat where they were not supposed to, emptied slop jars out their room windows with casual insouciance, stuffed towels down commodes or misused sinks as urinals. Some inmates refused to take baths, appropriated food from the mess halls, or kept pets in their rooms. As a result of the residents' filthy habits, the homes continually grappled with fresh onslaughts of dirt, smelly odors compounded by food and feces and the disgusting prevalence of vermin, roaches and flies.⁹

Other infractions, however, could be even more serious. Some inmates created disturbances, vandalized home property, brawled with other inmates and staff members, begged from strangers and visitors, smuggled in forbidden drink, and scaled walls for evenings of carousing. On one occasion, four Camp Nicholls inmates "stole away on a fishing frolic," and one fell into Bayou St. John and drowned. Alarmed, managers decided to erect more substantial fences and hire night guards to help foil such escapades. Female employees occasionally complained of rude assaults and the vilest language. Mrs. Bell Reid, stewardess of the Georgia home, claimed that the men acted so disorderly and unruly in the mess hall that she kept a pistol for her own protection. In 1917, one Virginia inmate, apparently irate over food quality and service, stormed into the mess

⁹GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:78, 99, 110, 112-13, 130, 150-56, 218, 297-98; 3:88, GDAH; Joint Committee of House and Senate Investigation of the Confederate Soldiers' Home of Georgia, Stenographer's Transcription, (1906), 447, GDAH; J. B. Hodgkin to Henry C. Stuart, 22 January 1914, Executive Records, Stuart, VSL; North Carolina Department of Human Services, State Board of Health Inspection of State Institutions, NCSH, Engineering File (2 October 1920), NCDH.

hall, yelling and cursing and twirling a pistol in each hand above his head, and chased Miss Sue Hill, the stewardess, out of the building.¹⁰

Authorities also suspected that a well understood and intractable underground dominated home life. Theft, dissimulation were everywhere; things were constantly disappearing, in spite of the personal oversight that the home managers had always exerted. A black market in whiskey and tobacco flourished in every home, despite the best efforts of superintendents and governing boards to end it. In particularly egregious cases, uniforms, furniture, bedding and food (even the drug supplies) of the home itself could serve as trade goods for its more entrepreneurial inmates. To complicate matters further, one Virginia inmate charged in 1908, that what the inmates "did not steal, the employees did."¹¹

In addition, some men refused to work at the home, or failed to perform their duties without "growling" that "they didn't think they ought to," while others labored outside the home, in what administrators construed as a blatant attempt to avoid labor details. One Lee Camp inmate poked fun at his comrades' work avoidance in a doggerel:

¹⁰CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:187, 242, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Secretary Report (5 May 1906), LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, President Report (5 May 1906), LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Investigating Committee Report (6 February 1909); (15 January 1918), LHAC; New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:160, 185, 191; 218-19, 242, 269, 293; 3:6, 12, 142-44; 237, 254, GDAH; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 251-53, 255, 265, GDAH; George N. Saussey diary, GDAH; J. E. Graves to Charles J. Anderson, 22 February 1917, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:105-06, VSL; TSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 46, TSLA; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1894), 3, TxSA; Texas Legislative Committee to Investigate State Departments and Institutions, Confederate Home for Men, Stenographer's Transcription, (1917), 188, TxSA.

¹¹GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:83-85; 4:113, GDAH; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 3:325, VSL; Investigation of the Texas Home for Men (1917), 12, 28-29, 160, 162, 165, TxSA.

. . . We have a shoe-maker,
a fellow minus a leg,
Who, if we ask politely,
will sometimes drive in a peg,
But sometimes he is so afraid
that he won't get his pay,
He manages to close his shop
and just goes off for the day. . . .¹²

To home authorities, a breakdown in discipline was no laughing matter. Not everyone caused trouble, administrators quickly pointed out. There were always in every home only a handful of "high strung" individuals who consistently fell in the categories of "chronic growlers," "malcontents" or "unreasonable, ungrateful refractory men." In 1911, the Georgia superintendent described his charges this way:

There is such a conglomeration of characters & temperaments that it would be an impossibility to define. The old Veterans display much dissatisfaction as to the environment & surroundings. Many of them have fair common sense and are disposed to look on the bright side While a number [are] demented . . . troublesome and exacting; their wants are never satisfied, and it is a problem.¹³

Regardless of how few "bad men" there actually were, warned Texas home board president J. B. Rogers, "improper conduct" stemmed from such a rebellious "spirit of insubordination" that, if left unchecked, would bring reproach upon the whole institution. Virginia board members attributed the physical maladies and advanced ages of the veterans as the immediate cause of their intransigence. Longtime Georgia home president Horatio Bell agreed. "It is very difficult," he lamented in 1906, "to deal with

¹²S. J. N. McCampbell, The Ex-Confederate Soldiers' Home, Richmond, Virginia, in Verse, by an Inmate (Richmond, 1886), VHS; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 448, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:96, 141, 224-25; 3:95, 102, 145-46, GDAH.

¹³GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:87-88, 100, 290; 3:56, 64, 180-81, 189-90; 4:18-19, 141, GDAH; John Watson to Board of Directors, 3 May 1919, CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, LHAC; Texas House Journal (1913), 942-43.

... old men in their dotage . . . on account of the wear and tear of age, and it's hard to keep them in good humor," he added. Old men are fickle, remarked the Texas Home quartermaster in 1917, you "cannot tell what" they "will wish from day to time any more than you can fly!" Georgia trustee Charles Phillips said simply: "Old Confederate Soldiers are just like children," while a Lee Camp bard advanced a different theory:

. . . . Old soldiers like old maids,
are often prudish and hard to please,
They like to lie about in the sun,
to smoke and take their ease.
And some, in certain times of the moon,
seem to get very cranky,
Which we all think is owing
to their meetings with the Yankee. . . .¹⁴

If there was one root cause for unacceptable behavior that everyone could agree upon, it was invariably the penchant for strong drink. In 1907 Fred Ober of the Camp Nicholls board likened the Louisiana institution to more of an "asylum for Inebriates" than a "Home for ex-Confederate Soldiers." Commandant Terry of the Lee Camp Home reported that his men were "made almost wild" by their fondness for liquor. "The whiskey-drinking habit has been the source of more disagreeable trouble than any other," moaned Judge Bell of the Georgia Home. Another Georgia trustee declared the home "almost like a barroom," citing more than two dozen cases of drunkenness and related instances over a three month period. Inmates "afflicted with this annoying, disgusting" habit, one report noted, had "invade[d]" the premises, acted unruly, sang too loudly, insulted chambermaids and nurses, and generally refused to cooperate. According

¹⁴McC Campbell, Ex-Confederate Soldiers' Home, VHS; TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1902), 3-4, APL; (1918), 12, TxSA; Investigation of the Texas Home for Men (1917), 238, TxSA; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:223; 3:121, GDAH; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 398, 428-31, GDAH; New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913.

to Doctor Hodgkin, any Lee Camp Home veteran who wanted a drink could go to downtown Richmond and "get all the whiskey he wishes," even if he had been denied a pass. Inmate James M. Mills testified before a Georgia legislative committee that, after several of his comrades frequented saloons in Atlanta, they usually returned to the home, "raise a row and go to their rooms and sleep it off."¹⁵

The sprees were less innocuous than Mills made them sound. One home physician attributed ten deaths--one by suicide--to either whiskey drinking or other stimulants. While conducting physical examinations of Texas inmates in 1900, Dr. L. D. Hill discovered at least a dozen morphine addicts and two more with an opium dependency. The Georgia home physician's report of 1904 warned that the number of habitual users of patent medicines had indeed become a "problem."¹⁶

From the perspective of those in charge, substance abuse represented an unnecessary but real threat to the desired good order and well-being of the home. Some authorities exhibited little understanding for these sorts of things. "A man who habitually gets drunk," argued Texas superintendent Rufus King, "is able to support himself if he would keep sober," and should be expelled from the home for this

¹⁵For the complete testimony of "Uncle Jim" Mills, who was among the first Georgia inmates admitted, see *Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home* (1906), 187-205, GDAH. See also Mills to W. Lowndes Calhoun, 1 April 1900, GSH, Board of Trustees, Letters Received, GDAH; and *The Thin Gray Line, 1861-1922* (Atlanta, 1922), 74, AHS. For instances of inmate drunkenness and management disgust, see: GSH, Board of Trustees, *Report* (1906), 6-7, 9-10, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:48-50, 133; 3:185, 244, 266-67, GDAH; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report by Commandant William H. Terry (c. May 1887), Correspondence, VSL; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:190, 197, LHAC; TxHM, Board of Managers, *Report* (1892), 6, TxSA.

¹⁶GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:123-24, 147, 165, 299, GDAH; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 3:36, VSL; TxHM, Board of Managers, *Report* (1900), 9, TxSA.

"disgraceful conduct."¹⁷ From the inmates' point of view, however, reliance upon drugs and alcohol seemed a justifiable escape from everyday realities.

According to inmate complaints, the homes were too impersonal and bureaucratic. Trustees were crooked and apathetic, while superintendents were overbearing incompetents, hardly endearing themselves to the objects of paternal concern. The cooking was bad, uniforms were shoddy and the female employees cold and crabby. Moreover, grown men were treated like children; they resented having to ask for passes, sleeping in over-crowded wards, not having enough spending money and being lectured to because of their occasional misdeeds. Even worse, the staff and fellow inmates physically and emotionally abused them.¹⁸

Home officials found ways to respond to such criticisms. They set up rotating committees and routinely conducted internal investigations to check the truthfulness of inmate accusations. No complaint was too trivial. Committees periodically and rigorously inspected the home to ensure that a proper economy was observed, that the floors were scrubbed, walls whitewashed, the bedding and blankets plentiful and clean,

¹⁷TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1901), 7, APL.

¹⁸See letter from "6 inmates" to James Hogg, 1 March 1891, Governors Records, James S. Hogg, TxSA; Texas House Journal (1897), 101, 692-93; (1905), 298-99, 1078, 1216-17; (1919), 299, 544, 582, 668, 673; Texas Laws (1905), 409; Confederate (Austin) Home Vidette, 1 January 1913; "Disabled Veterans" to AANV, 8 January 1885, AANV Papers, Correspondence, LHAC; Charles A. Roberts to Fred Ober, 22 November 1906; Auriel Aurand to Board of Directors, 30 September 1903; "16 Veterans" to Board of Directors, 13 May 1919; Board of Directors to T. O. Moore, 8 September 1909, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Investigating Committee Report (6 October, 1889), LHAC; John Watson to Board of Directors, 3 May 1919, CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, LHAC; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:99, 107, 141, 150-51, 157, 219; 3:132-35, GDAH; William DeJournett to Charles D. Phillips, 25 June 1907; M. A. Fowler et al. to "Guardians of Home," 12 December 1903, GSH, Board of Trustees, Correspondence, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1906), 11, GDAH; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:171, VSL; letter from Green B. Samuels, 17 July 1899; J. H. Allen to Fitzhugh Lee, 13 October 1885, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL.

and that the staff treated inmates with kindness. The committees encouraged inmates to appear before them, to offer suggestions for improvement and to express their possible grievances. Inmates could now speak their minds, committee members advised, for the superintendent was not in the room. How often are you fed? Is the bread molded and crusty? Are you pleased with your quarters? Do you have any knowledge of those able to work and do not? Is anyone residing here not a Confederate veteran? These and other questions inspection teams would ask.¹⁹

In exchange for this personal solicitude committee members anticipated satisfactory answers and appropriate deference. Residents were also expected to abide by their superiors' decisions at all times, and to yield power and control over their own lives, or risk being considered uncooperative, ungrateful and disorderly. For it also fell within the purview of the investigating committees to discipline individual inmates, and to report any disobedience and punishment to the full board. In effect, the same hand that supposedly safeguarded inmates chastened them as well.

As a reminder of the institution's desire for order and impersonality, residents in all the homes were appropriately referred to as inmates. A late sixteenth-century English word that meant, literally, "inn mate," nothing better symbolized the gap that separated the home's population from the genteel presumptions of those who administered the institution. Although three centuries later it remained fashionable to consider residents of various public institutions as inmates, the term also carried with it a distasteful stigma. Nevertheless, in the governing boards' minutes, as well as in most official correspondence and transactions, veterans domiciled in Confederate

¹⁹Of the 46 inmates questioned by the Georgia investigating committee in December 1905, 23 had no complaints; 18 indicated that drunkenness and cursing by fellow inmates worried them the most; 8 criticized the home's clothing and food quality; specifically expressed displeasure for passes, curfews and the management; while only 3 made a positive statement of their treatment in the home. GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:3, GDAH.

soldiers' homes were continuously designated as inmates, and sometimes "old boys." At the same time individual board members were always called "comrade" or otherwise had functional titles (president, secretary, treasurer, etc.) appended to their surnames; this, despite formal protests by both groups in at least three homes to amend the practice forever. When six veterans boldly presented in 1905 a handwritten petition requesting that inmates residing in the "Confederate Veterans Home (Prison) of Georgia" be henceforth termed "guests," the board president "lectured" these men, informing them that their actions were insubordinate, and therefore invited them to leave.²⁰

Gross insubordination was a grievous act that home administrators could not afford to tolerate. More often than not trustees adopted a hard-line policy, recommending firm discipline and strict enforcement of the rules, in such cases. Failure to do so, many contended, would deny the "good and orderly" inmates their rights. Ideally, inmates possessed basic collective rights and limited autonomy.²¹ Yet there was no more serious breach of discipline than an outright challenge to the board's authority.

²⁰For the etymology of "inmate," see The Oxford English Dictionary 13 vols. (Oxford, 1933), 5:307. Note that one form of the word--"inmateryall"--is obsolete for immaterial, meaning devoid of possessions, as most veterans probably were. For formal petitions presented by inmates and management alike, see the handwritten "Exhibit A" by M. L. Faries et al., c. April 1905, GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:200-01, GDAH; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 3:265, 270, 279, 280-300, LHAC; TSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 45, TSLA.

²¹As evidence of this freedom, occasionally inmates could, and often did, endorse an applicant's candidacy for superintendent, or memorialize respected staff members. In some homes inmates could elect their own officers, just as they had done during the war, subject of course to the board's approval. And usually they were permitted to petition, through proper channels, for the remission of penalties imposed upon one of their comrades, or to be excused from work details and apply for furloughs. See Georgia House Journal (1919), 1341-42; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:34; 3:172, 177; 4:116, GDAH; Langdon Bowie to Board of Trustees, 12 January 1906, GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, GDAH; E. G. Wall et al. to Charles P. Bigger, 10 January 1893, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; petition to Board of Directors, c. September 1899; petition by "Confederate Veterans at Camp Nicholls," 24 February 1912; "Inmate" to Fred A. Ober, 9 February 1903; Henry B. Verret to Alden McLellan, 25 January 1900, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC; Confederate (Austin) Home News, 17 February 1912; Con Vet 10 (1902): 223.

In such cases, expulsion was the only possible solution. When asked whether he thought the penalty of ejection was too severe for refractory old men, Georgia trustee W. S. Thompson responded frankly: "I think [not], so far as my knowledge goes and my observation of men and specially that class of men." Besides, he warned, "there might be a very great danger of really defeating the object of the Home if the idea ever gets out that the men are not amenable to discipline." And though punishment may appear harsh, asserted Fred Ober in 1906, the good name of the home must be maintained "at all hazards."²²

Trustees took their work seriously and were quite assiduous in dealing with "discordant and rebellious" inmates. In 1904 a veteran called the Virginia commandant a "Damn Son of a Bitch" and threatened "to Blow his damn Brains out." The inmate was court-martialed and ordered immediately expelled from the home, after having resided there less than six months. In 1910 a seventy-three-year-old Georgia inmate who called the matron a "damned bitch" was eventually committed to the state insane asylum; as was a drunken Tennessee inmate, whose stick of dynamite detonated, wrecked his room and ripped a ten-foot square hole in the main building's roof in 1907. To speak disparagingly of the home, especially when outside the walls, also met with resolute disapprobation and extreme punishment. Likewise, so did a host of other actual "intolerable" offenses, including: indecent exposure, begging, aggravated assaults against fellow inmates, habitual drunkenness, chronic kicking, "cohabitating with negro wenches," and propositioning female servants.²³

²²For Thompson's observations, see Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 329-32, 327, GDAH. For Ober's remarks, see CNSH, Board of Directors, President Report (5 May 1906), LHAC.

²³See LCSH, Application for Admission, Marshall S. Brown, VSL, which also has the veteran's record as an inmate; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:45, 50, 79-80, VSL GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:159, 185, 191; 3:70-72, 140-41, 146, 167, GDAH; TSH, Board of

There were, of course, less direct means of defying home authorities. One was to desert or emigrate voluntarily without permission, as many inmates did. The homes' official annual statistical compilations included a special category for those who "left," or were "absent," as was the case for those "admitted" and "died." The records indicate that inmates preferred leaving the home during the month of December (when inmate in-migration peaked as well) over other months of the year. Sometimes the lists also included veterans who adopted another passive, albeit final, mode of resistance: suicide, a problem that persisted well into the twentieth century.²⁴

Ninety-one-year-old Charles Allen, a former Confederate artilleryman, chose to deal with life in the Lee Camp Home by leaving, though without bothering to obtain an official furlough. When he finally reached his home near Raleigh, West Virginia, in early February 1912, after residing less than a year in the institution, he angrily notified the commandant: "I am not comin back any more[.] I had as well goe to . . . the asylum as to come back and doe nothing. You may rock me out of my weight on erth but you cant take my rights from me!" The wife of a Virginia inmate informed a home official that her husband had returned home in late September 1893 "very dissatisfied," and that she did not believe that he would "ever be satisfied out there." Leaving without written authorization, like any other rule violation, jeopardized a former inmate's chances of returning, as sixty-two-year-old David G. Boisseau discovered. After having refused to accept the terms of the sentence imposed on him for bootlegging, in January

Trustees, Minutes, 20-21, TSLA; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:275, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, President Report (3 June 1904), LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Investigating Committee Report (17 November 1897), LHAC.

²⁴For the presentation and analysis of these and other related statistics, see APPENDIX. For reports of suicides, see Confederate (Austin) Home Vidette, 1 June 1912; and LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 2:25, VSL.

1912 he left the Lee Camp Home and subsisted on charity for more than a year. "You must remember," Boisseau appealed, "that there is none of us but what makes mistakes I have always Regreated my mistake," and he urged the board to try to forgive him and allow him to return, but to no avail.²⁵

Others found it difficult to adjust to life outside the walls after being disciplined and consequently applied for readmission. A Georgia veteran appealed for reinstatement in 1911 several months after he had been dismissed for insobriety and "immoral conduct." In the meantime, according to a public poor relief agency which had assisted him, he had been "absolutely in want, strolling about Atlanta, sleeping wherever he could . . . and living in filth and rags." When the board met to discuss his case, the trustees agreed to allow him to return, providing he promised to follow the rules and to keep sober, which terms he gladly accepted. Former inmate Pleasant Wood was dealt with in a similar fashion. Suspended from the Georgia home in 1912 for intoxication and calling the stewardess, Avarilla T. Clayton, a "liar," the seventy-year-old was summoned before the board. It ordered him to apologize to Miss Clayton, which he did, explaining that, when drunk, he had forgotten "the respect due a lady" for which offense he now had the utmost regret. Satisfied, the board then admonished Wood to be more careful, excused the charges against him and reinstated him. Temporarily residing in the Rutherford County Poor House, one former inmate's promise to the Tennessee home board president read, simply: "I will return and be an obedient Ex-Confederate and act

²⁵See Allen to J. E. Graves, 7 February 1912; Mrs. Clark to Charles Bigger, 1 October 1893; and Boisseau to Graves, 8 February 1913, LCSH, Application for Admission, Allen, Clark, Boisseau, VSL.

as becomes a gentleman. . . . I shall say nor do anything against the Home nor its inmates. I will do anything that I am asked to do unless it is hard work. . . ."²⁶

Few inmates received more reprieves than did William J. Delbridge. On three separate occasions he had been discharged from the Georgia home on account of his "liquor habit," and each time he applied for and received reinstatement. After losing his fourth bout with the "deceptive stuff," Delbridge once again applied for permission to re-enter. If readmitted to the home, he promised to work on the farm, "free of charge" if necessary, and not to "break another rule forever." The superintendent of the Fulton County almshouse endorsed his application, vouching that the sixty-two-year-old infantry veteran had conducted himself "splendidly" during his four-month stay in that establishment. Delbridge won his appeal and continued to reside in the Georgia home, with no apparent further incident, until his death some two years later.²⁷

Apparently disciplinary boards disliked having to reconsider their own decisions. Such was the case for Camp Nicholls veteran Malachi Whittle, who petitioned the Louisiana board for repeal of his three-month confinement to the grounds for intoxication. Whittle asserted that, when he was first admitted to the home, he had already suffered from fainting spells. As a result, a "drink of any kind" aggravated his condition; nevertheless, it would not "happen again," he vowed. "I never fail in my work, taking care of the storerooms and the benches on the grounds," he claimed, and

²⁶William Barr to John C. Loggins, 16 October 1918, TxHM, Board of Managers, Correspondence, TxSA; GSH, Board of Trustees, 2:42; 3:88, 101, 176, GDAH; Edward Travers to T. C. Will, 27 December 1908; John Edens to H. H. Ward, 3 September 1907, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC; James E. Childress to A. L. Phillips, 25 June 1902, LCSH, Application for Admission, Childress, VSL; R. P. Williford to William J. McMurray, 22 March 1893, TSH, Application for Admission, Williford, TSLA; Tennessee Acts (1899), 1257.

²⁷GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:8-11, 39, GDAH. See also a pair of Delbridge's clemency petitions, one handwritten and dated 15 January 1907, the other typed and dated 7 July 1907, GDAH.

others would attest that he was usually a "quiet peaceable man." Unmoved by his explanation, the board denied his request. Another veteran, Rufus Houston, was "mortified" about the sentence imposed on him for brawling with a fellow inmate. Although he had been deprived of six months of pass privileges as punishment, his opponent had lost only two. "If I had been sentenced to the penitentiary, I do not believe it would have injured my reputation more," Houston declared. Upon reconsideration, the board did see fit to reduce his sentence by one third. Andrew J. Rogers had even less good fortune. Found guilty of drunkenness and disorderly conduct, the Virginian had been confined to the Lee Camp home grounds for nearly four months before he applied for permission to leave the institution "for good." The board, however, choosing not to reopen the case, rejected Rogers' petition.²⁸

Ordinarily such matters remained hidden from the public, but some veterans refused to accept the boards' decisions as final and therefore appealed to outsiders for intervention. After Thomas O'Donnell had confessed to having smuggled whiskey into Camp Nicholls and had been ordered dismissed in 1895, he subsequently sued to gain readmittance and actually won the legal proceedings. At least two other inmates openly challenged through legal means the boards' right to impose discipline. Sixty-seven-year-old Louis Soraparu, accused of circulating derogatory reports against Camp Nicholls and its directors, claimed the governing board could not lawfully expel an inmate. Another veteran who had been suspended a year for fighting at the Texas home in 1912 sought to have an injunction served against the superintendent to prevent his

²⁸Malachi Whittle to B. T. Walshe, 25 June 1899; Rufus K. Houston to Board of Directors, c. May 1918, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 3:178-79, 186-87, VSL.

sentence from being executed. In both cases, however, the courts decided in favor of the administration, ruling that the home did, in fact, possess full disciplinary power.²⁹

Thomas J. Severn, of Alexandria, Louisiana, knew firsthand of the "diabolical" discipline wielded by the Camp Nicholls board of directors. Possessing a "good war record," and "never in the habit of drinking or gambling," Severn had been placed under arrest in 1900 by superintendent John J. Aubertin for refusing to work. "He has endeavored to escape all exertion," Aubertin insisted in a letter to the board president, "except a showing of great activity and capacity at meals." After looking into the case, the investigating committee reported that in the three years Severn had resided at the home, he had been brought up on the same charges on at least three previous occasions. If there ever was a shirker, here was one who surely deserved to be punished, board members must have thought. Yet, before being sentenced, Severn left the home, relinquishing "its supposed benefits." After having promptly informed his state senator, he then had his own sensational account "of persecution" in the home published in a local newspaper.³⁰

Apparently nothing became of Severn's appeal, but another Camp Nicholls inmate's obstinance some six years earlier had been somewhat more far-reaching. In an open letter to the two founding veterans associations, the AANV and AAT, W. B. Ripley accused the soldiers' home administrators of "infamous mismanagement." Among other things, Ripley charged, the superintendent was not only incompetent, mendacious,

²⁹Confederate (Austin) Home Vidette, 15 May 1912; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:148, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, President Report (25 January 1909), LHAC.

³⁰For Severn's ordeal, see his letter to the Board of Directors, 31 August 1900; John J. Aubertin to Alden McLellan, 1 September 1900; Severn to E. E. Smart, 2 October 1900; and McLellan to Leon Jastremski, 15 October 1900, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC.

peculative and brutal, but also a deserter from the Confederate army! Worse still, the home--"a rare combination of convict camp and pauper asylum," as Ripley preferred to view it--had degenerated into "a place of penance, humiliation and degradation," where its inhabitants had been "hounded to premature graves," while others who had resisted had been expelled "to die of privation and exposure." Considering Ripley's charges too serious to ignore, the home board countered by first investigating, and then rejecting the stinging indictments. They completely exonerated the superintendent, and instructed Ripley to "keep quiet." Furthermore, the board sought to impugn Ripley's accusations publicly by calling into question the recalcitrant veteran's own war record and character. Ripley retaliated by having his letter published in local newspapers. Then, astounding no one, he left the home, not to be heard from again.

Soon Louisiana lawmakers announced a "thorough and searching" investigation of their own. Inmates would be interrogated under oath and none of the "gentlemen" (home authorities) would be called upon to serve as witnesses or to cross-examine them. It is impossible to state whether Ripley's charges received a fair hearing, since the testimony is no longer extant. It is known, however, that after compiling a "large mass of evidence," the special legislative committee dismissed Ripley's complaints as outlandish and "imagined." The Picayune, controlled by a home trustee, was hardly surprised by the decision. Here was yet another case, the newspaper commented in June 1894, of how men who believe they "should have all the whiskey" they want, break the rules and raise a "fuss."³¹

³¹For a published account of the sensational Ripley case, see Board of Directors to AANV and AAT, 9 September 1893, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC. See also CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:99-100, LHAC; Louisiana House Journal (1894), 824-25; and New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 11 June 1894.

Ripley dared to buck the system and he lost, but not altogether, for his controversy evidently accentuated a persistent public debate by home sympathizers and critics. It was a debate that embraced the central dilemma of whether providing benevolent care instilled a pauper mentality in its recipients. In Ripley's instance, the administration was upheld, but such was not the case for other specially appointed committees which also responded from time to time to cries of charity abuse.

Legislative investigations touched practically every Confederate soldiers' home in the New South. Perhaps the most remarkable was the one in 1906, which was occasioned by some twenty-two residents of the Georgia home, including several men who had been disciplined for various offenses. The inmates had signed a petition complaining of a host of improprieties, ranging from fiscal mismanagement to a shortage of heat and good food. Fearing that the charges could "do great harm to this great institution," state legislators established a joint committee empowered to summon witnesses, enforce attendance and take evidence during public meetings, which were held in the Senate's chambers and the home chapel. Among those representing the plaintiffs was an Atlanta attorney who had seen better days, Hugh H. Colquitt, a former officer of the Fulton County Veterans Association and brother to a Georgia Senator. Colquitt was also an inmate, in fact the inmate who authored the petition. Judge Frank Freeman, a trustee, served as counsel for the home. During the four days--and nearly five hundred pages--of exhausting testimony, inmates voiced familiar criticisms: the clothing was inadequate; trustees were simply out of touch; discipline was too stringent; the staff was too harsh and rude. The superintendent "simply [ran] a convict camp," one veteran charged, "to keep the men in embarrassment all the time." The stewardess, claimed another inmate, was absolutely "the devil in petticoats." In short, argued Colquitt, he and his comrades were not "being treated as the people of Georgia expect[ed] their

Confederate Veterans to be treated." After interviewing dozens of inmates and home authorities, the committee agreed, and directed that the problems cited receive immediate attention.³²

An investigation of the Texas home in 1917 had similar results. Progressive legislators were appalled by the facility's poor sanitary conditions, the inefficient bookkeeping and inventory control methods, unusually large liquor purchases and the fact that several German natives were employed there. They also heard numerous complaints of abusive staff officers. The home physician was a drunk, and Dr. John C. Loggins, the superintendent, could care less about them, inmates whined. In the end, the committee strongly urged the replacement of both men, as well as the home quartermaster, who had inadequately managed the home's appropriations.³³

To recommend was about all the committees could do, however, since they lacked the immediate legal power to effect changes outright. Of course, administrators could ill afford engendering the ire of representatives of the very body that provided biennial funding for the homes or would eventually vote to extend the home's charter. And certainly neither side desired a public scandal. Yet not all suggestions were routinely followed, as was evident by the fact, for example, that Doctor Loggins retained his position as Texas superintendent for more than two years following the investigation.

³²For criticisms by inmates, see Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 100, 117-128, 136-41, 228-29, 232, 280, 287-90, 292, 365, 367-68, 374, GDAH. The committee's findings begin on page 466. For the committee's origins, see Georgia Laws (1906), 1164-65. Regarding legislative investigations of other homes, see the petition by E. G. Wall et al., 4 July 1892, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:359-66; 2:22-25, VSL; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 5:76-78, LHAC.

³³See the Investigation of the Texas Home for Men (1917), 34-36, 39-40, 45, 85-87, 91, 114-15, 177, TxSA.

Committee members could hardly prevent the backlash of repression some inmates apparently experienced after testifying against the homes. Doctor Hodgkin informed the Virginia governor that inmates were generally "shy of making complaints," fearing they would "lose prestige with the officers." Others upheld Hodgkin's avowal. A special committee inspecting the Tennessee Soldiers' Home in 1897 noted that many inmates appeared timid when questioned, "lest they should meet the disapprobation, censure and perhaps dismissal" by home authorities. When asked during the investigative proceedings of the Lee Camp home in 1892 why no complaints had been made earlier, J. M. Bromson, a four-year resident, responded: "For the simple reason we have been afraid of that gate. It has been thrown up to us by the negroes!" Another Lee Camp inmate testified that one of the "darkies" in the hospital had informed him that, if he did not like the institution, "the gate was open." Sixty-six-year old George W. Killen, a Georgia inmate for nearly three years, alleged that if any of the men complained, trustees would dub them "chronic kickers," and deal with them as any other annoyance or nuisance. Judge Freeman, the Georgia home attorney, asked H. H. Liggin, an inmate for eighteen months: "You have been told time and time again, if you had any complaints to make [they] would be investigated?" Liggin, who had also spent time in a Yankee prison camp during the war, responded: "Yes, and I have been told by inmates that we would not be heard and it would go hard with us if we complained. . . . If a man ever signs his name to charges it is just well as being gone."³⁴ On the other hand, there were also several known cases of reverse intimidation. Lee Camp home board president

³⁴For allegations of retribution against inmates, see Tennessee Senate Journal (1897), 805-07; H. H. Mashburn to Julian S. Carr, 3 November 1922, Martha Haywood Papers, NCDH; the 176-paged stenographic report filed in reaction to the petition by E. G. Wall et al., 4 July 1892 (especially pages 36, 39-40, 95), VSL; John N. Opie to Norman V. Randolph, 7 February 1900, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 22-24, 40-51, 221, GDAH; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 5:84, 91-92, 95-96, LHAC.

Norman V. Randolph complained to the chairman of a legislative investigation in progress in 1898 that three witnesses had warned individual inmates not to testify in favor of the administration or risk being ostracized by the other men.³⁵

Such a report confirmed and reinforced the dominant notion held by administrators and the general public that some men did indeed not belong in the home in the first place. Dr. A. R. Holderby, the Georgia home chaplain for nearly twenty years, asserted that a certain class of inmates was "very thoughtless and reckless," and would say or do almost anything to bring reproach upon the institution, when in fact there was much more to commend than condemn. Rather than denounce the home, according to one Camp Nicholls director, inmates "should bow down and thank God for the many kindnesses and considerations given them!" Legislative inspectors agreed more often than not and invariably dismissed most inmate charges as elaborate and imaginary.³⁶

Since the homes were supposedly well managed, and the inmates were on the whole treated kindly, there was no real need for change. Even so, managers had to be diligent enough to prevent criticism, official or otherwise. Surely one way to do so was to improve morale by adopting less stringent disciplinary methods. Such was the case in many of the homes when it came to dealing with alcohol and drug abuse. While some home authorities consistently took a dim view of the practice and favored punishing those who

³⁵Randolph to Opie, 7 February 1900, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL.

³⁶Regarding the nonchalant attitude toward inmate allegations, see Texas House Journal (1901), 638-39; New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913. For overwhelmingly favorable endorsements of home administrations, see GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:149; 4:27, 29-30, 43, GDAH; Georgia House Journal (1895), 457; (1913), 1140-42, 1255-57; Texas House Journal (1907), 694; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:149-51, VSL. For the defensive posture adopted by home officials, see Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 177, GDAH; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 5:75-77, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Investigating Committee Report (7 September 1918), LHAC; Board of Visitors to J. C. Batchelder, 16 April 1912, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, VSL.

partook freely and too often, others were willing to adopt more lenient measures. "Let's be [more] patient with the old men," board president Julian Carr advised the superintendent of the North Carolina home: "They are old and childish and we have got to bear with them." Close personal surveillance should be maintained, advised the Georgia internal investigating committee in 1907, yet "while enforcing discipline," we should also "temper justice with mercy."³⁷

It has been suggested that as Confederate inmates grew older (and presumably less active) the number, frequency and severity of rule infractions decreased.³⁸ Therefore, according to this argument, any reevaluation of a home's expulsion policy was only natural and inevitable. Yet the decision to lessen penalties for rule infractions was probably more deliberate than incidental and originated from both external and internal demands.

The treatment of men like Hugh Colquitt, for example, caused some Georgia trustees to reconsider their policy of expelling drunken inmates automatically. If there

³⁷Carr to Martha Haywood, 22 December 1920; 6 November 1922, Haywood Papers, NCDH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:273, GDAH. See also Mrs. James Pleasants to Norman V. Randolph, 9 January 1893, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL, regarding a dismissed insubordinate inmate who earnestly desired "the helpful restraints" of the home.

³⁸See Emily J. Williams, "A home . . . for the Old Boys': The Robert E. Lee Camp Confederate Soldiers' Home," Virginia Cavalcade 28 (1979): 41, who argued that, as the age of residents increased, problems of misbehavior were fewer and the rules were altered to accommodate older men. Nevertheless, the official records of the institution reveal otherwise. From 1897 to 1899, for example, as many as 16 Lee Camp inmates were dismissed for cause; between 1915 and 1917, 14 were expelled, only a slight decrease. LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1898-1900, 1916-1918), VSL. See also CNSH, Board of Directors, Investigating Committee Report (1900, 1915, 1919), LHAC. Between 1 July 1899 and 16 November 1900, Camp Nicholls officials cited 101 inmates for rules violations ranging from intoxication, disturbing the peace to assault and battery, threats, and insubordination. Between 4 January 1913 and 5 December 1914, 30 inmates were brought up on charges; 14 for drunkenness and bootlegging; 8 disturbing the peace and fighting; 4 for threatening and abusing home officers. In 1918, 8 inmates were found guilty of creating disturbances, including climbing the front fence. So, while the number of infractions clearly appeared to have decreased over time, the presumption that aged inmates tended to be more passive in latter years is questionable indeed.

was ever one who could not hold his liquor, it was Colquitt. It was public knowledge that though he belonged to one of the first families in the state, he had lost his fortune and social prominence over the years because of a chronic drinking problem. And, judging from his record as an inmate, he evidently failed to overcome his dependency while residing in the home. During one three-month period in 1914, for example, Colquitt was cited for drunkenness six times each month! The board ended up disciplining him for the same offense at least five times during his seven-year tenure as an inmate. But was this any way, inquired one trustee, for a Confederate soldier who has fallen "by the wayside" to be treated? Cannot the superintendent "guide" and "help" "gentle born" Colquitt, instead of exercising the "strong arm of the Law?"³⁹

Colquitt's case posed, symbolically at least, a formidable dilemma. If he were not effectively disciplined, would the home's control over the other inmates be jeopardized? Yet if he were dismissed, would administrators want to risk an external investigation that would surely follow? After much discussion with other trustees, president Bell announced the solution in his annual report of 1912. Although it remained necessary for the board to strive to "reform & improve the behavior and deportment" of some inmates, he stated, experience had dictated, that it would be inexpedient to expel old men or to attempt to "convert the Home into a Temperance society," since Confederate veterans had lived long before temperance "was a rule." Instead the trustees should employ alternative methods of discipline and should do anything short of discharging the old men, unless of course inmates were found guilty of some "outrageous conduct."⁴⁰

³⁹For Colquitt's background, see The Thin Gray Line, 60, AHS; and Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 292, GDAH. For his spotty record in the home, see GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:121, 150, 155-56, 229, 235; 4:33, GDAH; George N. Saussey Diary, GDAH; and Simeon Theus to Horatio W. Bell, 18 October 1910, GSH, Board of Trustees, Letters Received, GDAH.

⁴⁰GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:246-47, GDAH.

Exactly what did Bell mean by his reference to turning the home into a "temperance society?" He undoubtedly had in mind the various attempts at moral suasion he and his fellow administrators in other homes had previously employed as preventive measures. In the past, officials had sought to encourage inmates to forswear the use of alcohol in a number of ways. Several of the homes, including Georgia's, for example, required all prospective inmates to subscribe to a pledge of obedience to the rules, especially the proscription against the consumption and possession of whiskey on the grounds. To remind inmates of their promises, the Camp Nicholls board had copies of the rules printed in plain, large type, framed and posted in all home cottages. To help inmates keep their word, Georgia trustees had also adopted the practice of having the men convene in the home chapel. More than just a place for interdenominational religious services and home meetings, the chapel also served as a morality stage. Here before the inmates the president and other trustees would publicly commend (or reprimand) men for their proper (or improper) conduct. Here the home chaplain sometimes preached to his audience against the awful temptations of strong drink and the necessity and rewards of following rules and regulations. Here interspersed among the life-size portraits of Generals Lee, Johnston and Jackson were placards bearing the messages which read: "Be ye not drunk with wine", or "Surely the Lord is in this place," or "Be ye kind to one another." And it was here that the temperance ladies lectured on the virtues of remaining sober and the terrible consequences of insobriety.⁴¹

⁴¹George M. Battey, Jr., "The Confederate Soldiers' Home of Georgia," Atlanta Journal Magazine, 28 April 1912; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:180; 3:103, 113, GDAH; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:44; 4:15, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, President Report (2 June 1906), LHAC; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:141, 158; 2:352, VSL; Confederate (Austin) Home News, 17 February 1912; "Sermon from a Veteran to Comrades," Con Vet 9 (1901): 549-50.

In spite of all these admonitions, some inmates, like Colquitt, a "law unto himself," persisted. One veteran's doggerel not only addressed his fellow inmates' intemperance, but also reflected the determined intransigence of some of the men in the home.

We . . . are good Teetotalers,
and we have signed the pledge,
Rather than a drink of whiskey,
we would swallow an iron wedge. . . .
As we consider it poison,
we keep our bottles hid,
For fear some one might take it,
not knowing what he did;
And as it is often we get sick,
we just slip and take a smile,
Keeping a sharp look-out, indeed,
with our eyes "skinned" all the while. . . .

Yet, as Judge Bell mentioned, there was no need to cease trying to reform inmates or to do away with discipline altogether. No one would have agreed to do that! Rather the Georgia trustees believed it was time to embark upon a new strategy of less severe sentences for intoxication. In practice during the next ten years or so that meant shorter suspension periods coupled with stern reprimands, in place of indefinite expulsions for first time offenders.⁴²

To help counter the spread of alcohol abuse inside the walls of the Virginia home, the board adopted different measures other than penalties of confinement to the grounds and additional labor. For one, it appealed to Richmond citizens to refrain from selling or giving whiskey to inmates with passes. "We know that the temptation to treat these old men when in the city," wrote president Randolph, "but as a general rule it is disastrous

⁴²McC Campbell, Ex-Confederate Soldiers' Home, VHS; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:55, 143, 273; 3:55, 61, 140-41, 167, GDAH; George N. Saussey Diary, GDAH; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:45, 79-80, VSL; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:166, 272, LHAC.

to them." In 1912 Tennessee administrators made a similar call to prevent political candidates from sending "election whiskey" to the home. The Texas board went one step further by having a law enacted that prohibited any person from selling or giving intoxicants to inmates. The Virginia board also issued a circular to all known Confederate veterans camps in the state to exercise "close scrutiny" and to "inquire diligently" into a prospective inmate's "moral character" before endorsing his application for admission to the home. Too often, the circular read, the home had been "imposed upon" by veterans whose service record was flawless, but whose "unruly and dissipated dispositions" made them "unfit members" of the institution.⁴³

The Camp Nicholls administrators' battle against alcohol abuse led to the reconsideration of the routine therapeutic practice of prescribing whiskey as a stimulant and tonic. In 1891, Louisiana home surgeon Yves R. LeMournier, for example, had recommended two rations of whiskey per day, in order to help the "old and decrepid" men "keep up animal heat." The board adopted the motion. Yet by 1907, Fred Ober believed that whiskey consumption had reached a point at which some restraint should be placed upon it. If alcohol was so destructive to man's health, he argued, how could it help restore that health once impaired? Economic considerations more than temperance qualms, however, had led Ober to raise the question. Each day, according to his calculations, the dispensary used anywhere from one gallon to nine pints (ranging from about one to two ounces per inmate) at an annual cost of eight hundred dollars. In the end, rather than abolish the practice altogether, the board decided to regulate more closely the amount of whiskey each inmate imbibed, since the home rations, so some

⁴³Texas Senate Journal (1913), 93; TSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 58-59, TSLA; James W. Pegram to "Comrades," 27 October 1893; W. Gordon McCabe to James Pegram, 30 October 1893; Charles W. Bingley to Norman V. Randolph, 14 April 1891, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL.

board members argued, helped deter inmates from leaving the home grounds for a drink.⁴⁴

An even more effective deterrent was to withhold the one dollar "gratuity" or pension allocated to Louisiana inmates each month. Originally intended to provide indigent Camp Nicholls residents with a little spending money, the stipend, to the dismay of home officials, invariably went towards the purchase of whiskey that was either consumed on the spot or was brought back into the home. Explaining that the money was "meant for the worthy and not the unworthy," the board petitioned for and received the right to deprive those who violated the rules of their one dollar or more (depending upon the gravity of the offense) allowance. Intoxicated inmates, for example, could expect to receive, in addition to a period of confinement, a fine ranging from one to five dollars. Repeat offenders received longer sentences and larger fines, but the board considered it much more preferable than turning out a veteran.⁴⁵

The ongoing battle between inmates and home authorities over drinking habits obviously conflicted with the notion that Confederate soldiers' institutions were "rest homes." The assumption that an aging population would guarantee a more peaceful home atmosphere was also invalid. The Georgia home, though opening some seventeen years after the Lee Camp home, experienced just as many if not more breaches in discipline during its first decade of operation than the latter did during the same period. And able-bodied octogenarians could be and apparently were at times just as uncooperative,

⁴⁴CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:30, LHAC; Fred Ober to Alex N. Power, 7 September 1907, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC.

⁴⁵See CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes 2:397, LHAC, which undoubtedly offered a better alternative than Director B. T. Walshe's recommendation that "any inmate who caused any disturbance . . . would be sent to prison." See also Tennessee House Journal (1911), 947-48, which suggested that trustees construct a "guardhouse" where an old soldier could sleep off his "indiscretion."

ornery, and offensive to those in charge as relatively younger inmates. From the available evidence, it appears that, for example, there were more recorded instances of inmate violence and physical assaults against staff members during the first two decades of the twentieth century, than in any other period of the homes' combined existence.

One explanation for this phenomenon may be that these were the peak years, when proportionately more inmates were accommodated, thus creating a potentially more volatile environment. The Texas home reported in 1912 that some "spry old bucks" often quarreled and fought "like youngsters" over any "trivial thing," dominoes or a "friendly" card game, and had been known to "scrap over" newspapers, magazines, and food. Politics also served as a source of dissension, thus further dispelling the stereotype that the aged are relatively uninterested in such matters. Tip Harrison, the Georgia home board secretary and Grady protege, testified in 1906 that a pair of inmates had a "little slapping spell" in their room over the different forms of baptism. Judge Bell's report five years later related an incident that had occurred in the Georgia home mess hall, in which a few inmates fought, using cookery and tin serving pitchers as weapons, and turned over tables, creating "much excitement." In 1918 one Georgia inmate died after his roommate struck him with an iron poker. Determined insane and dangerous, the assailant was committed to the sanitarium in Milledgeville.⁴⁶

⁴⁶For specific acts of inmate roughhousing, especially during the twentieth century, see: Confederate (Austin) Home Vidette, 1 January 1913; "Texas Confederate Soldiers' Home a Model," Con Vet 20 (1912): 61; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:187, 193, 287-88; 4: 106, 139, GDAH; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 168, 450-52, GDAH; TSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 51, TSLA; CNSH, Board of Directors, Investigating Committee Report (1899-1924), LHAC. See also Philip L. Kapnick et al., "Political Behavior in the Aged: Some New Data," Journal of Gerontology 23 (1968): 305-10; president Henry E. Shelley's remark that a "large majority" of the Texas inmates participated in political campaigns, and the Texas newspaper run by inmates which served as a Democratic organ. TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1894), 4, TxSA; Confederate (Austin) Home Vidette, 15 May 1912.

Inmates not only lashed out at one another, but also against their keepers, and vice versa. To hear home officials tell it, the inmates were the aggressors; yet, by the same token, inmates saw themselves as innocent victims. As one Virginia veteran put it: "Some of us Poor-Inmates [are] made fish off and others made fowl off." The homes' official records contain several isolated examples indicative of the mutual animosity. One particularly "bloody fight" occurred at the Georgia home in December 1911, when an inmate and the superintendent "engaged in combat," according to the by-standers who separated them. After making a full investigation, summoning witnesses and taking testimony, the board suspended both men. Afterwards the superintendent was indicted and arraigned by a grand jury, but was subsequently acquitted and released. That same year sixty-four-year-old inmate Robert S. Saffold, a self-confessed "doper" and "morphine fiend," who had spent nearly a decade in a state sanitarium battling his drug dependency prior to his admission to the Georgia home in 1906, entered the superintendent's office, struck him with a pair of brass knuckles and began choking him with his bare hands, before finally being restrained. A similar episode had taken place at the home some nine years earlier, when the acting superintendent had been charged with assault with intent to murder an inmate. After hearing the testimony offered by a number of inmate witnesses, a joint committee of legislators and board members found the officer not guilty and unanimously commended his conduct. In 1913 a Texas inmate, whom the board had recently exonerated for having criticized the home's administration, caned the superintendent on the steps of the Travis County courthouse. Four years later Taylor Thompson told a special investigating committee that one of his comrades in the home, "a man who knew that his own end was rapidly approaching," had it in for the home physician and would have killed him with a pistol he had hidden had he been given

half a chance. Similarly, Georgia superintendent John A. Thompson testified in 1906 that the inmates "seemed to plot against" him, because he "tried to enforce the rules."⁴⁷

Sociologist Erving Goffman has suggested that among the several adaptive techniques employed by inmates in coping with institutional life, violence and other flagrant refusals to cooperate were but initial and temporary reactions. Indeed, it stands to reason that, if an old and cantankerous ex-Confederate was dissatisfied with home conditions, rather than lashing out with fury, he could leave. The walls, or fences in most homes, were by no means impassable. But for some inmates it was not as simple as that, as Doctor Loggins testified before a legislative committee in 1917. He did not believe that some men "would go out . . . unless you forced them out. They cannot live with their children," he asserted, or anyone else" for that matter. Mary E. Smith implored the Lee Camp board to readmit her brother who, though "sick, weak & nervous," and "utterly unfitted for work of any kind," had left the home involuntarily. Please "take him again," for he has "no other home open to him."⁴⁸

For those inmates who had nowhere else to go, or were prevented from leaving for health or other personal reasons, or who preferred not to risk encountering the

⁴⁷GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:76, 89, 91, 98, 101; 3:32-33, 38, 158, 165-67, 171, 177, 194, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1911), GDAH; Investigation of the Georgia Soldiers' Home (1906), 389, 450-52, GDAH; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 5:6, 7, 30, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, President Report (30 November 1900), LHAC; Melzar Titus to F. W. Gras, 5 February 1916, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC; NCSH, Superintendent's Inmate Behavior Log, 107, NCDAA; Raleigh News and Observer, 24-25 April 1935; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 2:410, VSL; W. L. Morris to Fitzhugh Lee, 3 February 1885; J. H. Allen to Lee, 13 October 1885, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; Investigation of the Texas Home for Men (1917), 69-71, TxSA; Confederate (Austin) Home Vidette, 1 May 1913.

⁴⁸Erving Goffman, Asylums: Essays in the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (Garden City, N.J., 1961), 60-63; Investigation of the Texas Home for Men (1917), 5, TxSA; Mary E. Smith to "Board of Visitors," n.d., LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL.

outside world and were willing to stay put, at least for the time being, there were other and less direct means of dealing with the institutional environment. Reminiscing, for example, was one available defense mechanism. Certain studies have indicated that living in the past, recalling earlier achievements and enlarging upon them, may not only enable individuals within an institutional setting to confront stress situations with dignity and courage, but may also enhance self-esteem. In other words, the need for "life review" springs out of an emotional need to feel secure, accepted and important; strong medicine for men more inclined to withdraw into a sullen shell or to succumb to fear and self-pity.⁴⁹

Although more research remains to be done before the importance and the implications of the role of reminiscing are fully known, it is certain that inmates of Confederate veterans' homes engaged in it, almost to excess. Will Branum, inspecting Camp Nicholls in early 1913, reportedly came across an inmate who was sitting alone on the veranda of one of the home pavilions. To Branum's query if he knew the whereabouts of a particular private, the old soldier replied: "I don't think there is nary private in this place--ceptin'me. That's why I'm so lonesome. All the rest of 'em is generals and colonels and captains--mostly captains!" Although the overwhelming majority of inmates in all the ex-Confederate homes had actually fought in the enlisted ranks, as they advanced in age, apparently, many had overlooked that minor detail. As Branum and other visitors noted, inmates had many opportunities to sit and talk, to reminisce about

⁴⁹For an introduction to the role of reminiscing, see Peter Feldman et al., "A Different Approach to the Treatment of the Older Male Veteran Patient," Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 9 (1961): 119-24; Edward P. Friedman, "Spatial Proximity and Social Interaction in a Home for the Aged," Journal of Gerontology 21 (1966): 566-70; Friedman, "Age, Length of Institutionalization, and Social Status in the Home for the Aged," ibid., 22 (1967): 474-77; Charles N. Lewis, "Reminiscing and Self-Concept in Old Age," ibid., 26 (1971): 240-43; Robert J. Havighurst and Richard Glasser, "An Exploratory Study of Reminiscence," ibid., 27 (1972): 245-53.

which colonel led what attack, and to recount the specific contribution each had made during the war some forty or fifty years in the past. After all, no matter how diverse their previous life experiences may have been, soldiers' home inmates--from Virginia to Texas--shared a single vital event: the war itself with which they all identified and for which they ultimately owed their presence in the institutions. As a favorite hymn sung by veterans at reunions so aptly put it: "We're [all] old-Time Confederates," and "that's good enough for me."⁵⁰

It is ironic that the very activities that increased social interaction and group consciousness among Confederate inmates were in fact cultivated and promoted by home administrators. Director Julian Levy pleaded with his fellow AANV members to visit the Camp Nicholls Home. There they would see their former comrades and converse with them about "old scenes, old times, old friends."⁵¹ Visitors, not just other veterans, but women and children, curiosity seekers and souvenir collectors, came by the droves, especially on weekends and holidays, and for the various events sponsored by the homes. By the same token home officials actively encouraged participation in all kinds of collective outings--parades, ceremonies, dedications, celebrations, concerts--to the delight of ambulatory inmates. Several homes provided free transportation to and from annual veteran reunions, and arranged for outside room and board at reduced rates. Delegations of Confederate soldiers' homes inmates invariably turned up at most any public gathering, from political rallies, funerals, and lotteries, to motion picture debuts, cross burnings and battlefield tours. Wherever they went, when displayed in their Confederate gray cloth uniforms, aged and limbless inmates represented more than

⁵⁰"The Last Roll," New Orleans Daily-Picayune, 19 January 1913; Con Vet 10 (1902): 296; 20 (1912): 61; Williams, "Lee Camp," 45.

⁵¹Julian Levy to AANV, 14 October 1911, AANV Papers, Veterans Benefits, LHAC.

the home. In the public's mind they served as living monuments from a mythic past to be admired, nay revered, in spite of whatever took place inside the walls.

CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS OF CHANGE AND DECLINE

In Ghosts of the Confederacy, Gaines Foster explains how the "central institutions" of the Lost Cause ceased to thrive after 1913. At that time major organizations, such as the United Confederate Veterans, which had long embraced and exploited the Confederate heritage, began to disintegrate as membership rolls diminished. Reunions, which had formerly served as the "central ritual" of the ex-Confederate celebration, became trivialized and commercialized. Moreover, memorial associations, monument building and ceremonial unveilings decreased in number and importance. In sum, Foster argues, "little institutional structure survived to sustain the memory of the war" by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century.¹

What of the soldiers' home which also symbolized and embodied, literally, the Confederate past? How and why did that institution change over time? When did its significance in southern society begin to diminish? Regretfully, Foster ignores the homes, some of which continued to provide shelter and care for living relics of the Confederacy into the 1930s.

Long before then the average inmate's experience had indeed become something very different from that which had been the lot of his predecessor decades earlier. One source of change grew out of the same multifaceted scientific and technological innovations which were reshaping society generally, and urban areas specifically. Electric lights, indoor plumbing, metal bed frames, inexpensive textiles, telephones,

¹Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913 (New York, 1987), 3-5, 7, 178-79, 197.

mechanized fire extinguishers and easy-to-clean composition floors had become part of the homes. The introduction of refrigerators and freezers meant a more varied and inexpensive food supply, as well as a more adequate diet. More effective modes of heating and ventilation also affected inmate experience: no more could some complain that beds placed near a central stove were too hot, while those in more remote corners of a ward were too cold. The awareness of pathogenic micro-organisms and the adoption of related health practices helped curb outbreaks of infectious ailments. Death too had been removed from the wards and rooms and systematically transferred to a hospital located either on the grounds or in the city.

Over the years the hospital had gradually played a more prominent role in the lives of inmates.² This trend is best illustrated in Louisiana's home. In the beginning, when a Camp Nicholls inmate became sick and required daily nursing, he would be admitted to nearby Charity Hospital. Diagnoses, prescriptions and referrals served as the primary functions of the home physician who rarely made more than two rounds through the wards each week. In the mid-1890s, however, a home infirmary came into being, consisting of a small one-room structure equipped with only a half dozen beds and a dispensary. Still, this "very poor excuse" for a hospital served only those with "trivial" ailments, not terminally ill patients. For example, of the twenty-one inmate deaths reported from 1896 to 1898, only one actually occurred at the home.³

²Every home had a hospital, a noteworthy addition that eventually transformed each institution. See Fred A. Olds, "History of the Soldiers' Home at Raleigh," The Orphans' Friend and Masonic Journal (December 1926), 1, 8; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:80-82, GDAH; GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1914), 3, GDAH; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1897), 4, VSL; Tennessee Board of Charities, Report (1915), 31, TSLA.

³CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1886), 9; (1894), 7-9; (1896), 7-8; (1898), 12-14, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:171, LHAC. The term "trivial" is used by surgeon F. T. Fry in LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1899), 7, VSL.

That ratio would change dramatically over the next decade, after a bona fide hospital had been constructed on the grounds. During the biennial period of 1904-06, for instance, 31 of 39 inmate deaths took place at the home; whereas, over the next two years 29 of the 33 inmates died there. In his report for the 1912-14 period, home surgeon James I. Richard stated that it had not been necessary to transfer any of his patients to Charity Hospital for treatment. Instead, inmates had spent their last days in the home's modern and expanded medical facility. There they had been cared for around the clock by resident nurses and as many as three staff physicians who customarily performed surgeries and often used an X-ray device to diagnosis and treat certain disorders.⁴

The quality of treatment available in home hospitals is difficult to evaluate. Although rumors frequently surfaced, there is no reason to conclude that overcrowding, understaffing and unsanitary conditions prevailed as much as some critics alleged. Predictably, home physicians boasted that their services greatly enhanced the health of "broken and suffering" Confederate veterans. Texas home surgeon T. F. Moore cited a comparatively low death rate of 12.7 percent for the years 1911-12 as proof. This figure, he pointed out, fell much below the then-acceptable federal standard of 16 percent average for persons between the ages of 65 and 85.⁵ Another possible treatment quality index may be found in admission-discharge ratios. For example, of the 100 Lee Camp inmates admitted to the home's hospital in 1905, 75 obtained a discharge. Over

⁴CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1906), 19-20; (1908), 17-18; (1914), 17-18, LHAC.

⁵For an unfavorable critique of hospital care, see GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:143, GDAH. For Moore's optimistic data, see TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1912), 9, APL.

the next decade and a half the ratios stayed relatively stable. Only one third of those who had been admitted sometime during 1918 remained hospitalized by the end of the year.⁶

Inmates probably enjoyed greater access to medical treatment than most homeless indigents--especially those residing in rural areas--could have ever hoped to receive. Even so, home physicians held few illusions about their abilities to forestall the inevitable. The brave new weapons of medical science were of little use in treating biological realities. "Our aim," remarked Camp Nicholls surgeon Yves R. LeMonnier, is merely "of a prophylactic nature, i.e., prevention instead of cure." Another surgeon added: "Our subjects are all old [and] we cannot expect among them . . . the usual low death-rate." In an effort to account for a "distressing" death rate in their own home in 1906, Georgia trustees rationalized that, after five years of operation, the 180 reported deaths out of 330 total enrollments was not unusually high, given the fact that most were "practically . . . bedridden, paralyzed, [and] helpless" when they had first been admitted. From the administrators' perspective, a hospital that provided dignified and cost-efficient custodial care was a credit to the institution.⁷

A hospital was but one of many new additions established in part to meet the demands of a rising inmate population. When the state first assumed financial control in 1891, the Texas Home for Men consisted of fifteen and one-half acres, five buildings (nearly all wood frame cottages) and a barn. By 1905 the establishment had expanded to include two dozen separate (predominantly brick) structures distributed over a twenty-four and one-half acre complex. The grounds of the North Carolina home were originally only one-fourth as large as the Texas plat, but by 1915 as many as fifteen different

⁶LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1905), 7; (1910), 7; (1915), 8-9; (1918), 8-9, VSL.

⁷CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1896), 7; (1902), 13, LHAC; GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1906), 7, GDAH.

edifices sat upon it. Camp Nicholls, occupying approximately the same total acreage as the home in Raleigh, boasted eighteen buildings--a veritable community composed of dormitories, a library, mess hall, laundry, barber shop and baths, infirmary and "dead house" (morgue). Administrators seemingly had tried to anticipate any necessity an inmate might demand by constructing an annex of some kind or remodeling a building. As a result, the homes by the period of World War I had become far more elaborate institutions than the modest and crude facilities first utilized some three decades earlier.⁸

The homes at the same time had become an increasingly bureaucratic reality. As inmate population multiplied (Figure 6.1)--and aged (Table 6.1)--the staff was augmented (Figure 6.2). Gone were the days when a home could be operated adequately and safely by a superintendent and his family, assisted by a handful of servants. The Texas institution (which housed the largest number of ex-Confederates at any one time) claimed by far the most paid employees in one year: fifty-three, or about one employee for every seven inmates. By comparison, the Georgia home, with only 103 veterans enrolled, had a 3:1 inmate-employee ratio in the same year, 1917. By now workers performed some of the very tasks which young and robust inmates had formerly done. The change too had been the by-product of technological and scientific progress. With the improvement in medical facilities also came the need for additional specialized personnel: a whole cadre of hospital matrons, cooks, laundresses, waiters, orderlies, not to mention nurses and aides for both day and night shifts.

⁸TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1892), 4, 8; (1894), 5, TxSA; D. C. Stith, "Plat of the Confederate Home at Austin, Texas, Containing 25 Acres," TxCM; C. W. Raines, Yearbook for Texas, 1901 (Austin, 1902), 58; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:469, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1906), 4, 26-39; (1908), 24-25, LHAC; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 2:87, GDAH; Herbert Poole, "Final Encampment: The North Carolina Soldiers' Home," Con Vet (July-August, 1987), 12-13.

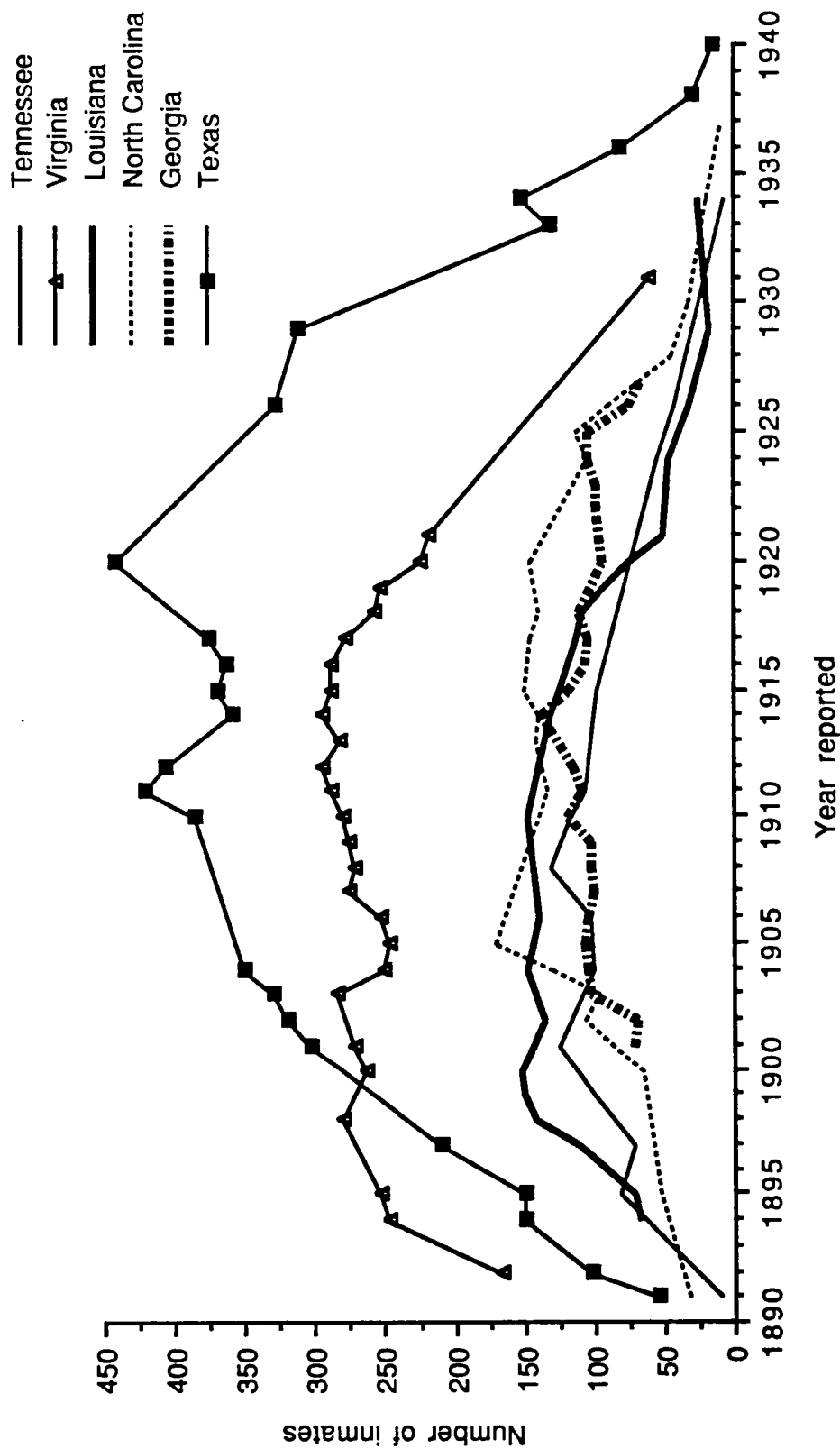


Figure 6.1. Enrollment in Confederate soldiers' homes by state per year.

Table 6.1 Mean Age of Soldiers' Home Inmates, by State per Year of Admission.

Year Admitted	<u>State</u>					
	GA	LA	NC	TN	TX	VA
1901-1911	66.0	62.1	+	67.9	70.5	66.0
1912-1922	74.0	74.5	78.9	75.1	74.4	77.5
N	158	98	228	72	261	265
N = 1,082						

+ = insufficient data available.

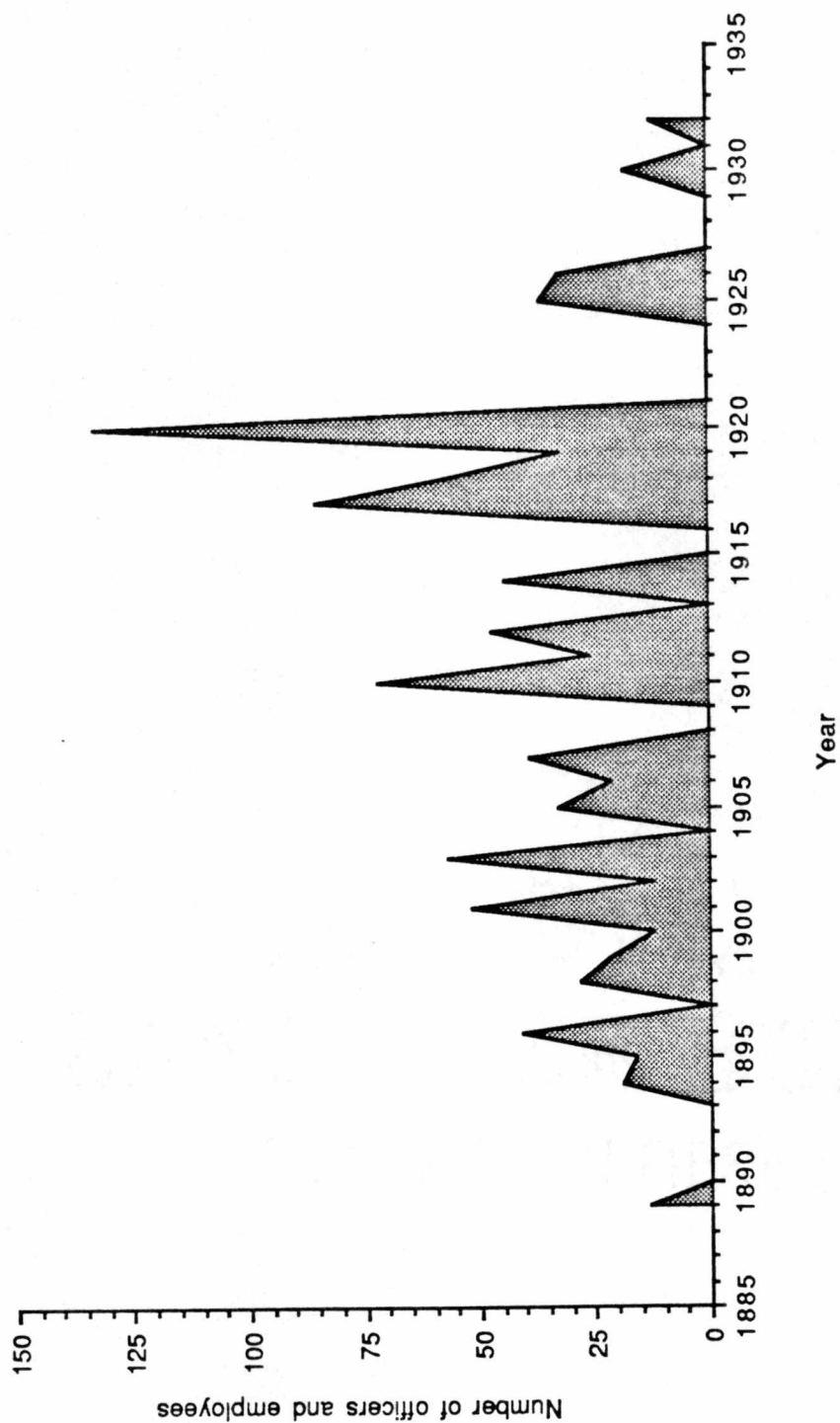


Figure 6.2. Total number of officers and employees of Confederate soldiers' homes, by year.

Enhanced staffs, larger physical plants, more advanced medical care: all of these changes entailed, invariably, an enormously more complex and demanding financial structure. Initially, prior to receiving state monies, none of the homes possessed substantial funding. Administrators had pieced together annual budgets with an eclectic mix of contributions from local government, the proceeds of community fund-raising and other private sources. Veterans associations and ladies committees had been organized to devote special collections to the homes. Annual budget deficits had to be met by board members and appeals to the wealthy and benevolent. Even though budgets remained small and the cost per inmate month remained under twelve dollars at most institutions, the homes in the 1880s and '90s were hard put to balance their books at the end of each year.⁹

The situation was only to deteriorate. Even after state appropriations finally began coming in, administrators still encountered obstacles meeting their daily financial obligations. Some aspects of the problem were diffuse and gradual, reflecting again more general economic and technological change. By the turn of the century, home administrators and physicians expected to have telephone service, electric power, central steam plants, as well as modern dishwashing and laundry devices. Appropriate alterations and upgrading had to be undertaken then. Costs relating to medical care remained a relatively small part of home budgets, while food, fuel and wages consumed the lion's share of available funds.¹⁰ Meanwhile, construction costs and the constant

⁹The Lee Camp's monthly per capita expenses from 1884 to 1898 averaged \$8.09. During that same period, the home received \$428,056; 63.8 percent of which represented state appropriations, the remainder city and private contributions. LCSH, Board of Visitors, Minutes, 1:45, 77, 102-03, 167, 182-83, VSL; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1895), 5-6; (1896), 4; (1898), 5-6, VSL.

¹⁰See, for example, the records of the NCSH. During the years 1912-1914, provisions, fuel and payroll costs accounted for more than two-thirds of the total disbursements. NCSH, Ledger Accounts Paid, NCDAH.

maintenance of larger physical plants increased steadily, as did the number of repairs needed. Aggregate inmate expenditures also rose regularly. For example, the Texas home spent an average of thirty-five cents per inmate every day in 1904. Fourteen years later the outlay had increased to eighty-four cents per diem. Even with inmate laborers, no home could escape the inexorable pressure of rising costs.¹¹

In order to meet those expenses some home and state officials had originally worked out a formula fixing public support on a per capita basis. For every inmate the Tennessee home admitted, for example, the institution received fifty dollars per year in 1891.¹² The arrangement worked fine, as long as supply costs, stable crop prices, employee wages, average inmate population and age, and a combination of numerous other variables remained constant, which, not surprisingly, seldom if ever occurred. Therefore, once every two years, beginning as early as 1893, sympathetic Tennessee lawmakers increased the home's per capita allowance anywhere from five to fifty percent. By 1914, when the average inmate population had dipped to well below one hundred for the first time in fifteen years--while the average inmate's age approached eighty--per capita funding swelled to two hundred dollars. By 1920 it had increased

¹¹For just a few construction and repairs costs, see Georgia Laws (1906), 19-20; (1911), 37-38; Texas Laws (1917), 86-88. Between 1905 and 1918 the Lee Camp's monthly per capita expenses for food and tobacco alone averaged \$13.47. LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1905), 5-6; (1910), 5; (1915), 5; (1918), 7, VSL. Concerning the spiraling inflation Texas officials grappled with, see TxHM, Board of Managers, Report (1904), 6; (1916), 6-7, APL; (1918), 6, TxSA. The difficulty in balancing budgets is illustrated in CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1914), 12-13, LHAC. The report shows that during the biennial period 1912-1914, the institution's expenses surpassed receipts by more than two thousand dollars.

¹²By way of comparison, the Louisiana state constitution of 1898 fixed Camp Nicholls' annual per capita appropriations at \$130. The state of Texas originally placed a cap on soldiers' home funds at \$100,000 per year. CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1906), 7, LHAC; Raines, 1901, 57.

another forty dollars. From 1891 to 1914, Tennesseans paid an estimated quarter of a million dollars in per capita allowances alone.¹³

In spite of these hefty cumulative appropriations, bills sometimes began piling up and invoices periodically went unnoticed. Debt retirement payments for the Tennessee home during the 1891-1914 period totaled just over eleven thousand dollars. In addition, there were the miscellaneous expenses, the products of someone's sympathy or reforming zeal, such as annual payments for half-time religious services, special subsidies to offset the costs of inmate funerals and uniforms, property insurance, reimbursements for the executive board's travel expenses, and occasional employee raises. The state of Louisiana set aside several thousand dollars each year for the treatment of Camp Nicholls inmates at a local eye, ear and nose clinic. In 1917 the Texas home employed an oculist and aurist of its own, as well as a pharmacist to serve on staff. For each need administrators appealed to and received aid from their respective state governments. Caring for elderly and poor ex-Confederates proved to be an elaborately expensive ordeal.¹⁴

¹³This figure has been computed by multiplying the per capita allowance times the standard one hundred inmates times fifteen. As Figure 6.1 indicates, enrollment in the Tennessee institution did not reach one hundred until 1899, when inmate population continued to climb until it reached its apex of 130 in 1908. From that point on inmate population gradually, then rapidly declined. Tennessee Senate Journal (1891), 174; (1897), 118, 922; Tennessee House Journal Appendix (1895), 3-4; Tennessee House Journal (1899), 303; Tennessee House and Senate Journal Appendix (1905), 1; Tennessee Acts (1909), 41; (1911), 17-18; (1915), 98.

¹⁴According to William W. White, The Confederate Veteran (Tuscaloosa, 1962), 113-14, the total cost for all fifteen Confederate homes in 1914 alone amounted to \$518,000; truly a bargain, compared to Confederate pension payments by southern states which totaled \$7.4 million during the same year. For debt amortization and miscellaneous disbursements in the Tennessee and other homes, see Tennessee Senate Journal (1909), 41; Tennessee Acts (1911), 17-18; R. D. W. Connor, ed., A Manual of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1913), 167; Louisiana Acts (1902), 382-83; Texas Laws (1917), 86-88.

The financial burden was eased considerably from time to time by women volunteers. Energetic ladies throughout the South organized musicales, theatricals and raffles, catered teas and sponsored lectures in an effort to supplement limited home budgets. Their goals were often quite specific: purchasing needed medical supplies, rocking chairs and spittoons, or outfitting an entire reading room and amusement hall.¹⁵

The many contributions made by a ladies auxiliary to the Tennessee home typify the efforts made by such groups. In March 1890 over one hundred wives, widows and daughters of ex-Confederates of Davidson County, Tennessee organized in order to raise "moneys, goods, chattels, provisions, livestock and all other needed articles" to assist indigent veterans and their families domiciled at the institution.¹⁶ In 1892, when cost overruns incurred in the construction of the home's main building resulted in an indebtedness of nearly seven thousand dollars, the Nashville auxiliary sponsored a series of "old fiddler's concerts" at the downtown Union Gospel Tabernacle, enabling trustees to pay off pressing liabilities. By 1899 the group, now calling themselves the United Daughters of the Confederacy, had completed a memorial campaign drive that succeeded in procuring furniture for the entire home. During the next two decades the several UDC chapters of Nashville, like scores of other "ladies of charity" groups all over the South,

¹⁵GSH, Board of Trustees, Report (1910), 7, GDAH; TxHM, Superintendent Report (1904), 8, TxSA; CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1902), 5, LHAC; LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1901), 5, VSL.

¹⁶Charter members of the Nashville auxiliary included men--Governor Peter Turney, John Overton, American editor Duncan Cooper, attorney John Childress--as well as the wives of veteran activists George Guild, John Hickman and Gideon Baskette. Mary B. Poppenheim, The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 2 vols. (Raleigh, 1956), 1:234; Nashville Daily American, 10 April 1890. For a rendering of some of the group's many gifts, see TSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 56, TSLA; Con Vet 23 (1915): 441-42; 16 (1908): 180. See also, Patricia Climer, "Protectors of the Past: The United Daughters of the Confederacy, Tennessee Division and the Lost Cause," (M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt Univ., 1973).

could be counted on to provide emergency funds or to help defray the spiraling costs of dependent veteran care by paying the salaries of needed workers.

In addition to fund-raising, various UDC chapters appointed "home committees" to ensure that the old soldiers were properly cared for in their remaining years. Such delegations of lady visitors, constituting in effect a secondary bureaucracy, became standard features of home life. The pious women would read to inmates, pin badges of honor on their lapels, provide flowers, Christmas trees and Easter hams, and help celebrate Lee's Birthday and other ceremonial activities. Occasionally wives of renowned ex-Confederate leaders--Mrs. Jefferson Davis, Mrs. Albert S. Johnston, Mrs. Stonewall Jackson, and Mrs. Kirby Smith, for example--joined the committees in paying homage to even the lowliest of old veterans. From all accounts inmates enjoyed the visits which sometimes included the singing of a number of "favorite songs" of the South. As one contemporary noted wryly.: "almost any woman who visits them, unless she be unmistakably cock-eyed or obviously disfigured, is to them 'a durn handsome gal,' whom they greet gladly, and escort with pleasure where she will." At the conclusion of one particular visit to the Tennessee home in 1906, the mood was considerably more somber, as the veterans crowded forward to the windows, balconies and porches to bid adieu. One of the ladies later described the scene. "As the long line of crippled, enfeebled and tottering old men passed and shook hands with me," she wrote, "I thought of what they were forty years ago: youthful, vigorous, able to cope with the world . . . now the beneficiaries of the State."¹⁷

¹⁷The phrase "secondary bureaucracy" has been borrowed from Peter D. Hall, The Organization of American Culture, 1700-1900: Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origin of American Nationality (New York, 1982), 262-63, though it is used differently here. For the emotional visit to the Tennessee home, see Con Vet 14 (1906): 271. Regarding visits to other homes, see CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes, 2:75, 385, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, House Committee Report (2 December 1905), LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, President

The committees could, on the other hand, become something of a nuisance if their evangelism grew too enthusiastic or if they interfered with the staff. But on the whole, most homes welcomed female help in fund-raising and furnishing rooms and wards. Women seemed, in fact, ideally suited to the maintaining of a watchful eye over home housekeeping. When women tended to play even more prominent roles as policymakers, however, male staff members and administrators frequently objected. Women had certainly planned and raised funds for the homes, but their worthy contributions did not mean they were regarded as capable of managing those institutions. In 1910 the Tennessee governing board announced that it would henceforth restrict the number of visits made by the UDC, owing to the latter's mistaken belief that they had the "right to employ and dismiss attendants." In other homes attending physicians struggled against lady visiting committees, while some superintendents saw women as annoying presences in wards and corridors.¹⁸

Although sometimes difficult to tolerate, women gradually became more involved in the homes as caregivers, and eventually succeeded Confederate veterans as administrators. Developments within Camp Nicholls reflected this changing pattern. In 1903 the Louisiana home board first decided to try the "innovation" of hiring female hospital nurses. Fifteen years later fully three-quarters of the home's staff members were women. All held minor positions, however, and not until 1920 did women serve as

Report (6 June 1900); (30 September 1900); (7 May 1904); (3 June 1904), LHAC; Raleigh News and Observer, 5 December 1920; Poole, "Final Encampment," 16; White, Veteran, 113.

¹⁸For the "proper" role of women in the veterans' institutions, see GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:11, 13, GDAH. For clashes between women and management, see TSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 45, TSLA; GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 3:234, 243, GDAH; George N. Saussey diary, GDAH; Georgia House Journal (1925), 1280-84; letters from Mrs. Norman V. Randolph, 3 May 1899; Mrs. Kate P. Minor, c.1899, LCSH, Board of Visitors, Correspondence, VSL; Mrs. Edward Gottschalk, 1 August 1912; and George H. Lord, 21 August 1912, CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC.

directors "to advise with and assist the Board." Two more years would pass before women would officially be appointed by the governor and be allowed to exert the same authority as their male counterparts. Meanwhile, in the early 1920s, UDC officers served as ex-officio members of the Georgia home, and in North Carolina a woman served as chair of the board of trustees. In time, policies barring wives and widows of Confederate veterans from enrolling as inmates would be reversed as well.¹⁹

No one could deny that the scale and enterprise of the homes had expanded and changed by the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century. Yet the years immediately following 1913 were not marked by institutional breakup and rapid decline, as Foster has implied. Rather, the homes generally experienced growth or remained stable and continued to occupy an enduring and crucial position within southern society for several more years.

These conclusions can be substantiated in part through an analysis of home enrollment data. As Figure 6.1 illustrates, inmate populations in the years following 1913 did in fact decline somewhat overall. For example, Georgia's inmate enrollment peaked at 136 in 1914. Five years later the average number of inmates residing in the home had diminished to only 94, a more than thirty percent reduction. Camp Nicholls had experienced an even greater drop during the same period, from 131 to 75, a more than forty-two percent net decrease. Yet such changes had arrived only in a somewhat

¹⁹For the shift in women's roles at Camp Nicholls, see CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1904), 6; (1918), 15; (1922), 4, LHAC; CNSH, Board of Directors, Minutes 4: 145, 147, LHAC; New Orleans Times-Picayune, 5 January 1921; and CNSH, Board of Directors, House Committee Report (31 March 1921), LHAC, in which the committee chairman commenced: "Ladies and Gentlemen. . . ." For a similar change in the North Carolina institution, see William C. Stronach to Rebecca Cameron, 23 October 1900, John W. Hinsdale Papers, Duke; North Carolina Laws (1891), 795; NCSH, Warrants and Weekly Payroll (1910), NCDH; North Carolina Department of Human Services, State Board of Health Inspection of State Institutions, Engineering File, NCSH (1920); (1924), NCDH.

uneven fashion. Until 1918 the Louisiana home's population average dipped anywhere from only five to eight percent increments each year. Moreover, from 1922 to 1925 Georgia's average inmate population increased slightly, nearly matching its former level of the previous decade.

Furthermore, two of the six institutions under investigation actually witnessed population growth in the years following 1913. By the end of 1920 total enrollment in the Texas home had reached its zenith of 441, representing a more than twenty-two percent rise over the figure officials had reported some six years earlier. The North Carolina home also experienced a slight increase in numbers between 1914 and 1920, while inmate populations in the Lee Camp of Virginia remained fairly constant, at least through the World War period. Viewed as a whole, the aggregate inmate population for five homes in 1914 stood at 1,060. By 1920 the total had decreased by only eighty, a reduction of less than ten percent!

One possible reason why home populations remained basically stable during the period after 1913 is that the total number of veterans admitted to each home continued to offset the overall number of those who left either voluntarily or involuntarily. Table 6.2 reveals the relationship of admittance and out-migration data in the Lee Camp home from 1907 to 1911, when the inmate population increased from 275 to 289. In three of the five years depicted, about a dozen more veterans entered the institution than those who died or were dismissed, thereby resulting in a marginal net increase. The reverse was true during the second five year period from 1913 to 1917, when slightly more inmates left the home than were admitted. Yet the differences were minuscule (perhaps even hardly noticeable at the time) considering that, between 1913 and 1917, annual inmate admissions averaged only about two fewer (79.5 versus 77.4) than it had in the 1907-11 period.

Table 6.2. In-migration and Out-migration by Lee Camp Soldiers' Home Inmates, Over Time.

Year	# Admitted	# Out-Migrated	+	Net Gain (Loss)	Total Enrolled
1907	88	90		(2)	275
1908	80	84		(4)	
1909	75	69		6	
1910	84	73		11	
1911	71	67		4	290
N	398	383		15	
Annual Average	79.5	76.6			

Year	# Admitted	# Out-Migrated	+	Net Gain (Loss)	Total Enrolled
1913	87	99		(12)	281
1914	85	68		17	
1915	77	86		(9)	
1916	82	78		4	
1917	56	64		(8)	273
N	387	395		(8)	
Annual Average	77.4	79.0			

+ = includes deaths, dismissals, discharges and transfers to asylums.

Another indicator that the homes remained intact as institutions for several years after 1913 may be reflected in their finances. Figure 6.3 represents the approximate level of state appropriations each home received during a given year. Without an exception, it is apparent that funding for all six homes had either stabilized or increased by 1915. According to the available data, the same pattern holds true for the following year and, except for Louisiana, until 1920. When paired with the enrollment data of Figure 6.1, it also appears that those homes which experienced a noticeable depopulation soon after 1913 (Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana and Tennessee) escaped a corresponding decrease in funding. This pattern reflects the rising costs each home encountered during the period. For example, in 1920 the Georgia home received fully fifty percent more state monies than it had in 1913, even though enrollment figures had plummeted more than thirty percent during the same period. On the other hand, as the number of Texas inmates increased between 1917 and 1920, the amount of appropriations likewise expanded; this, during a period marked by a rapid increase in Texas government expenditures.²⁰

From the 1880s to the 1920s the Confederate soldiers' homes of the New South were transformed. The broadening scale of the homes had rendered them in some ways vastly different institutions from their predecessors. Yet fundamental aspects of the homes still remained tenaciously intact by 1920.

For one thing, paternalism survived. The vision of the superintendent as prudent father and the home as his home writ large had not been discarded, in spite of a more complex set of responsibilities and an enlarged staff. Until late most home officials still professed a personal relationship with and a burden for the comfort and welfare of the

²⁰Rupert N. Richardson et al, Texas: The Lone State 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970), 316.

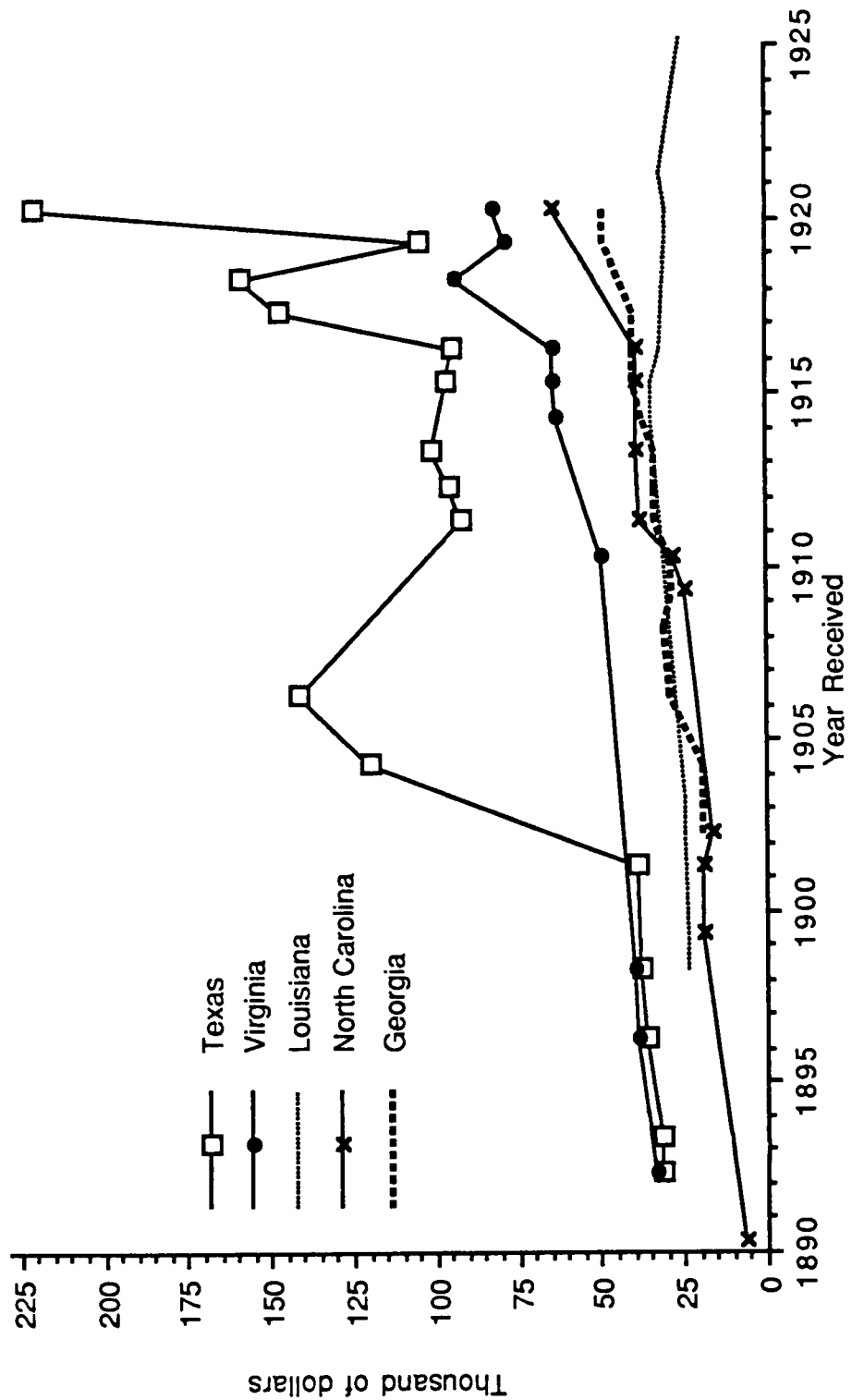


Figure 6.3. Estimated appropriations by state per year.

inmates. And most remained conscientious about outsiders' perceptions of their performance, even to the point of worrying whether inmates on furloughs presented a "creditable appearance" in public. The investigating committee still served both as a critic of everyday home realities and as a disciplinary body. Inmates were still expected to show proper deference and, as always, there remained a need for discipline.²¹ Nevertheless, it had become increasingly difficult for governing boards to undertake the personal oversight that had long characterized the institution. The superintendent could no longer realistically be expected to visit each ward or room; nor could trustees who were destined to play an increasingly passive and distant role. Although remaining concerned with their financial responsibilities, governing boards (whose original ranks had gradually thinned over time, too) had become less and less involved with each institution's day-to-day routines.

To those residing outside the walls, the homes continued to serve the same purposes for which they had been founded. The institutions provided a safe refuge, a comfortable community and a better alternative to almshouses for needy and worthy ex-Confederate soldiers. People still talked about fulfilling their "sacred duty" by keeping the old men "happy." Southern politicians still decried the terrible injustice of how little the governmental agencies were doing for their veterans. In his June 1917 address before a large delegation of UCV members convening in the nation's capital, President Wilson reminded his audience of "the passion of admiration we still entertain

²¹The last known disciplinary action in the Georgia home occurred in 1926, when the average age of the 69 inmates topped 84 years. Trustees expelled R. C. Pressley, a bootlegger whose room Atlanta police had raided several times before. GSH, Board of Trustees, Minutes, 4:279, GDAH. See also NCSH, Superintendent's Inmate Behavior Log (1923-24), 107-08, NCDH, for recorded breaches in discipline. For the words "creditable appearance," see CNSH, Board of Directors, House Committee Report (6 June 1919), LHAC.

for the heroic figures" of the Confederacy.²² As shrines containing living symbols of the Confederate past, the homes continued to occupy a place within society where all who saw them would benefit. In their rituals the homes remained as they had necessarily to be: a microcosm of the values of social solidarity and deference to authority. To those too young to remember the war--the many children's groups who visited and entertained the veterans on countless occasions--the homes continued to serve as places of instruction in the old ways of southern honor and manhood. If need be, the homes provided a place where southerners of all ages could congregate on any day to celebrate and relive the achievements of Johnny Reb once more.

As the Confederate soldiers' homes prepared to enter their fifth decade of collective operation, radical and penetrating transformations began to supersede these traditional functions. In Texas, dramatic change first occurred on January 1, 1920, when a public corporate organization replaced the Confederate board of managers as the primary instrument for implementing care and social control. Under the enabling legislation enacted at the time, all of the state's eleemosynary institutions, including the Texas Home for Men, were to be administered by a more centrally-directed and capital-intensive regulatory agency.²³ A similar reform would affect the Georgia home much

²²For Wilson's remarks, see Con Vet 25 (1917): 296-97; and Arthur S. Link et al., eds, The Papers of Woodrow Wilson 60 vols., (Princeton, --1989), 42: 451-53. Regarding how the world war reminded southerners of their "sacred duty" to Johnny Reb, see Con Vet 25 (1917): 143, 232-33, 364, 506-12; 28 (1918): 240, 428-29, 539; 27 (1919): 35, 45, 409-10, 478. See also the congressional attempt to establish a national Confederate soldiers' home at Washington, D.C. Ibid., 23 (1915): 102-03; 24 (1916): 8, 56, 90.

²³Texas Board of Control, Report (1920), TxSA; Texas Laws (1919), 323-27. The TxHM retained "Confederate" in its official title until its closing, though the last Confederate veteran in residence died in 1954. Newspaper accounts are useful in reconstructing the institution's latter years, when it served as a state hospital. See especially the Austin American Statesman, 25 May 1941; 5 June 1957; 17, 21 May 1963; 11 August 1966; 4 November, 20 December 1970.

later, in 1931. In both cases, the state would succeed Confederate veterans and UDC committees as official and ex-officio preservers and protectors of the homes' aging populations. Afterwards, widows and daughters of veterans would be permitted to enroll as inmates, and the superintendent's and matron's positions would be amalgamated in the person of a female nurse-superintendent appointed by the governor.

Meanwhile, population figures in all the homes gradually declined. By 1920, more than three-fourths of all veterans ever enrolled in the homes had already been admitted. As a result, when inmates died or were dismissed in the following decade, there were considerably fewer comrades to take their places. By 1930 only about five dozen inmates (all males) resided in the Lee Camp. That institution too had also undergone "radical changes," beginning in March 1921, when a grandson of a Confederate veteran assumed the position of commandant. Biological realities apparently had taken their toll on older commandants, as well as on the officer's charges themselves. By 1936, for both symbolic and economic reasons, the board of visitors approved women to enroll as inmates. Three years later the last veteran died and the home closed.²⁴

By this time, the Tennessee, North Carolina and Louisiana institutions had ceased operating. In 1933 six veterans had been transferred to the girl's infirmary of the Tennessee Industrial School, which in turn assumed control of the home's buildings, furnishings and two-hundred-and-thirty-acre farm. In 1937, when the North Carolina General Assembly authorized the closure of the Raleigh home, ninety-two year-old T. S. Arthur, one of only a handful of surviving inmates, protested the decision. In his much publicized petition addressed to the legislature, Arthur pleaded: "Our home . . . is the

²⁴LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1921), 3-4, VSL; Emily J. Williams, "A Home . . . for the Old Boys': The Robert E. Lee Camp Confederate Soldiers' Home," Virginia Cavalcade 28 (1979): 46.

last resort we have to end our days in peace. . . . Please pause before kicking us out!" The following year, after the last veteran had left, the institution shut down and a New Deal and city recreation agency jointly occupied the buildings. Four years later, in the midst of another war, the state of Louisiana converted Camp Nicholls, the oldest of the Confederate soldiers' homes, into a military installation.²⁵

Today one may walk where former Confederates resided, though the surroundings have changed. Where was once a home for veterans in Raleigh is now the North Carolina Motor Vehicles Division building. An armory and national guard storage facilities last occupied 1700 Moss Street, where Camp Nicholls had been located. The Tennessee home has been razed (only the rusted shells of the former pumphouse and morgue remain) and the site is once again considered part of the Hermitage, Andrew Jackson's former estate. The Texas Home for Men has been demolished and replaced by university housing for married students. Where once stood the home that Grady built is now an asphalt parking lot for the Atlanta Police Academy. Scattered remnants of the R. E. Lee Camp in Richmond have been preserved--Robinson's farmhouse (the administration building), the chapel and part of the mess hall. In place of a half dozen cottages has been constructed the Virginia Confederate Women's Home, where several elderly descendants of veterans have lingered for years.²⁶

²⁵W. J. Edwards, the last veteran admitted to the Tennessee home (in 1937) died three years later. TSH, Record of Inmates, 1918, 129, TSLA. Tennessee Department of Institutions, Biennial Report (1934), TSLA; Poole, "Final Encampment," 14-17; Powell A. Casey, Encyclopedia of Forts, Posts, Named Camps, and Other Military Installations in Louisiana, 1700-1981 (Baton Rouge, 1983), 142; CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1938), LHAC. For the closing of the Georgia home, see At Const. 20 December 1959; Atlanta Journal, 5 February 1965.

²⁶Recently, a circuit court judge ordered the home's residents evicted and relocated in a nursing care center. Richmond-Times Dispatch, 6 June 1989.

More than ten thousand indigent and disabled ex- Confederates entered the six veterans homes. There they had been cared for, given food, medicine, and shelter, furnished with uniforms of cadet-gray cloth, regimented, told again to follow orders and publicly exhibited. Some had refused and had been summarily dismissed. Others had left, after only a few days, and never looked back. Many more, however, had remained in residence for months or years, determined that they had found what they wanted. Old sorrows had been forgotten, former comradeships had been rekindled, new friendships had been made. Moreover, pretty girls and other visitors from the "outside" had come, to mingle, to entertain, to listen sympathetically to tall tales or to have their photographs taken beside the ex-Rebel "heroes."

Among them had been men who had witnessed the fall of Sumter, who had ridden and yelled with Forrest and Morgan, or who had stacked their guns at Appomattox. When an inmate died, he had been neatly dressed in his home uniform, given a gun salute and an honorable burial. A bell also tolled, heard through the neighborhoods in the vicinity of the homes.

The last bell has long since tolled and only a few photographs of the old soldiers have survived. With the passing of each inmate, southerners not only lost a participant in the struggles of the 1860s, but also their most tangible link with their Confederate heritage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY MATERIALS

HOME RECORDS

GDAH

Georgia Soldiers' Home

- Applications for Admission

- Board of Trustees

 - Letters Received

 - Minutes

 - Report, 1901-1914.

- George N. Saussey Diary

- Hospital Record Book

- Invoices for Supplies and Services

- List of Persons Subscribing Contributions Towards the Erection of the Home

- Payrolls for Staff Salaries

- Payrolls of Payments to Inmates

- Record Book of Miscellaneous Home Functions

- Record of Admissions, Discharges and Deaths

- Record of Donations, Entertainments and Religious Services

- Register of Inmates

- Visitors' Register

LHAC

Camp Nicholls Soldiers' Home

- Board of Directors

 - Correspondence

 - House Committee Reports

 - Investigating Committee Reports

 - Membership Lists

 - Minutes

 - President Reports

 - Report, 1886-1938.

 - Secretary Reports

- Clippings and Pamphlets

- Financial Records

- Rules and Regulations

- Superintendent Reports

- Surgeon Reports

NCDAAH

North Carolina Soldiers' Home

Board of Incorporators

Minutes

Building and Maintenance Expenses

Drug and Whiskey Account

Hospital Register

Hospital Record of Patients

Inmate Expenses

Inmate Record

Inmate Register

Inmate Roll Book

Ledger Accounts Paid

Record of Clothing Issued

Superintendent's Inmate Behavior Log

Visitor's Register

Warrants and Weekly Payroll

TSLA

Tennessee Soldiers' Home

Applications for Admission

Board of Trustees

Minutes

Report, 1894.

Financial Reports

Record of Inmates, 1918

Register of Inmates

TxSA

Texas Home for Men

Applications for Admission

Blueprints and Drawings

Board of Managers

Correspondence

Report, 1891-1920.

Patients' Ledger, Hospital Record

Roster of Inmates

Superintendent

Report, 1892-1909.

VSL

Lee Camp Soldiers' Home

Applications for Admission

Board of Visitors

Executive Committee Orders

Correspondence

Investigative Committee Reports

Minutes

Report, 1886-1931.

Register of Inmates

MANUSCRIPTS

AHS

Bruce and Morgan, Architects Business File

Confederate Veterans File

Duke

William Lowndes Calhoun Papers

John W. Hinsdale Papers

Charles E. Jones Papers

William H. Thomas Papers

LHAC

Association of the Army of Northern Virginia Papers

Correspondence

Membership

Relief Committee Reports

Veterans Benefits

Association of the Army of Tennessee Papers

Correspondence

Executive Committee Reports

Membership

Minutes

Relief Committee Reports

Veterans Benefits

Joseph A. Charlaron Papers

NA

Confederate Compiled Service Records

NCDAAH

Civil War Papers
Wharton J. Green Scrapbook
Daniel G. Fowle Papers
Martha Haywood Papers
James Y. Joyner Papers
North Carolina Pension Applications
Fred A. Olds Papers
Leonidas L. Polk Papers
Alfred M. Scales Papers
Wake County Ladies Memorial Association Papers
 Clippings
 Correspondence
 Minutes
 Treasurer's Books

SHC

Julian S. Carr Papers
Raleigh E. Colston Papers

THC

Henry C. Lindsey Papers

TSLA

Benjamin F. Cheatham Bivouac Minutes
Tennessee Confederate Pension Applications

TxCM

Stith, D. C. "Plat of the Confederate Home at Austin, Texas, Containing 25 Acres."

TxSA

Brown, Frank. "Annals of Travis County and the City of Austin (From the
 Earliest Times to the Close of 1875)." Unpublished Scrapbook.
Governors Records
M. A. Ferguson
James S. Hogg
Dan Moody

UTK

William Walker Ward Diary

VHS

Grand Camp Confederate Veterans, Department of Virginia, R. E. Lee Camp, No. 1,
 Richmond, Va., Records
 Correspondence
 Lee Camp Soldiers' Home Library Register
 Minutes
 Roster

VSL

Executive Papers
Westmoreland Davis
Fitzhugh Lee
Henry C. Stuart
Claude A. Swanson

MEMBERSHIP ROLLS AND BIOGRAPHICAL COMPILATIONS

Confederate Gray Book. John Bell Hood Camp. No. 103. U.C.V. Austin, c.1904.

Confederate Veterans Employment Bureau. List of Applicants for Employment. New Orleans, c.1895.

Elliott, Colleen M., and Moxley, Louise A., eds. The Tennessee Civil War Questionnaires. 5 vols. Easley, S.C., 1985.

Frank Cheatham Bivouac, U.C.V., Nashville. Confederate Gray Book. Nashville, 1911.

Goodwin, Adolph O., comp. Who's Who In Raleigh. Raleigh, 1916.

Mathes, James H. The Old Guard in Gray: Researches in the Annals of the Confederate Historical Association. Memphis, 1897.

Men of Affairs in Progressive New Orleans. New Orleans, 1908.

Northen, William J., ed. Men of Mark in Georgia. 7 vols. Spartanburg, S.C., 1974 [1907].

Roll of the Association of the Army of Tennessee. Louisiana Division. Camp No. 2. U.C.V. New Orleans, 1902.

Roster. Louisiana Division. Army of Northern Virginia. New Orleans. La. Camp. No. 1. U.C.V. New Orleans, 1893.

Roster of Inmates of the Soldiers' Home. Raleigh. North Carolina. Raleigh, 1904.

Speer, William S., comp. Sketches of Prominent Tennesseans. Nashville, 1888.

Who's Who in Tennessee. Memphis, 1911.

NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS AND CITY DIRECTORIES

Atlanta Constitution, 1889-1959.
Atlanta Journal, 1965.
Atlanta Journal Magazine, 1912.
Austin American Statesman, 1941-1970.
Austin Daily Statesman, 1884-1913.
Austin Record, 1887.
Charlotte Home-Democrat, 1884.
Chataigne's Directory of Richmond, Va. 1883-84.
Chattanooga Daily Times, 1889.
Confederate (Austin) Home News, 1912.
Confederate (Austin) Home Vidette, 1912-1913.
Confederate Veteran, 1892-1987.
Houston Chronicle, 1944.
Knoxville Journal, 1889.
Memphis Daily Appeal, 1889.
Nashville Banner, 1887-1908.
Nashville City Directories. 1883-1901.
Nashville Daily American, 1885-1889.
New Orleans Daily Picayune, 1894-1915.
New Orleans Times-Democrat, 1883.
New Orleans Times-Picayune, 1880-1921.
New York Journal, 1889.
New York Sun, 1884.
New York Times, 1884.
New York Tribune, 1884.
Polk's Atlanta City Directory For 1889.
Raleigh News and Observer, c.1902-1935.
Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1883-1989.
Soard's New Orleans City Directory For 1883.
Southern Historical Society Publications, 1883-1892.
The (Austin) Confederate Drummer, 1886.
The (Raleigh) Daily Call, 1889.
The (Raleigh) Orphans Friend and Masonic Journal, 1926.
The Thin Gray Line, 1861-1922.

PUBLISHED REPORTS, ADDRESSES, CONTEMPORARY HISTORIES, AND YEARBOOKS

Anderson, Archer. Address on the Opening of the Lee Camp Soldiers' Home. Richmond, 1885.

Association of Confederate Soldiers, Tennessee Division. Minutes. Nashville, 1898.

Benson, C. H. "Yank" and "Reb": A History of a Fraternal Visit Paid by Lincoln Post No. 11, G.A.R. of Newark, New Jersey. Newark, 1884.

Charlaron, Joseph A. "'Camp Nicholls,' The Soldiers' Home of Louisiana." Official Souvenir and Hand Book. New Orleans, 1903.

Cole, Howson, ed. "Life in Camp Lee Soldiers' Home." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 70 (1962): 468-70.

Confederate Veterans Annual Yearbook. Atlanta, 1923.

Crew, H. H. History of Nashville, Tennessee. Nashville, 1889.

Gobrecht, J. C. History of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. Dayton, Ohio, 1875.

Goodspeed's Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana. 3 vols. Chicago, 1892.

Guild, George B. A Brief Narrative of the Fourth Tennessee Cavalry Regiment, Wheeler's Corps, Army of Tennessee. Nashville, 1913.

Hunt, William C. "Workers at Gainful Occupations at the Federal Censuses of 1870, 1880 and 1890." Bulletin of the Department of Labor No. 11 Washington, D.C., 1897.

Kendall, John S. History of New Orleans. 3 vols. New Orleans, 1922.

McC Campbell, S. J. N. The Ex-Confederate Soldiers' Home, Richmond, Va., in Verse, by an Inmate. Richmond, 1886.

McMurray, William J. History of the Twentieth Regiment Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A. Nashville, 1975 [1904].

Minutes of the Second Convention of Confederate Soldiers, Tennessee Division. Nashville, 1889.

Richardson, Frank L. "My Recollections of the Battle of the 14th of September, 1874." Louisiana Historical Quarterly 3 (1920): 498-501.

Rodgers, Robert L., comp. History of the Confederate Veterans Association of Fulton County, Georgia. Atlanta, 1890.

Rood, Hosea W., comp. History of the Wisconsin Veterans' Home, 1886-1926.
Milwaukee, 1926.

"Soldiers and Widows." Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Pt. 3. Population.
Washington, D.C., 1897.

Waddill, Edward M. The Song of the Soldiers' Home of Raleigh. Raleigh, 1895.

Wooldridge, J., ed. History of Nashville, Tennessee. Nashville, 1890.

STATE RECORDS AND PUBLICATIONS

"Camp Nicholls--The Soldiers' Home of Louisiana." Secretary of State Report. 1894.

Confederate Soldiers' Home of Georgia: Act of the General Assembly. Board of Trustees . . .
Rules and Regulations. Atlanta, 1901.

Confederate Soldiers' Home of Georgia: Act of the General Assembly and Rules and
Regulations Governing the Home. Atlanta, 1917.

Connor, R. D. W., ed. A Manual of North Carolina. Raleigh, 1913.

Georgia House Journal.

Georgia Laws.

Georgia Senate Journal.

Joint Committee of House and Senate Investigation of the Confederate Soldiers' Home of
Georgia. Stenographer's Transcription. 1906.

Louisiana Acts.

Louisiana House Journal.

Louisiana Senate Journal.

Newsome, A. R., ed. and comp. North Carolina Manual, 1929. Raleigh, 1929.

North Carolina Board of Public Charities. Report. (NCDAH)

North Carolina Department of Human Services. Engineering Files for State Board of
Health Inspection of State Institutions. Inspection Records. North Carolina
Soldiers' Home. 1920-1934.

North Carolina House Journal.

North Carolina Laws.

North Carolina Senate Journal.

Raines, C. W., Year Book for Texas, 1901. Austin, 1902.

_____. Year Book for Texas, 1902. Austin, 1903.

Tennessee Acts.

Tennessee Board of Administration. Biennial Report. 1918-1924.

Tennessee Board of Charities. Report. 1896, 1898, 1903, 1911, 1915.

Tennessee Committee on Charitable Institutions. Report. 1913.

Tennessee Department of Institutions. Biennial Report. 1924-1934.

Tennessee House and Senate Journal Appendix.

Tennessee House Journal.

Tennessee House Journal Appendix.

Tennessee Senate Journal.

Texas Board of Control. Report. 1920-1944.

Texas House Journal.

Texas Laws.

Texas Legislative Committee to Investigate State Departments and Institutions.
Confederate Home for Men. Stenographer's Transcription. 1917.

Texas Senate Journal.

Texas Statutory Documents. Deeds, Abstracts and Cessions of Jurisdiction, State
Eleemosynary Institutions.

Virginia Acts.

Virginia Senate Journal.

SECONDARY MATERIALS

ARTICLES

- Anderson, Nancy N. "Effects of Institutionalization on Self-Esteem." Journal of Gerontology 22 (1967): 313-17.
- Anderson, Richard J. "Medical Diagnoses in One Thousand Domiciled Veterans." Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 12 (1964): 553-61.
- Butler, R. "The Life Review: An Interpretation of Reminiscences of the Aged" in Kastenbaum, R., ed. New Thoughts on Old Age. New York, 1964.
- Chen, L. C. "Control and Diarrhoeal Disease, Morbidity and Mortality: Some Strategic Issues." American Journal of Clinical Nutrition 31 (1982): 2284-90.
- Courtwright, David T. "Opiate Addition as a Consequence of the Civil War." Civil War History 24 (1978): 101-11.
- Davis, Harold E. "Henry Grady, the Atlanta Constitution and the Politics of Farming in the 1880s." Georgia Historical Quarterly 71 (1987): 571-600.
- _____. "Henry W. Grady, Master of the Atlanta Ring, 1880-1886." Ibid. 69 (1985): 1-38.
- Dovenmuele, Robert H.; E. W. Busse; and E. G. Newman. "Physical Problems of Older People." Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 9 (1961): 208-17.
- Feldman, Peter; Cecelia Mulcahey; and Joseph Brudno. "A Different Approach to the Treatment of the Older Male Veteran Patient." Ibid. 9 (1961): 119-24.
- Franklin, John H. "Public Welfare in the South, 1865-1880." Southern Service Review 44 (1970): 379-92.
- Friedman, Edward P. "Age, Length of Institutionalization and Social Status in the Home for the Aged." Journal of Gerontology 22 (1967): 474-77.
- _____. "Spatial Proximity and Social Interaction in a Home for the Aged." Ibid. 21 (1966): 566-70.
- Goodman, Joseph I. "The Problems of Malnutrition in the Elderly." Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 5 (1957): 504-11.
- Hammond, William. "Common Disorders of the Aged." Ibid. 4 (1956): 215-23.

Harrington, L. Garth; and A. Cooper Rice. "Alcoholism in a Geriatric Setting: Disciplinary Problems, Marital Status and Income Level." *Ibid.* 10 (1962): 197-200.

Hattaway, Herman. "Clio's Southern Soldiers: The United Confederate Veterans and History." Louisiana History 12 (1971): 213-42.

_____. "The United Confederate Veterans in Louisiana." *Ibid.* 16 (1975): 5-37.

Havighurst, Robert J.; and Richard Glasser. "An Exploratory Study of Reminiscence." Journal of Gerontology 27 (1972): 245-53.

Holmes, William F. "The Georgia Alliance Legislature." Georgia Historical Quarterly 68 (1984): 479-515.

_____. "The Southern Farmers' Alliance: The Georgia Experience." *Ibid.* 72 (1988): 627-52.

Kapnick, Philip L.; Jay S. Goodman; and Elmer E. Cornwell. "Political Behavior in the Aged: Some New Data." Journal of Gerontology 23 (1968): 305-10.

Klebaner, Benjamin J. "Poverty and Its Relief in American Thought, 1815-61." Journal of Social History 38 (1964): 382-99.

Lashley, Tommy G. "Oklahoma's Confederate Veterans Home." Chronicles of Oklahoma 55 (1977): 34-45.

Lawton, M. Powell; and Silvia Yaffe. "Mortality, Morbidity and Voluntary Change of Residence by Older People." Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 18 (1970): 823-31.

Lewis, Charles N. "Reminiscing and Self-Concept in Old Age." Journal of Gerontology 26 (1971): 240-43.

Lieberman, M. A. "Relationships of Mortality Rates to Entrance to a Home for the Aged." Geriatrics 16 (1961): 515-19.

Markus, Elliot; Margaret Blenker; Martin Bloom; and Thomas Downs. "The Impact of Relocation Upon Mortality Rates of Institutionalized-Aged Persons." Journal of Gerontology 26 (1971): 537-41.

Miller, Thomas L. "Texas Land Grants to Confederate Veterans and Widows." Southwestern Historical Quarterly 69 (1965): 59-65.

O'Connor, Flannery. "A Late Encounter With the Enemy" in A Good Man Is Hard To Find. New York, 1953.

- Poole, Herbert. "Final Encampment: The North Carolina Soldiers' Home." Confederate Veteran (July-August 1987): 10-17.
- Rao, Dodda B. "Problems of Nutrition in the Aged." Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 21 (1973): 362-67.
- Rutland, Robert. "Captain William B. Walton, Mexican War Veteran." Tennessee Historical Quarterly 11 (1952): 171-79.
- Sutherland, Daniel E. "Exiles, Emigrants and Sojourners: The Post-Civil War Confederate Exodus in Perspective." Civil War History 51 (1985): 237-56.
- _____. "Southern Fraternal Organizations in the North." Journal of Southern History 53 (1987): 587-612.
- Turner, Barbara F. "Personality Traits as Predictors of Institutional Adaption Among the Aged." Journal of Gerontology 27 (1972): 61-68.
- Vandiver, Frank. "The Confederate Myth." Southwest Review 46 (1961): 199-204.
- Ward, Russell A. "The Never-Married in Later Life." Journal of Gerontology 34 (1979): 861-69.
- Williams, Emily J. "A Home . . . for the Old Boys': The Robert E. Lee Camp Confederate Soldiers' Home." Virginia Cavalcade 28 (1979): 40-47.
- Young, James R. "Confederate Pensions in Georgia, 1886-1929." Georgia Historical Quarterly 66 (1982): 47-52.

MONOGRAPHS

- Arnett, Alex Mathews. The Populist Movement in Georgia. New York, 1967 [1922].
- Ash, Stephen V. Middle Tennessee Society Transformed. 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South. Baton Rouge, 1988.
- Bailey, Fred A. Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation. Chapel Hill, 1987.
- Barr, Alwyn. Reconstruction to Reform: Texas Politics, 1876-1906. Austin, 1971.
- Bartley, Numan V. The Creation of Modern Georgia. Athens, 1983.
- Benner, Judith A. Sul Ross: Soldier, Statesman, Educator. College Station, 1983.
- Buck, Paul. The Road to Reunion. 1865-1900. Boston, 1937.

- Campbell, Randolph B.; and Richard G. Lowe. Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas. College Station, 1977.
- Chesson, Michael B. Richmond After The War, 1865-1890. Richmond, 1981.
- Coulter, E. Merton. The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877. Baton Rouge, 1947.
- Cunningham, Horace H. Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service. Baton Rouge, 1958.
- Davies, Wallace E. Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900. Cambridge, Mass., 1955.
- Dearing, Mary R. Veterans in Politics: The Story of the Grand Army of the Republic. Baton Rouge, 1952.
- Ekert, Ralph L. John Brown Gordon: Soldier. Southerner. American. Baton Rouge, 1989.
- Escott, Paul. Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850-1900. Chapel Hill, 1985.
- Fischer, David H. Growing Old in America. Oxford, 1978.
- Foster, Gaines M. Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913. New York, 1987.
- Foucault, Michael. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York, 1979.
- Gaston, Paul. The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking. New York, 1970.
- Goffman, Erving. Asylums: Essays in the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates. Garden City, N.J., 1961.
- Goode, Paul R. The United States Soldiers' Home: A History of Its First Hundred Years. Richmond, 1957.
- Hahn, Steven. The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890. New York, 1984.
- Hair, William I. Bourbonsim and Agrarian Protest: Louisiana Politics, 1877-1900. Baton Rouge, 1969.
- Hart, Roger L. Redeemers, Bourbons and Populists in Tennessee, 1870-1896. Knoxville, 1975.
- Hays, Samuel P. The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914. Chicago, 1957.

- Hesseltine, William B. Confederate Leaders in the New South. Westport, Conn., 1970 [1950].
- Hoar, Jay S. The South's Last Boys in Gray. Bowling Green, Ohio, 1986.
- Horn, Stanley F. The Hermitage: Home of Old Hickory. Nashville, 1960 [1950].
- Jackson, Joy J. New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1896. Baton Rouge, 1969.
- Katz, Michael B. In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America. New York, 1986.
- Landry, Stuart O. The Battle of Liberty Place: The Overthrow of Carpet-Bag Rule in New Orleans. New Orleans, 1955.
- Linenthal, Edward T. Changing Images of the Warrior Hero: A History of Popular Symbolism. New York, 1982.
- McClure, Ethel. More Than A Roof: The Development of Minnesota Poor Farms and Homes for the Aged. New York, 1968.
- McMath, Robert C., Jr. Populist Vanguard: A History of the Southern Farmers' Alliance. Chapel Hill, 1975.
- Nixon, Raymond B. Henry W. Grady, Spokesman of the New South. New York, 1943.
- Osterweis, Rollin G. The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900. Hamden, Conn., 1973.
- Rothman, David J. Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternative in Progressive America. Boston, 1980.
- _____. Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic. Boston, 1971.
- Shaw, Barton. The Wool-Hat Boys, Georgia's Populist Party. Baton Rouge, 1984.
- Shifflett, Crandall A. Patronage and Poverty in the Tobacco South: Louisa County, Virginia, 1860-1900. Knoxville, 1982.
- Soltow, Lee. Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850-1870. New Haven, 1975.
- Sutherland, Daniel E. The Confederate Carpetbaggers. Baton Rouge, 1988.
- Taylor, Joe Gray. Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863-1877. Baton Rouge, 1974.
- Webb, Mena. Jule Carr: General Without an Army. Chapel Hill, 1987.
- Wecter, Dixon. When Johnny Comes Marching Home. Cambridge, Mass., 1944.

- White, William W. The Confederate Veteran. Tuscaloosa, 1962.
- Wiley, Bell I. The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy. Baton Rouge, 1984 [1943].
- Wiebe, Robert H. The Search For Order. 1877-1913. New York, 1967.
- Wilson, Charles R. Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause. 1865-1920. Athens, Ga., 1980.
- Wisner, Elizabeth. Social Welfare in the South: From Colonies to World War I. Baton Rouge, 1970.
- Woodward, C. Vann. Origins of the New South. 1877-1913. Baton Rouge, 1951.
- _____. Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel. New York, 1969 [1938].
- Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South. New York, 1982.
- Wyllie, Irvin G. The Self-Made Man in America. New York, 1954.
- Wynne, Lewis N. The Continuity of Cotton: Planter Politics in Georgia. 1865-1892. Macon, 1986.

UNPUBLISHED THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

- Bellows, Barbara L. "Tempering the Wind: The Southern Response to Urban Poverty, 1850-1865." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of South Carolina, 1983.
- Cetina, Judith G. "A History of Veterans' Homes in the United States, 1811-1930." Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve Univ., 1977.
- Climmer, Patricia F. "Protectors of the Past: The United Daughters of the Confederacy, Tennessee Division and the Lost Cause." M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt Univ., 1973.
- Davis, G. Stephen. "Johnny Reb in Perspective: The Confederate Soldiers' Image in Southern Arts." Ph.D. diss., Emory Univ., 1979.
- Huffman, Frank J., Jr. "Old South, New South: Continuity and Change in a Georgia County, 1850-1880." Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1974.
- McConnell, Stuart C. "A Social History of the G.A.R., 1867-1900." Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins Univ., 1987.

Ruoff, John C. "Southern Womanhood, 1865-1920: An Intellectual and Cultural Study." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1976.

Simpson, John A. "S. A. Cunningham and The Confederate Heritage." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Oregon, 1987.

APPENDIX

I have based the various quantitative analyses which appear throughout this study on the files of 1,682 selected ex-Confederates who actually resided in the six soldiers' homes. I derived information on each veteran of each home from different sources, depending upon the factors of availability and accessibility. For example, the microfilmed applications to the Tennessee home provide the best source for raw, quantifiable inmate data. On the other hand, an extremely high percentage of the applications to the Georgia and Texas homes is, unfortunately, missing or presumed destroyed. Nevertheless, I compiled vital statistics on hundreds of veterans by gleaning several bound rosters which have been preserved in the state archives in Atlanta and Austin. I relied upon a similar volume for North Carolina veterans who were admitted to that state's home after, roughly, 1910. Applications to the Virginia home are extant, though they have not been microfilmed and each of the hundreds of case files has been assigned its own folder, thereby defying expeditious research. Biennial reports issued by the Camp Nicholls Board of Directors supplement the data which I drew from the handful of existing applications to the Louisiana home.¹

In order to reach my predetermined sample size for a particular home, I chose every other name from the lists of veterans. I excluded from consideration applications or roster entries which seemed futilely incomplete or highly illegible, as well as those which the board rejected or were dated post-1921. I also overlooked for the most part

¹ TSH, Applications for Admission, TSLA; GSH, Register of Inmates, vols. 1-2, GDAH; LCSH, Applications for Admission, VSL; TxHM, Roster of Inmates, TxSA; CNSH, Board of Directors, Report (1886), 13-16; (1887), 13-16; (1894), 21-24; (1898), 14-19; (1900), 19-20; (1902), 16-19; (1908), 38-47; (1920), 9-11; (1926), 9-10, LHAC; and the three applications for admission in CNSH, Board of Directors, Correspondence, LHAC; NCSH, Inmate Roll Book, NCDH.

veterans who, though entitled, decided not to enter a home or who died before being admitted.

For each of the 1,682 veterans selected I created a file, encoding such details as birthplace, residence, age, occupation, military service, disability, marital status, month and year of admission and other pertinent information. Only the Texas and North Carolina homes' rosters yielded a veteran's religious affiliation, while these same records omitted his military rank, unlike the records of the other four homes. Application forms and roster entries contained (at least, potentially) identical information, but the amount and quality of quantifiable data also varied. I then entered each file into a simple, public-domain IBM database program that automatically computes frequency distributions of categorized variables.

The sample of 1,682 veterans equals approximately 20 percent of the total number believed to have resided in the six homes through 1920. How many ex-Confederates actually lived in these homes during this period is unknown, for not all of the institutions' records have survived.² Moreover, it is unlikely that those which are extant provide a completely accurate count. The best estimate for the years from opening through 1920 is 8,411; another 2,523 men gained admission sometime later.³

²There are various sources which indicate the total number of veterans who resided in the Virginia, Texas, Georgia and North Carolina institutions. Total admissions to the LCSH during the years 1884 and 1920 came to 2,519. By 1931, the number had increased to 3,055. [LCSH, Board of Visitors, Report (1920), 12; (1931), 11, VSL.] I counted the names of 2,960 ex-Confederates in the TxHM, Roster of Inmates, TxSA. Through 1920, the tally was 2,019. In the two volumes of the GSH, Register of Inmates, GDAH, I counted 792 veterans--excluding four who were listed twice--for the years 1901-1920, and another 277 names for the subsequent years. One report [Fred A. Olds, "History of Soldiers' Home at Raleigh," The Orphans' Friend and Masonic Journal (December, 1926)] placed total admissions to the NCSH at 1,310 in 1919, and 1,459 by 1926. Both figures may be somewhat high, since I came across only 1,293 applicants for admission to the home scattered among the many state pension applications, NCDAAH. Nevertheless, I tentatively accepted Olds's records.

³ The total populations for the remaining two homes can only be approximated. There are 671 extant Applications for Admission to the TSH, but 708 veterans were admitted, according to

Of the former figure, Virginia inmates comprised the largest share (29.9%), followed by Texas (24.0%), North Carolina (15.6%); Louisiana (12.6%), Georgia (9.4%), and Tennessee (8.4%). Thus, the Virginia and Texas homes combined accounted for more than half of the entire homes' population. In 1890, more ex-Confederates resided in those two states than in any other state in the New South (Table A.1).

The relatively sizable sample enhances the probability of matching the characteristics of the entire population. Each state sample has been properly represented: that is, of the 1,682 veterans, 503 (29.9%) resided in the Lee Camp of Virginia; 404 (24.0%) in the Texas home; 262 (15.6%) in the North Carolina institution; 212 (12.6%) in Camp Nicholls; 158 (9.4%) in the Georgia home; and 143 (8.5%) in the Tennessee home. Most statisticians require a sampling of at least one thousand files. Although my entire sample clearly meets that demand, its reliability awaits further testing.

Whenever possible, parallel studies have been accessed as an indirect means of correlating data and substantiating conclusions. For example, Table A.2 illustrates the birthplaces of veterans admitted to four of the six homes. The table shows that about one-third (36.5%) of Confederate soldiers' home residents were natives of their respective states; whereas two-fifths (40.4%) had been born elsewhere in the South.

the home's official Register of Inmates, TSLA. So, I chose the higher figure, even though the volume's entries ceased after 1916. Based upon the post-1920 enrollment patterns for the Virginia, Texas and Georgia homes (which increased in overall population by an average of 25 percent after 1920) I have estimated that probably another 266 inmates resided in the Tennessee home, bringing the total to 974. Due to the absence of records, the total number of veterans admitted to CNSH during its fifty year history remains a mystery. My guess is 1,063 by 1920, and 1,417 by the time the home closed. I arrived at these figures by comparing the number of veterans who resided in the home at various intervals (1898, 1900, 1906, 1910, 1915, and 1920) to those reportedly in the LCSH during the same years. Using this method, enrollment in Camp Nicholls equalled approximately 46.4 percent (1,417) of the Lee Camp's total enrollment (3,055). Multiplying 1,417 by 25 percent (the increase in the Virginia, Texas and Georgia homes' total population after 1920), I arrived at 1,063 as CNSH enrollment by 1920.

Table A.1. The Number and Percentage of Confederate Veterans, by State in 1890.

State	# of Veterans	% of all Veterans
Texas	66,456	15.5
Virginia	48,448	11.3
Georgia	46,733	10.9
North Carolina	38,416	8.9
Alabama	33,871	7.9
Tennessee	31,727	7.4
Arkansas	26,582	6.2
Mississippi	26,582	6.2
South Carolina	23,581	5.5
Missouri	17,579	4.1
Louisiana	15,864	3.7
Kentucky	12,005	2.8
Florida	8,146	1.9
Maryland	8,000	--
All others	24,757	5.8
N	428,747	

From "Soldiers and Widows," Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Pt. 3, Population (Washington, D.C., 1897), 593.

**Table A.2. Birthplaces of Confederate Soldiers' Home Inmates,
by State and Region.**

	<u>Percentage of Inmates</u>				N	% of Total
	GA	LA	TN	TX		
Foreign Born	2.3	25.9	10.5	7.8	105	11.4
State Native	76.2	39.6	71.8	6.8	335	36.5
CSA Native*	20.2	24.9	10.8	67.2	371	40.4
Union Native+	1.3	9.6	6.9	18.2	106	11.5
N	158	212	143	404	917	

* = Born in any one of the eleven states which comprised the Confederate States of America.

+ = All other states.

Immigrants and the northern-born comprised about one-fifth (22.9%) of the homes' population. It should also be pointed out that Louisiana had the highest percentage of immigrants and Texas had the largest proportion of northerners, while Georgia was the most homogeneous or "southern" of the states, followed closely by Tennessee.⁴

Ultimately, the data's veracity--and in turn, the veterans' collective history--may never be conclusively determined. In the first place, as historical sources, applications and similar "single-round" survey-questionnaires are not absolutely reliable. Data derived from both form-types are necessarily dependent upon the respondent's ability to give unequivocal answers to direct questions. A veteran's age, educational level, and emotional and physical health undoubtedly affected his responses. Secondly, a precoded form invariably produces data truncation; that is, only a preset range of questions was asked and no more, thereby resulting in a total lack of information on other uninterrogated topics. In addition, official publications of the homes (for no apparent reason other than simple clerical oversight) lacked immunity from misreporting and underreporting.

In an effort to overcome such limitations, I have whenever possible extracted "external" data from other sources. For example, the ages (see Table 1.1) reported by veterans on their applications sometimes have been compared to the ones they disclosed to census takers in consecutive decades. Instances of doubtful superintendent recordkeeping have been cross-checked with physician and trustee accounts. In order to render the applicants' responses more useful, I have also found it necessary to

⁴ These findings closely match those described in a parallel study by Bell Wiley who examined the composition of Confederate military units based upon muster rolls. Wiley demonstrates that Louisiana contributed far more foreigners to Confederate service than any other state. Also, as clearly reflected in the table, Texas was a state composed largely of southern immigrants. Bell I. Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy (Baton Rouge, 1984 [1943]), 322-24.

manipulate information. Instead of giving their ages, veterans in many cases indicated their year of birth, which then had to be subtracted from their date of application, in order to extrapolate age at admission (Table 1.1).

For the score or so applicants who wrote the word "none" in reference to their marital status (Table 1.7) and listed no dependents, I assumed they meant that they were indeed single men who perhaps had never married. The Georgia roster, for example, rarely indicates marital status. Yet it does list names of persons to be notified in the event of death. So, I assumed that when a "Mrs.," bearing the identical surname as the veteran, appeared it meant that the veteran must have been married. If children were listed, but no "Mrs.," then he was a widower. And if names of other relatives (nieces, nephews, siblings, etc.) were provided, then the veteran probably was single. This assumption enabled me to answer more questions than the veterans themselves had been originally asked, thereby enlarging the scope of my analysis.

In determining whether a veteran suffered from a "war wound," I considered only those physical ailments which conceivably could have been caused by a "visible" war injury--such as, the loss of a limb, a broken back or a fractured skull. At the same time I arbitrarily disregarded common disorders of the aged--heart disease, sight and hearing loss, rheumatoid arthritis, diarrhoeal ailments, general debility, etc.⁵ Table A.3 illustrates the percentage distributions by states of Confederate soldiers' home residents afflicted with a "war wound." Although not reflected in the table, I have also discovered a pattern of early admissions for those veterans who claimed they had a

⁵ William Hammond, "Common Disorders of the Aged," Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 4 (1956): 215-223; L. C. Chen, "Control and Diarrhoeal Disease, Morbidity and Mortality, Some Strategic Issues," American Journal of Clinical Nutrition 31 (1982): 2284-90; Richard J. Anderson, "Medical Diagnoses in One Thousand Domiciled Veterans," Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 12 (1964): 553-61.

**A.3. Confederate Soldiers' Home Residents With "War Wounds,"
By State.**

	<u>Percentage of Veterans</u>						% of Total
	GA	LA	NC	TN	TX	VA	
	32.9	23.5	35.5	33.6	21.5	19.1	24.9
N	158	212	262	143	404	503	

service-related disability. Of all the inmates wounded during the war, 312 were admitted to a veterans' home during the first full decade of operation.

Occupational analysis (Table 1.2) required considerably more manipulation, in order to conform to modern conceptualizations and measurements of socioeconomic standing. In fact, I eventually found an earlier, nonetheless adequate, study more useful for my New South subjects than more recent approaches. I adopted William Hunt's simple four category hierarchy and nomenclature, not only because he analyzed census data for a similar time period, but also because he incorporated prestige as a subjective indicator of occupational status.⁶

With the notable exception of "farmer," all of the veterans' postwar occupations reported on applications or in official rosters fell discretely under one of Hunt's four categories: 1) proprietors/professional people; 2) clerical workers; 3) skilled workers; 4) the working or laboring class. Hunt arbitrarily grouped property-owning farmers under the first category and propertyless or tenant farmers--he referred specifically to them as "agricultural laborers"--under the fourth category. It stands to reason that a large number of indigent, relief dependent ex-Confederates were in fact farm laborers rather than owners, and therefore would necessarily fall in Hunt's fourth category. After all, veterans had to meet strict needs-based requirements governing inmate admissions in each state. Those whose property values exceeded the allowable limits prescribed by state laws were ruled ineligible for home admission. Yet, I was unwilling to assume that just because a veteran listed "farmer" as his chief postwar economic activity he therefore owned no real estate whatsoever. He probably did not, but I automatically assigned him to a fifth category, so as to avoid any misunderstanding.

⁶ William C. Hunt, "Workers at Gainful Occupations at the Federal Censuses of 1870, 1880 and 1890," Bulletin of the Department of Labor, No. 11 (Washington, D.C., 1897), 393-425.

There appears to have been a seasonal pattern to the admittance of farmer-veterans to the homes. Of the 219 farmers in the Texas sample (Table 1.2), 91 (41.6%) were admitted to the Confederate Home for Men during the months of January through March, the ebb of the agricultural cycle. The lowest percentage of in-migration by Texas farmers occurred during the months of July and September, usually when surplus workers are able to find temporary employment. Among all inmates, regardless of their profession, in all six homes, December, followed by March and January, were the peak months for in-migration. December--particularly during the Christmas season--also served as a period when the highest instance of voluntary out-migration (furloughs, "escapes") occurred, while July--generally, the hottest month of the year--marked the time when proportionately more inmates died. In both cases, season and climate may have been key demographic factors.⁷

Although occupation is arguably the best measure of socioeconomic status, it is possible to describe an individual's position within society by analyzing multiple-item indicators.⁸ The correlates of residence, literacy, disability and age undoubtedly affected a veteran's postwar economic activity and life chances. Marital status and family size also enabled the aging veteran to avoid or defer seeking relief. Wives and/or children of veterans potentially satisfied an economic need, providing financial assistance, and guarantees of protection or support in old age. My research on the veterans' religious affiliation--another possible proxy for determining socioeconomic status--is inconclusive. Based upon my samples of Texas and North Carolina veterans

⁷ See R. Chambers et al., eds., Seasonal Dimensions to Rural Poverty (London, 1981); M. Sakamoto-Momiyama, Seasonality in Human Mortality: A Medico-Geographical Study (Tokyo, 1977); and Louis Henry, Population: Analysis and Models (New York, 1976), 37-38.

⁸ See Mary G. Powers, ed., Measures of Socioeconomic Status: Current Issues (Boulder, Col., 1982).

only, almost three-fourths (70.9%) belonged to a mainline denomination--Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, etc., with a majority being Methodists and Baptists.

Data on military rank (Table 1.4) partially establishes an individual's antebellum socioeconomic status as well. I chose the highest rank held by the veteran in order to allow for field promotions and company elections which sometimes involved prestige factors. Since applications to the Tennessee Soldiers' Home failed to provide a rank for each veteran, I consulted the ex-Confederates' Compiled Service Records as indexed in Tennesseans in the Civil War. The inability to determine the rank held by all 143 Tennessee veterans may have skewed this tabulation. Even so, it appears that Confederate soldiers commanded other men on the basis of both their family's prewar wealth and the earlier esteem with which they had been held by others.⁹

Tracing family wealth values (Tables 1.3 and 1.5) as indicated in consecutive census schedules not only confirms this observation, but also provides useful information about a veteran's postwar economic, residential and occupational mobility patterns. I examined the wealth held by the 143 veterans in the Tennessee sample as reported in the 1860 and 1870 census schedules. Once again, the data required some manipulation. Because only 38 of the 143 men were heads of household in 1860, I chose family wealth aggregates rather than individual wealth as the basic unit of analysis. For each unmarried veteran who reported zero wealth, I included his parents' combined personal and real estate values, if any. If a veteran owned property--yet resided with his parents--I counted the family's composite wealth. In a few cases where a veteran boarded with a family whose members were apparently unrelated to him, I considered

⁹ Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units. With Available Rosters of Personnel, 2 parts (Nashville, 1964). For a related study linking socioeconomic status and rank, see Robert K. Krick, Lee's Colonels: A Biographical Register of the Field Officers of the Army of Northern Virginia (Dayton, Ohio, 1979).

only my subject's wealth, not that belonging to his landlord or employer. I utilized the identical tracing procedures for the 1870 census data.

Tables A.4 and A.5 reflect the possible relationship of institutional admissions and increased death rates. Together they suggest that Confederate veterans probably were not immune to the so-called "relocation mortality effect"--an observable increase in death rates due to various stress factors following mobility.¹⁰ Each table gives the "typical" inmate's "tenure" (time in residence). I measured tenure by counting the time from when a veteran was first admitted to when he emigrated from the home. The out-migration figures for veterans in the Georgia, Louisiana and Tennessee homes were based on deaths only. For veterans in the other three homes, I considered any form of out-migration, voluntary (furloughs, transfers) and involuntary (deaths, dismissals). Among the Texas sample's 404 veterans, 259 (64.1%) died at the home.

According to Table A.4, inmate tenure ranged anywhere from 4.5 to 5.2 years, depending upon admission date. Surprisingly, inmate tenure remained relatively stable in spite of an aging veteran population. More astounding, however, are the findings contained in Table A.5, which illustrates that about one out of every three inmates "left" the home after only one year or less. These figures appear to have been somewhat atypical, since life expectancy (in 1900) for American men aged 65 was 11.9 years; from age 75 it was 7.1 years.¹¹ The mean age for veterans admitted between 1901 and 1911 was 66.5 years (Table 6.1).

¹⁰ M. Powell Lawton and Silvia Yaffe, "Mortality, Morbidity and Voluntary Change of Residence by Older People," Journal of the American Geriatrics Society 18 (1970): 823-31; Elliot Markus et al., "The Impact of Relocation Upon Mortality Rates of Institutionalized-Aged Persons," Journal of Gerontology 26 (1971): 537-41; M. A. Lieberman, "Relationship of Mortality Rates to Entrance to a Home for the Aged," Geriatrics 16 (1961): 515-19.

¹¹ Joseph F. Faber, Life Tables for the United States: 1900-2050, Actuarial Study No. 87 (Washington, D.C., 1982).

A.4. Tenure of Confederate Soldiers' Home Residents, By State and Admission Date.

<u>Mean Years</u>							
Admission Date	GA	LA	NC	TN	TX	VA	Average
To 1900	+	2.14	+	9.28	5.07	4.46	5.23
1901-1911	5.64	5.21	+	6.08	5.96	2.37	5.05
1912-1921	3.33	3.67	3.60	9.00	5.81	1.65	4.51
N	158	212	181	143	404	503	

+ = Insufficient data available.

A.5. Confederate Soldiers' Homes Residents With Tenure of One Year or Less, By State and Admission Date.

<u>Percentage of Veterans</u>							
Admission Date	GA	LA	NC	TN	TX	VA	Average
To 1900	+	63.1	+	28.2	18.4	25.6	33.8
1901-1911	29.5	40.0	+	52.3	20.1	35.2	35.4
1911-1921	38.0	20.8	32.6	30.0	18.5	55.7	32.6
N	158	212	181	143	404	503	

+ = Insufficient data available.

Unless otherwise noted, all of the statistical tabulations involving inmate data in this study have been derived from the aforementioned sources. Each table gives the frequency distributions of one or two categorized variables. The symbol "N" always refers to the total number of files considered in a particular analysis. This number almost never equals the entire sample. Some of the tables also contain percentage values for a given category. Due to rounding, percentages rarely total 100.

The information derived from the analyses, and my presentation of summary descriptions, should be considered exploratory, preliminary and suggestive. Admittedly, more work remains to be done. My chief objective has been merely to provide a straightforward and readily interpretable description of a body of data and its internal structure, which has been heretofore wholly unaggregated and unexamined.

VITA

Possessing a Bachelor of Arts degree from Samford University (1979) and a Masters of Arts degree in History from Auburn University (1982), the author enrolled in The Graduate School of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in the fall of 1982. From 1983 to 1988 he held a history teaching assistantship and associateship. In 1986 and 1987 he was a recipient of the History Department's Bernadotte Schmitt Graduate Research Award. Since the summer of 1988 he has worked as an assistant editor of The Papers of Andrew Johnson.