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Divided Loyalties: A Socioeconomic Comparison of East Tennessee Unionists and Secessionists

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Divided Loyalties: A Socioeconomic Comparison of East Tennessee Unionists and Secessionists

On March 2, 1862, Thomas Edington said goodbye to his wife and children and left his small farm on the outskirts of Knoxville, Tennessee, to enlist in the Union army. With East Tennessee under Confederate occupation, Edington and several of his neighbors headed to Kentucky, where they enrolled in Company A of the 6th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment U.S.A. Through 1862 and 1863, they served in Tennessee as an occupation force and kept peace in cities and towns, remaining fairly close to family and friends. However, in 1864, they joined General William T. Sherman on his campaign to Atlanta, during which they constantly marched and skirmished with Confederate forces. After the capture of Atlanta, the 6th Tennessee travelled to Washington, D.C., to serve in the city's surrounding forts, and, after a short stay, travelled to the North Carolina coast where the unit remained for the duration of the war.¹

In January 1862, three months before the formation of the 6th Tennessee U.S.A., a twenty-four-year-old overseer named Reuben Giles raised a company of men from Monroe County, and marched them to Knoxville, where they mustered in as Company D of the 59th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment C.S.A. Although prepared to die fighting for their homes in East Tennessee, the men of the 59th Tennessee travelled to Vicksburg, Mississippi, where disease and a dreadful siege decimated their ranks. After the men surrendered and were exchanged, the unit reformed in north Georgia, rounded up horses to become a mounted regiment, and headed to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia to serve in General Jubal Early's 1864 campaign against Washington, D.C.² By

May of 1865, the men of both the 59th and the 6th Tennessee, glad to see the war's end, had returned home to rebuild their lives.

Before the war, fewer than fifty miles separated Thomas Edington and Reuben Giles, yet they became enemies and elected to join different sides. What factors compelled these men, living so close together, to wage war and destruction on each other?

At the outbreak of the Civil War, East Tennessee was perhaps the most divided section of the country. On April 15, 1861, after the battle of Ft. Sumter, President Abraham Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers to defend the Union. Days later, responding to Lincoln's appeal, both Union and Confederate recruiting offices opened on Gay Street in Knoxville. These offices, just blocks from one another, competed to gain East Tennessee volunteers. This division would carry on into June of 1861, when Tennessee held a referendum on the issue of secession. Of the nearly 50,000 votes cast in East Tennessee, 30 percent were in favor of immediate secession, while 70 percent were in favor of remaining in the Union. The region's lack of unity becomes even clearer when examining the results on a county level. At the time, roughly thirty counties composed East Tennessee, of which six voted to join the Confederacy, eleven seemed divided on the issue, and twelve strongly supported remaining in the Union.³ However, regardless of East Tennessee's reluctance to split from the federal government, the referendum to secede passed, with overwhelming support in West and Middle Tennessee.

Although Tennessee elected to leave the Union and join the newly formed Confederate government, the counties of East Tennessee remained divided and sent men to fight and die for both sides. As the war went on, the relationship between Union and Confederate sympathizers deteriorated, and a bloody guerilla war ensued, leading to widespread death and property destruction. The Civil War and the atrocities that resulted from it deeply affected East Tennessee; yet the question remains: what conditions could foster such profound division between men as close as neighbors? This study will examine the issue from a socioeconomic perspective, comparing the men of Company D of the 59th Tennessee C.S.A. and those of Company A of the 6th Tennessee U.S.A. to gain a better understanding of the factors that created schism among residents of East Tennessee.

In examining the division in East Tennessee during the Civil War, historians have generally limited themselves to viewing the issue from either a Unionist or secessionist standpoint, failing to make significant comparisons between the two. The best study of East Tennessee Confederates, Todd Groce's Mountain Rebels, examines the socio-economic background of the men and their wartime experiences. Groce argues that the introduction of the railroad into East Tennessee created the deep division, allowing certain men access to the large markets of the Deep South. Those who lived around cities and towns close to the railroad, says Groce, tended to be secessionists; moreover, they tended "to not only have been younger than their antisecessionist neighbors but also wealthier."⁴

In “Which Side Are You On?,” historian Peter Wallenstein offers a socio-economic analysis of East Tennessee Unionists, relying primarily on veteran questionnaires and unit histories. Wallenstein argues that “Union soldiers [from East Tennessee] came overwhelmingly from the non-plantation counties. And, in stepwise fashion, the lower their economic standing, the more likely men were to fight for the Union”⁵

In addition to the works exploring the political schism of East Tennessee, several “new” regimental histories have emerged that analyze individual units from the region. Written by authors such as Leslie Anders, Douglas Hale, Edward Hagerty, and John Fowler, these are labeled “new” regimental histories because they embody both traditional military history and new social history approaches. John Fowler’s Mountaineers in Gray, which examines the 19th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment C.S.A, is one of the few regimental histories on Confederate East Tennessee units. Fowler concludes that the men of the 19th Tennessee conformed to Groce’s depiction of East Tennessee Confederates.⁶ Another notable new regimental history is Walter Lynn Bates, “Southern Unionists,” which examines the wartime experiences of the 3rd Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment U.S.A. and offers a brief socioeconomic analysis.⁷

To construct a socioeconomic comparison of Union and Confederate soldiers of East Tennessee, a variety of primary sources must be consulted. This study relies primarily on the Compiled Service Records, the Eighth Census of the United States, and original unit histories.⁸ The Compiled Service Records are needed to establish an official

roster for the two companies, which then allows for the location of individuals in the Eighth Census. When taken together, these sources provide valuable details about the individuals in the regiments such as the age, wealth, marital status, occupation, literacy, number of slaves, and if a farmer, the crops and livestock produced on his farm.

Writings by men from each regiment have been used to supplement data from the census and military records. The diary of Thomas Edington, captain of Company A, provides insight into the 6th Tennessee Volunteer Regiment U.S.A, while the postwar memoir of Reuben Clark sheds light on the 59th Tennessee C.S.A. The details thus gleaned about the men of the two companies help to explain what factors led East Tennesseans to choose sides as they did in the war.

Searching through the Compiled Service Records and the Eighth Census yields significant data on the age distribution of soldiers from Company A and Company D. The average age of the Unionists of Company A was around twenty; that of the Confederates of Company D, twenty-four. Differences become even more apparent after grouping the data into various age ranges. As displayed in Figure 1 and Figure 2, both units were typical of Civil War companies in that the majority of the troops fell within the eighteen to forty-five range. In the Unionist regiment, over 75 percent were below the age of twenty-four in 1860, while in the Confederate unit 66 percent were. The significant differences become recognizable when focusing on the soldiers younger than seventeen. Company D had twelve men sixteen years of age or younger, but Company A had twenty—with one soldier, Josiah Stevenson, shown in the census as only eleven in 1860. Even more distinctions emerge upon examining the number of

older men in the two companies. The sample for Company A indicated that only 1 percent of the unit fell within the 35-39 category and zero men fell into the forty-plus category. In Company D, on the other hand, almost 10 percent of the men were at least forty and nearly a quarter over thirty. Clearly, a generational gap existed between the two groups: the Unionist company possessed a significantly younger group of soldiers.⁹

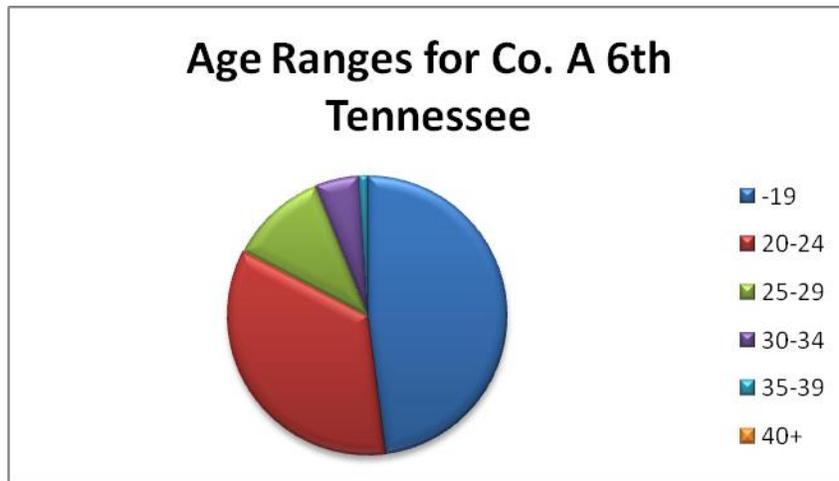


Figure 1

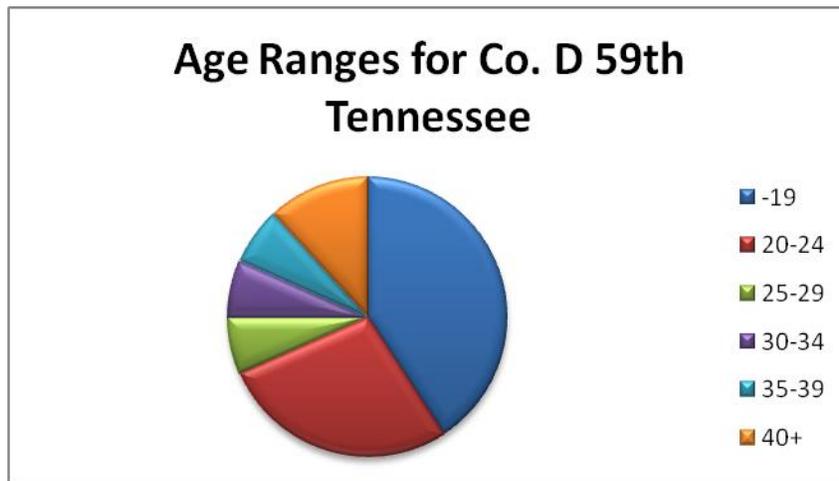


Figure 2

The marital status of the men in the two companies also differed. In the 6th Tennessee, seventeen, or 34 percent, of the soldiers located in the census were

married, with eleven of them listing children or other dependents. The 59th Tennessee had a slightly higher proportion of married men, 42 percent, or twenty-three of the fifty-five men found in the census. Furthermore, seventeen of these twenty-three men had children living in their household. Although the higher rate of marriage in Company D probably resulted from the unit's higher average age, other factors not yet addressed such as the unit's lower rate of literacy and wealth could also be the cause.

Before the Civil War, East Tennessee had a fairly diversified economy, at least in comparison to the rest of the state. Although farming was the primary vocation, many inhabitants had manufacturing jobs in grain mills, iron or copper works, foundries, lumber mills, or coal mines.¹⁰ Of the 106 soldiers listed in Company A of the 6th Tennessee in the Compiled Service Records, the occupations of 48 men can be found in the census. Furthermore, census records reveal the occupations of 50 of the 90 men belonging to Company D of the 59th Tennessee. From the information, several significant points can be drawn. For one thing, agriculture was the primary livelihood of most of the men in both companies. Over 81 percent of the men of Company A and 54 percent of the men of Company D listed their occupation as farmer in 1860. Yet, in the Confederate unit, Company D, there were eighteen men, or 36 percent, who called themselves laborers, while only 8 percent in Company A did so. Although the meaning of the term laborer was not clearly defined, it probably refers to either a farmhand or an unskilled employee of a manufacturing operation.

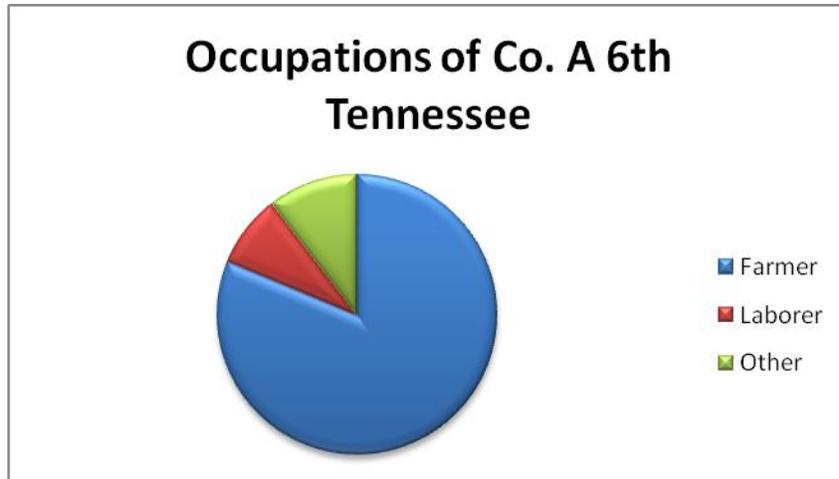


Figure 3

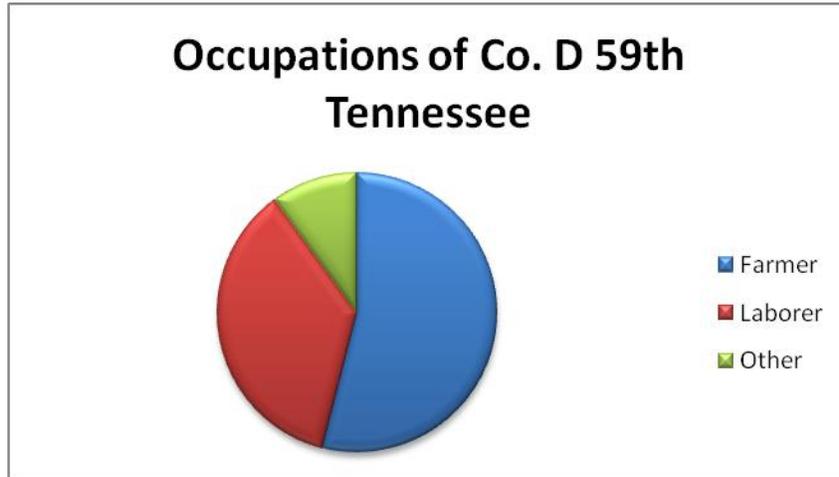


Figure 4

Although farming dominated the lives of the men of both companies, roughly 10 percent of the men listed some form of occupation other than farmer or laborer.

Company D contained two shoemakers, a miller, an overseer, and a mailcarrier;

Company A contained a slavedriver, an apprentice, a blacksmith, and a fisherman.

Although the occupation of William Rule, a strong Unionist and lieutenant in Company

A, was illegible, one can assume that he held a professional job, for after the war he

became the editor of Governor William G. Brownlow's Knoxville newspaper and

eventually the mayor of the city. Thus, not everyone in the two companies relied on agriculture as a source of employment.

In both companies the majority of the men listed farming as their occupation, either as owners, tenants, or laborers. However, in the South a wide gap existed between the economic status of subsistence farmers, growing strictly to provide food for their families, and commercial farmers, growing cash crops to sell on the market. While some farmers owned dozens of slaves and hundreds of acres and produced a bounty of crops and livestock, other farmers were forced to rent land as tenants and subsequently barely raised enough food to survive. A close examination is thus necessary of the amount of wealth held by each individual, a statistic provided in the Eighth Census records.

In the 1860 census, the taker recorded both the real estate and personal wealth of each individual. However, numerous men from both regiments possessed no wealth, since they lived with their parents or another household head. Thus, for this study, the wealth of the household head is used if the soldier was a dependent in 1860.

The census returns for the men of Company A of the 6th Tennessee indicated that 42 percent of the men or their families owned some form of real estate and 90 percent owned some form of personal wealth. As a whole, the men of the unit averaged \$1,310 in real estate and \$675 in personal wealth; however, the numbers varied greatly. In terms of real estate, Thomas Bird held \$6,000 worth and William Dunn \$2,500, while Ira and Thomas Loveless's father held only \$100 worth. Personal wealth also varied. Josiah Stevenson and Samuel Pickens listed \$7,500 and \$5,095 respectively,

but other soldiers possessed very little: Jacob Tipton, a subsistence farmer in Knox County, claimed a mere \$80.

In Company D of the 59th Tennessee the numbers also varied greatly; but on the whole, the men of the unit averaged less real estate and personal wealth than their Union counterparts. Of the men found in the census, 45 percent held some real estate, with an average of \$1,110. In terms of personal wealth, the company averaged \$449, with over 85 percent claiming some amount. Perhaps the wealthiest man in Company D was Sergeant Stephen Coldwell, a planter from Monroe County, who valued his real property at \$14,000 and his personal property at \$14,000. However, the vast majority of the men resembled smaller farmers such as Joseph Gentry, who listed \$100 in land holdings and \$200 in personal property. Thus, even though the Unionist company claimed more wealth than the Confederate company, both were typical of Civil War companies in that men of various ranks of wealth organized to fight for a common goal.

Analyzing the information in the population census provides an abundance of information regarding the men of Company A and Company D, but to truly understand their economic condition, one must examine the agricultural schedules of 1860, which provide information on their farms. Although finding individuals in the agricultural schedule proved difficult, a total of seven men from the 59th Tennessee and six men from the 6th Tennessee were eventually located. Comparing the numbers for the two companies reveals that men of both of the units owned similar sized farms. Men of the 59th Tennessee owned on average 112 acres of land, 36 of which were listed as improved or arable land; men of the 6th Tennessee owned an average of 109 acres of

land, with 39 acres listed as improved. However, the value of the farms varied greatly. The men of the 6th Tennessee owned much more valuable farms than their Confederate counterparts. The men of the 59th had an average farm value of \$643, while those from the 6th Tennessee had an average value of \$1,500. The most productive farm located belonged to Jacob Davenport of the 6th Tennessee, which was worth twice as much as any owned by a man of the 59th Tennessee. Furthermore, the farms of the Unionist regiment were all more substantial than five of seven secessionist farms. What can explain such a disparity of wealth when both groups held similar sized farms in relatively close proximity to the railroad?

The farms of the Unionist soldiers were more valuable because they generated greater wealth due to their diversification and their production of marketable crops and livestock. Most of the farms of both Unionists and secessionists were diversified to some extent: they produced corn, molasses, butter, peas, beans, potatoes, milk cows, horses, and swine. However, farms of the 6th Tennessee soldiers raised larger quantities of staple crops, particularly corn, tobacco, and wheat. The Unionists' farms produced on average 123 bushels of wheat, 43 pounds of tobacco, and 425 bushels of corn, while the secessionists' farms averaged only 28 bushels of wheat, 3 pounds of tobacco, and 306 bushels of corn. Thus, the farms of the Confederates produced less of every cash crop, except for cotton, of which they grew 53 bales on average, compared to the Unionists' zero. Jacob Davenport of the 6th Tennessee owned the most substantial farm, and perhaps the most diversified. He produced large quantities of wheat, corn, oats, peas, beans, potatoes, garden produce, butter, clover seed, molasses, and honey.

AVERAGES OF NUMBERS FROM THE AGRICULTURAL SCHEDULE								
ACRES OF LAND								
	IMPROVED	UNIMPROVED	VALUE	SWINE	WHEAT	CORN	TOBACCO	COTTON
59 th TN	36	78	643	16	28	306	3	53
6 th TN	39	70	1500	15	123	425	43	0

Figure 5

In the antebellum South, corn and pork were the primary foods produced and consumed. While we know the amount of each crop the farms raised, we also need to know whether the farmer produced enough to meet his needs. In the book Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860, Sam Hilliard devised a formula that determines the extent of a farm's surplus or deficit in corn. In the following formula, Z stands for the size of the household, S stands for the number of swine, and H stands for the number of horses and mules:

$$\frac{\text{CORN PRODUCTION (bu)}}{(13*Z)+(4*S)+(7.5*H)}$$

Using this equation, it turns out that only two of the farms, both owned by men of the 59th Tennessee, failed to produce a surplus of corn in 1860. The men of the 6th Tennessee produced the greatest surpluses, growing enough corn, oats, and wheat not only to feed their families and livestock but also to sell in the market.¹¹

Clearly, the data demonstrate that the Unionist farms were much more profitable than the secessionist; yet comparing the information to regional averages yields more intriguing conclusions. According to the 1860 Census, the average East Tennessee farm contained about 163 acres of improved land with a value of \$2,899.¹² Figure 5 above shows that both units averaged a little less than 40 improved acres, with no farm exceeding 70 acres. Furthermore, only one farmer, Jacob Davenport of the 6th

Tennessee, had a farm with a value greater than the regional average. The rest of the farms were much below the East Tennessee average: \$643 and \$1,500 for Company D and Company A respectively. Although the region's few large plantation owners certainly inflated the numbers beyond a representative average, the men of Company D and A fall far enough away from the regional average to safely suggest they were mostly composed of men from the lower classes.

Prior to the Civil War, the population of East Tennessee was overwhelmingly white, with only 9 percent of the populace recorded as slaves.¹³ However, in the decade prior to the war the slave population markedly increased. Between 1850 and 1860 census, the region experienced a 20 percent increase in the number of slaves, while the white population rose by only 14 percent.¹⁴ Yet few of the men of the 6th and 59th Tennessee, it appears, owned slaves. The 1860 census reveals only two slaveholders, one from each unit. A member of Company A of the 6th Tennessee, a twenty-eight year old farmer from Sevier County named Samuel Pickens, owned a sixteen-year-old female, while a member of Company D of the 59th Tennessee, a thirty-eight-year-old sergeant named Stephen Coldwell, owned nine slaves. Coldwell, the wealthiest member of the company, held five male and four female slaves, with a majority of them in their twenties. With a combined real estate and personal wealth exceeding \$28,000 in the 1860 census, Coldwell could afford to purchase numerous slaves. However, the majority of the men from both companies were too poor to buy any.

Looking at the average wealth of the men from the two companies in conjunction with slave prices from the time leads to the conclusion that few of the men

could afford slaves. Though prices varied based on the age, sex, and condition of the slave, in 1850 prices ranged around \$600 for a twenty-five-year-old female and \$800 for a twenty-five-year-old male.¹⁵ As previously noted, the average personal wealth for men of the 6th Tennessee was \$675, while that of the men of the 59th Tennessee was \$449. These numbers indicate that most of the men did not hold enough wealth, especially liquid wealth, to consider purchasing blacks. Furthermore, as Noel Fisher notes, “the lack of a high-value money crop in East Tennessee not only kept wealth and income levels low, it also took away much of the incentive and ability to acquire slaves.”¹⁶ East Tennessee’s rolling hills, short growing season, and poor soil could not produce much, if any, cotton, rice, tobacco, or sugar, which meant farmers had little need for slave labor.

Another important factor to examine in a socioeconomic study is a group’s literacy rate. In 1860, three institutions of higher education existed in East Tennessee: East Tennessee University in Knoxville, Maryville College in Blount County, and Mossy Creek Baptist College in Jefferson County.¹⁷ However, as previously noted, the bulk of the men of both the Unionist 6th Tennessee and the Confederate 59th Tennessee were farmers of modest means, not possessing sufficient wealth to have the option to attend college. Thus, the only education these men generally received, if any, was in the one-room common schools.¹⁸

The literacy or illiteracy of individuals is recorded in the Eighth Census. The illiteracy rate of the 6th Tennessee soldiers was 8 percent; of the 59th Tennessee soldiers roughly 16 ½ percent. This disparity is no doubt connected with the lesser wealth of the

men of the 59th Tennessee. However, these numbers may not truly represent the real illiteracy rate of the men of the two companies. The census returns list only the literacy status for individuals over the age of twenty, on the assumption that someone under that age could still pursue an education. So, these numbers are probably slightly below the actual rate, for some men under twenty years of age probably never received a sufficient education.

While age, marital status, wealth, occupation, and literacy all influenced the political opinions of East Tennesseans, perhaps no factor affected them more than communalism. As historian James McPherson writes, “most of the men in a volunteer company had enlisted from the same community. Many of them had known each other from childhood. They retained close ties to that community through letters home, articles in local newspapers, and occasional visits by family members.”¹⁹ Examining the residences of the men of the 6th and 59th Tennessee suggests that communalism played an important role in their political choices.

As shown in Figure 6, the vast majority of men of the 6th Tennessee found in the census, 69 percent, resided in Knox County at the beginning of the war. The rest lived in outlying counties, with 13 and 10 percent in Sevier and Blount counties respectively. Furthermore, a significant number of the soldiers from Company A lived in relatively close proximity to each other. The returns showed that several men, including Thomas Edington, lived in the same district of Knox County. Moreover, several of the men were listed next to each other, indicating that they were neighbors.

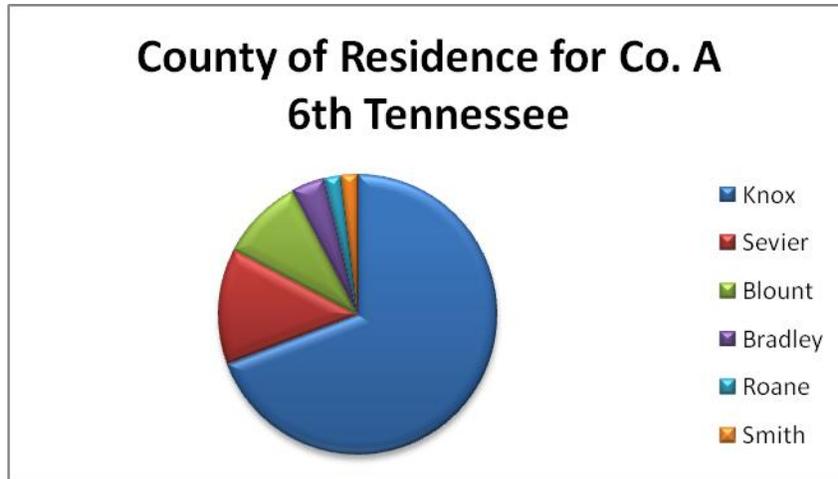


Figure 6

Looking at the census returns for Company D of the 59th Tennessee (Figure 7) reveals a similar pattern. Of the fifty-four men found in the census, 85 percent called Monroe County home, with 7 percent in Blount and the other 8 percent divided among Hamilton, Dickson, and McMinn. Furthermore, several of the men from Monroe County were listed as neighbors, while a large portion listed their post office as Sweetwater, indicating that, if not neighbors, they probably lived close enough to be acquaintances. Examining the census records thus demonstrates the close communal ties that existed among Union men and among Confederate men in East Tennessee.

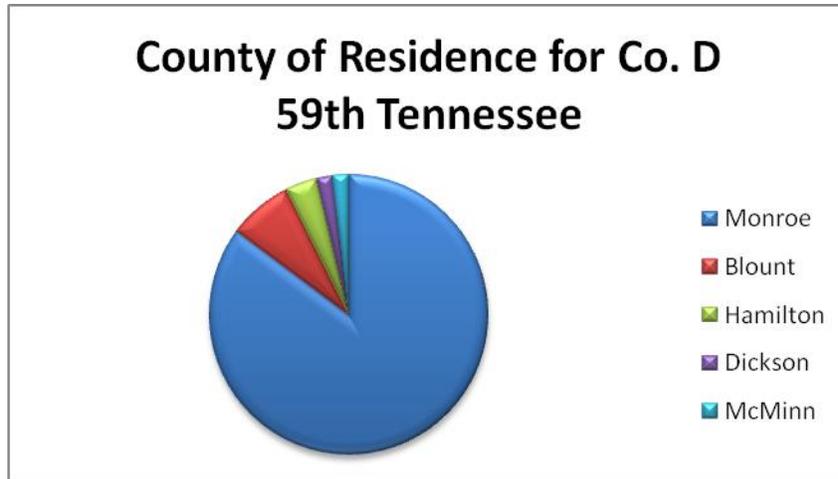


Figure 7

Personal ties are also indicated by the number of family members serving in each unit. Although the complexity and vagueness of census records prevent a good analysis, the returns do suggest that significant family ties existed among the men of the two companies. For instance, in the 6th Tennessee there were at least six sets of siblings, and the company had large numbers of men from Knox County with the surname King, Johnson, or Monday. The number of family members in the 59th Tennessee was probably lower, since the unit had only four sets of siblings, and fewer men sharing surnames. However, family ties definitely existed to some extent.

By focusing on the socioeconomic characteristics of the men of the two companies, this study offers insights into the factors that fueled sectionalism in East Tennessee. Historians Todd Groce and John Fowler argue that the division between the Unionists and secessionists in East Tennessee resulted from the construction of the railroad and the economic connections it offered to those living around it, who tended to become secessionists in 1861. Furthermore, their socioeconomic analysis of East

Tennessee Confederates characterizes them in general as young, wealthy men who lived in urban areas and had a substantial education—all in contrast to their Unionist opponents.²⁰ However, the data presented here on the men of the 6th and 59th Tennessee regiments contradict the arguments of Groce and Fowler.

In both companies researched for this study, the bulk of the men came from localities close to the railroad. All of the counties supplying men to the two units were in close proximity to the railroad, with none completely isolated from the rest of the region. However, the majority of the soldiers of the Unionist company resided south of Knoxville, across the river from the city, close to Sevier and Blount counties, while most soldiers of the secessionist company listed Sweetwater as their post office, a town in Monroe County lying directly on the newly built Tennessee and Georgia line. Furthermore, the Unionists were wealthier, younger, more diversified agriculturally, and more literate, on the whole, than the secessionists.

The findings of this research project suggest that historians have overemphasized the importance of the railroad to East Tennessee farmers. While the introduction of the railroad certainly altered the economy of East Tennessee, it came too late to alter the agricultural practices of most farmers before the war broke out. The first rail line into the region, the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, was not completed until 1855; the other line, the East Tennessee and Virginia, which connected with the ET & G to form one continuous line through the region, was completed in 1858.²¹ It seems unrealistic to assume that any great number of East Tennessee farmers switched in the course of three to six years from raising hogs and corn for personal use

and local sale to raising wheat and other staples for sale in distant markets.

Furthermore, while new towns sprang up and existing cities grew because of the railroad's influence, East Tennessee remained an overwhelmingly rural region in 1861.

This study also contradicts the socioeconomic findings of previous historians. While distinctions between the Unionists and Confederate sympathizers are apparent, they do not follow the findings of Groce, Fowler, and Wallenstein. These historians describe Confederate soldiers in general, as large farmers growing cash crops, who were younger, wealthier, and more literate than Unionists. However, the data presented here on the 6th and 59th Tennessee reveal just the opposite. These findings suggest that previous historians have oversimplified the motivation of East Tennessee Confederates and Unionists; the reasoning behind their enlistment was in fact extremely complex and not dependent upon a single factor.

Although economic differences certainly played a role, this study demonstrates that the splintering of East Tennessee during the Civil War resulted primarily from a deep sense of communalism. At the beginning of the war, pockets of Unionists and Confederates emerged throughout East Tennessee, with few counties demonstrating overwhelming support for either cause. It was from pockets such as these that the men of the 6th and 59th Tennessee emerged, especially from the southern portion of Knox County and the northern portion of Monroe County, respectively. Furthermore, the number of related men serving in each unit suggests that community ties were strengthened by family relationships.

It also seems plausible that some East Tennesseans put their political views aside and enlisted to support their local community. Reuben Clark, the captain of Company I of the 59th Tennessee, wrote in his memoir that

There was no alternative but to take sides in this bloody conflict. What should I do? I had opposed secession and did not regard the election of Abraham Lincoln as just cause for war. Here were my brethren and kindred, my people of the South, arrayed one section against the other—the North coming down to conquer the South. I could not desert my own people, and so entered the Confederate army.²²

Many East Tennesseans found themselves torn on the issue of Civil War. They loved the Union and, owning few slaves, did not view the election of Abraham Lincoln as a threat; yet they also felt ties to their fellow Southerners and relied on Southern cities as a market for their surpluses. These conflicted East Tennesseans did not hold solely Unionist or solely secessionist views, but a complex combination of the two. However, by the spring of 1862, it became evident that the conflict would eventually reach their homes, and they could no longer ignore the matter.

The degree of violence that occurred in the region probably escalated the enlistment of East Tennesseans. Unionist and secessionist guerillas attacked not only men but also women and children. They claimed to fight as soldiers, yet resembled criminals as they “strung up men by their necks, whipped them, or threatened to burn their homes until they revealed where their money and

other valuables were hidden.”²³ As a result, some men, otherwise ambivalent about the war, would be compelled to join and fight to ensure the protection of their families and communities.

Regardless of the motivations behind their enlistment, the men of East Tennessee played an important role in the Civil War. They gallantly fought in all theatres of the war; many made the ultimate sacrifice for their cause. Yet, this paper demonstrates that historians do not fully understand the region’s economy, politics, and wartime experience. Further research must be conducted to better comprehend the division of East Tennessee during the Civil War.

¹ Thomas Doak Edington, *Diary, 1862-1865*, MS 1181, University of Tennessee Special Collections.

² Reuben Clark, *Valleys of the Shadow*, ed. Willene B. Clark (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994).

³ W. Todd Groce, *Mountain Rebels: East Tennessee Confederates and the Civil War, 1860–1870* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 36-37.

⁴ *Ibid*, 47-58.

⁵ Peter Wallenstein, “Which Side Are You On?: The Social Origins of White Union Troops from Civil War Tennessee,” *Journal of East Tennessee History* 63 (1991): 72-103.

⁶ John D. Fowler, *Mountaineers in Gray: The Nineteenth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, C.S.A.* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004).

⁷ Walter Lynn Bates, "Southern Unionists: A Socio-Economic Examination of the Third East Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, U.S.A., 1862-1865," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 50 (1991): 226-39.

⁸ Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee, M396, McClung Historical Collection, Knoxville –Knox County Public Library; Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee, M268, McClung Historical Collection; Eighth Census, 1860, Free Inhabitants, Slaves, Agriculture, counties of Blount, Bradley, Dickson, Hamilton, Knox, McMinn, Monroe, Roane, Sevier, Smith; Edington Diary; Clark, *Valleys of the Shadow*.

⁹ To determine the age of the men, I relied on the census records when available, and used the Compiled Service Records when an individual could not be located in the census. In using the ages listed in the Compiled Service Records, I subtracted two years from the given number to bring it close to the individual's age in 1860.

¹⁰ Noel Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 17.

¹¹ Sam B. Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1972), 158.

¹² Fowler, *Mountaineers in Gray*, 21.

¹³ Paul H. Bergeron, Stephen V. Ash, and Jeanette Keith, *Tennesseans and Their History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 122.

¹⁴ Fowler, *Mountaineers in Gray*, 25; Groce, *Mountain Rebels*, 41-43.

¹⁵ Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), 76.

¹⁶ Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 20

¹⁷ Bates, "Southern Unionists," 233.

¹⁸ Reuben Clark, *Valleys of the Shadow*, xix.

¹⁹ James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrade: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 80.

²⁰ Groce, *Mountain Rebels*, chapters 1-2; Fowler, *Mountaineers in Gray*, chapters 1-2.

²¹ Groce, *Mountain Rebels*, 9.

²² Clark, *Valleys of the Shadow*, 10.

²³ Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 88.