
Republicans and Drifters: Political Affiliation and Union Army Volunteers in West-Central Indiana

Thomas E. Rodgers*

During the Civil War Hoosier Republicans claimed that a very large proportion of their Democratic neighbors were avoiding military service. In the wake of their party's disastrous 1862 defeat, Greene County's Republican newspaper asserted that the loss "proves conclusively that a large majority of the soldiers from Indiana are Republicans." To back their contentions Republican newspapers throughout much of the war printed straw polls of Hoosier military units that registered huge majorities for state and national Republican candidates.¹

Most modern historians have discounted the wartime accusations of Hoosier Republicans as little more than overheated political hyperbole. Young men volunteered in such great numbers at the beginning of the war that it is hard not to believe that members of both parties volunteered in large numbers. "Certainly," Kenneth M. Stampf has written, "Republicans could not surpass the Democratic masses in devotion to the war effort" at the beginning of the conflict. Democratic opposition to the war and the policies of the administrations of President Abraham Lincoln and Indiana Republican Governor Oliver P. Morton did not develop, it is generally held, until later with the advent of the Militia Draft and the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.²

*Thomas E. Rodgers received his Ph.D. in American History from Indiana University and is the author of "Liberty, Will, and Violence: The Political Ideology of the Democrats of West-Central Indiana during the Civil War," which appeared in the June, 1996, issue of this journal. The author would like to thank Professor James H. Madison, who guided much of the original research upon which this article is based and the *Indiana Magazine of History's* two anonymous referees, who provided very helpful and constructive criticisms.

¹ Worthington, Greene County, *White River Gazette*, October 23, 1862. For examples of straw polls, see *Terre Haute Wabash Express* (daily), October 29, 1862; *Terre Haute Wabash Express* (weekly), September 28, 1864; *Greencastle Putnam Republican Banner*, November 24, 1864. Republican leaders seem to have believed their own propaganda. Harvey D. Scott, an important Republican leader in Vigo County, wrote in a private letter to a fellow Vigo Republican who was serving in Abraham Lincoln's administration of his concern that, locally, their party was going to lose the 1862 elections because so many area Republicans were in the army and would thus be unable to vote. Harvey D. Scott to John Palmer Usher, October 2, 1862, John Palmer Usher Papers (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kans.)

² Kenneth M. Stampf, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War* (reprint ed., Bloomington, 1978), 74. For a good summary of the raising of troops in Indiana, see

The commonsense views expressed by Stamp and others have been reinforced by statistical evidence. Gilbert R. Tredway found that predominantly Democratic congressional districts in Indiana actually outperformed many Republican districts in raising recruits during the war. Analysis of county-level data for the period before the draft similarly reveals no meaningful correlations between volunteering and either Democratic or Republican dominance in Indiana counties.³

With common sense and statistics arrayed against the Republican charges, no one has bothered to undertake a detailed investigation of which Hoosiers volunteered for service during the Civil War. The more closely one examines the political situation in Indiana and the letters of ordinary residents, however, the more evidence one finds supporting the Republican charges. The public statements of Democratic politicians, for example, suggest that Democratic opposition to Republican policies was, in fact, quite strong from the beginning of the war. In an April, 1861, speech, John G. Davis, the Democratic congressman from the Seventh District during most of the 1850s, proclaimed that the South had not seceded, which was illegal, but was in revolution, which was legal. This being the case, Davis concluded, it was wrong for the Lincoln

Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (Indianapolis, 1965), 124-42. On the view that there was a period at the beginning of the Civil War of reduced party strife and of broad public support for the war that cut across party lines in Indiana and the rest of the North, see *ibid.*, 106, 124-42; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era, 1861-1865* (New York, 1988), 274-75; John D. Barnhart, "The Impact of the Civil War on Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LVII (September, 1961); 185-87, 191-93; James H. Madison, *The Indiana Way: A State History* (Bloomington, 1986), 197-98; William E. Wilson, *Indiana: A History* (Bloomington, 1966), 136; Phillip Shaw Paludan, "A People's Contest": *The Union and Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York, 1988), 85-87; Stamp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*, 74-102; Robert W. Johannsen, "The Douglas Democracy and the Crisis of Disunion," *Civil War History*, IX (September, 1963), 229-47.

³ Gilbert R. Tredway, *Democratic Opposition to the Lincoln Administration in Indiana* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XLVIII; Indianapolis, 1973), 13-14, 60-62, 322. For county-level data, the number of volunteers who were serving at the time of the first draft enrollment was divided by the total county population to obtain a comparable figure for recruits from each county. This figure was compared to the average Republican vote of each county for the period of 1856-1864. The figures for the most heavily Republican and Democratic counties reveal no particular pattern. Regression analysis of ninety of the state's ninety-two counties (Jasper and Newton were excluded for lack of voting data) failed to find any meaningful relationship between Republican voting and high volunteer rates. Whether using numbers per hundred population or grouping these numbers into categories, the values for R squared were negligible. These findings, however, may be somewhat dubious because there are so many complicating factors, such as the fact that many of the most heavily Republican counties contained large numbers of pacifist Quakers and the fact that some heavily Democratic counties had large immigrant populations. In addition, the maturity of the rural populations varied widely across the state, from a few mature southern counties that were losing population during the 1860s to a few northern counties that were still in a frontier condition. County figures for volunteers serving at the time of the first draft are in William H. H. Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana* (8 vols., Indianapolis, 1865-1869).

administration to coerce the Confederate states back into the Union. Although less strident in his opposition, Davis's successor, Democratic Congressman Daniel W. Voorhees, declared in May, 1861, that he was in favor of a compromise solution to the sectional crisis rather than a military one. Democratic leaders may not have publicly urged their constituents to avoid service, but their pronounced opposition to a military solution discouraged Democrats from volunteering.⁴

The private correspondence of rank-and-file Republicans from west-central Indiana contains charges that Democrats were not volunteering. These charges were not simply a parroting of the accusations Republican leaders so often made in public. Rather, rank-and-file Republicans based their claims on their own observations in their own communities. Upset that so few local Democrats were serving, Sarah Dooley of Parke County wrote to her soldier son that she approved of the draft because "I do feel like some of the Butternuts ought to go." One Vigo County volunteer wrote home, "They may tell you that there are as many Dem[.] in the army as Rep[.], but tell all such that I say it is a lie."⁵

Could Democrats who so vehemently opposed Republican policies have eagerly volunteered to enforce them? Could Republicans

⁴ Rockville Parke County Republican, April 24, May 1, 1861; Tredway, *Democratic Opposition to the Lincoln Administration in Indiana*, 13-14, 60-62. Davis's remarks probably represent an extreme position. However, most Democrats appear to have had a kind of sympathy for the South because, while they felt secession was wrong, they believed the primary cause of the war was an aggressive Republican party that was trying to change the nation in a way detrimental not only to the South but also to Hoosier Democrats. See Thomas E. Rodgers, "Liberty, Will, and Violence: The Political Ideology of the Democrats of West-Central Indiana during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XCII (June, 1996), 133-59.

⁵ Sarah A. Dooley to Rufus Dooley, November 27, 1863, M383, Rufus Dooley Papers (Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis); George W. Lambert to Brother and Sister, November 14, 1862, M178, Lambert Papers (Indiana Historical Society), emphasis in the original. By mid-war Republican newspapers were claiming that Democrats were encouraging troops to desert. See *Terre Haute Wabash Express* (weekly), February 4, 18, 1863. In private letters to government officials complaints were made against specific southern sympathizers who actively discouraged enlistments, and some pro-Union soldiers complained in their correspondence that negative letters from home were undermining morale and support for the war among the troops. See C. Moore to Oliver P. Morton, July 30, 1862, Hanna MSS (Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington); Jacob Ragle to Oliver P. Morton, August 9, 1862, *ibid.*; Simpson S. Hamrick to A. D. Hamrick, January 14, 1862, typescript, Simpson S. Hamrick, Civil War Letters, Putnam County General (DePauw University Archives, Greencastle, Ind.); Diary of John E. Wilkins, February 7, 1863, Wilkins Folder, Richard Wigginton Thompson Manuscript Collection (The Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Ind.). While no evidence for encouraging actual desertion is extant, an example has been found of a Democratic father insisting, apparently out of political motivations, that his son leave the army and outlining a scheme by which it could be done. In another family, a Democratic soldier who was apparently disillusioned with the war wrote a letter urging his brother not to join. J. W. Smith to B. W. Smith, January 23, 1863, typescripts, Smith Letters, SpC. 929.2 L, G.C. (Vigo County Public Library, Terre Haute, Ind.); Margaret Black Tatum, "Please Send Stamps": The Civil War Letters of William Allen Clark, Part 1, *Indiana Magazine of History*, XCI (March, 1995), 107.

describing the behavior of people they knew have been so mistaken? In order to reconcile the conflicting evidence about who volunteered, this article presents a case study of volunteers from Indiana's Seventh Congressional District. It examines selected infantry companies organized during the first year of the war, the predraft volunteers from four townships, and volunteers whose biographies appear in county histories. Most of the evidence in this study is drawn from the period before the advent of drafts in mid-1862 and thus from a time when men were free to join or not join without the threat of being conscripted.

The Seventh Congressional District encompassed an eight-county area surrounding the city of Terre Haute, the county seat of Vigo County. With a population of 8,594, Terre Haute was the largest city in west-central Indiana. It was a regional economic center with excellent transportation facilities and large-scale milling and slaughterhouse operations that processed the agricultural commodities of west-central Indiana and east-central Illinois. While the district did contain some substantial towns besides Terre Haute, a significant amount of manufacturing, and a small immigrant population, it was a largely rural area with an agricultural economy and a predominantly native-born population that contained substantial numbers of people of both southern and northern birth or ancestry. There were both Republican- and Democratic-dominated counties in the district and two counties that were evenly divided between the parties.⁶

The records of three companies organized in the district early in the war provide the first evidence about who volunteered. The men of Companies C and D of the 11th Indiana Regiment of Volunteers enlisted for three years. Almost all of the recruits listed Vigo County as their place of residence. The manuscript enrollment lists for the companies provide the ages of each recruit. With a name and an age all but a few recruits with very common names can potentially be identified in the 1860 manuscript census. Most of the recruits who were listed in the census were young, single, and poor. This is what one would expect given the findings of the existing studies of Civil War volunteers.⁷

⁶ For socioeconomic background on the Seventh Congressional District, see Thomas E. Rodgers, "Northern Political Ideologies in the Civil War Era: West-Central Indiana, 1860-1866" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1991), 1-124. The counties contained in the district during the Civil War were Clay, Greene, Owen, Parke, Putnam, Sullivan, Vermillion, and Vigo.

⁷ For the social characteristics of the enlisted men and noncommissioned officers of the 11th and the 43rd, see Thomas E. Rodgers, "A Collective Profile of Union Army Volunteers in West-Central Indiana" (Paper presented at the annual convention of the Social Science History Association; Baltimore, November, 1994). While little intense analysis of Hoosier recruits and recruiting has been done, there have been a number of case studies of volunteers in other areas of the country and several more general works on recruiting, the draft, the motivations and experiences of recruits, and the demographics of enlistees. James W. Geary, *We Need Men: The*

What is surprising about these recruits is that so few of them can be found in the manuscript census taken about a year before the enrollment. Using a county index of the Vigo County 1860 manuscript census, a state index of the 1860 manuscript census assembled by the Indiana Historical Society, and other sources, the following conclusions can be made. Of the 143 enlisted men who gave Vigo County as their place of residence, 39.2 percent do not appear in the census for the entire state. For some 17.5 percent of the recruits a person of the correct age and name was listed as a resident of Indiana but in a county outside the Seventh Congressional District. Thus some 56.7 percent of the volunteers listed as residents of Vigo County had probably come from somewhere outside of the district during the previous year. Only 29.3 percent of the recruits were living in Vigo County at the time the census was taken. The remaining 14.0 percent of the soldiers appear to have been living in nearby counties of the Seventh Congressional District or in a neighboring county in Illinois at the time of the census.⁸

Union Draft in the Civil War (Dekalb, Ill., 1991); James W. Geary, "Civil War Conscriptio in the North: A Historiographical Review," *Civil War History*, XXXII (September, 1986), 208-28; Marvin R. Cain, "A 'Face of Battle' Needed: An Assessment of Motives and Men in Civil War Historiography," *ibid.*, XXVIII (March, 1982), 5-27; Emily J. Harris, "Sons and Soldiers: Deerfield, Massachusetts and the Civil War," *ibid.*, XXX (June, 1984), 157-71; W. J. Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War? Concord, Massachusetts, Enlistments," *Journal of American History*, LXXIII (December, 1986), 695-701; Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Indianapolis, 1952); Stephen J. Buck, "'A contest in which blood must flow like water': Du Page County and the Civil War," *Illinois Historical Journal*, LXXXVII (Spring, 1994), 2-20; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War? Some Preliminary Demographic Speculations," in *Toward a Social History of the American Civil War: Exploratory Essays*, ed. Maris A. Vinovskis (Cambridge, England, 1990), 1-30; Thomas R. Kemp, "Community and War: The Civil War Experience of Two New Hampshire Towns," in *ibid.*, 31-77; Reid Mitchell, "The Northern Soldier and His Community," in *ibid.*, 78-92; Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations and Their Experiences* (New York, 1988); Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York, 1993); Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York, 1987); James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, 1994).

⁸ The two companies were mustered on August 31, 1861. The published rosters of Indiana volunteer companies usually give the enlistee's place of residence, date of muster, and date of death or of release from the army. The place of residence provided is usually a county, but in some cases a town is given instead. Town names can be tricky because recruits apparently sometimes gave the name of the nearest town with a post office, even if that town was in a different township or even a different county. The manuscript muster rolls for the 11th provide the ages of the recruits but no other significant information. For the published rosters, see Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana*. For the manuscript muster rolls of the 11th Indiana Regiment of Volunteers, see Box 15, Civil War Muster Rolls (Indiana State Archives, Indianapolis). The Indiana Historical Society's state index for the 1860 manuscript census lists all residents of the state alphabetically. The list gives the name, age, place of birth, county of residence, and census location of each person. Vigo County was bordered on the west by two Illinois counties. No census index was available for Edgar County, but one was for Clark County. Men not found in the Indiana state index were searched for in the Clark County index. There is no way to know if the young men from nearby counties had moved to Vigo or if they



RICHARD W. THOMPSON, REPUBLICAN POLITICIAN FROM VIGO COUNTY, IN THE 1850S

AS PROVOST MARSHALL FOR INDIANA'S SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, THOMPSON WAS IN CHARGE OF RECRUITING SOLDIERS FOR THE UNION ARMY DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

From Richard W. Thompson, *Recollections of Sixteen Presidents from Washington to Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1894), frontispiece.

Given Terre Haute's size, its economy, and its transportation facilities, one might expect its units to have included more transient young men than units from rural counties. This appears to have been the case. The rural county unit chosen for study was Company E of the 43rd Indiana Regiment of Volunteers, a unit raised in predominantly rural Sullivan County in the period before conscription existed. The percentage (57.5 percent) of the seventy-three Sullivan enlisted men recruits who appeared in the manuscript census was twice that of the Vigo recruits. While many of the men listed in the census fit a nonpersister profile, there were more sons of landowning families and a few more men with wealth of their own than was the case with the Vigo recruits. Despite these differences a substantial percentage of privates (42.5 percent) did not appear in the Sullivan census, and a number of the men who did appear seem to have been marginal to the economy and society of the county.⁹

The noncommissioned officers of Companies C and D of the 11th and Company E of the 43rd were more likely to be present in the 1860 census and less likely to exhibit characteristics associated with marginal, nonpersister individuals. While the sergeants and corporals of Companies C and D were more likely than the men they commanded to be present in 1860, still only a minority of them were in the census. Some 42.9 percent of the twenty-four noncommissioned officers of Companies C and D were present. Although they possessed little wealth, these men were much more likely to be skilled workers. Of the thirteen noncommissioned officers in Company E some 76.9 percent, including all of the sergeants, were in the 1860 Sullivan census. These men were more likely to be landowners than were the men they commanded or their peers in the two companies of the 11th.¹⁰

Based on these three companies, it appears that a substantial number of the volunteers from west-central Indiana were drawn from the large pool of single, low-skilled, poor young men who did not persist for long in any one place that social historians have discovered and described.¹¹ This was especially true of the Vigo Coun-

simply went there to enlist. For a number of reasons, however, it is probable that many had recently moved to Vigo. It was not unusual for people from the region to move to Terre Haute, some recruits gave non-Vigo addresses, and there was no apparent advantage in lying about one's residence during the early months of recruitment.

⁹ Company E was mustered on October 9, 1861. The search for men in the census was aided by very good county- and state-level indices. On the 43rd Indiana Regiment of Volunteers, see Box 102, Civil War Muster Rolls (Indiana State Archives); Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana*.

¹⁰ Names, ages, and places of residence for the noncommissioned officers are in the same sources as those of the enlisted men (see notes 8 and 9). For economic information on these men, see Rodgers, "Collective Profile of Union Army Volunteers."

¹¹ For background on geographical mobility in the nineteenth-century Midwest, see Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*:

ty volunteers. Not only did fewer of them appear in the census, but more of those who did appear fit the nonpersister profile than was the case for the 43rd. Thus it appears that a significant number of the men who volunteered for service had not been socialized in the cultures or political ideologies of the Seventh District.

What can be discovered about the political affiliations of the volunteers who were in the 1860 census or who settled in Vigo or Sullivan counties after their military service? Very little information about the volunteers of Companies C and D is extant. What evidence there is suggests tentative identifications for six enlisted men and one noncommissioned officer who were listed in the 1860 Vigo census. All seven appear to have been Republicans. The characteristics of the volunteers and of the historical materials available make it nearly impossible to identify more members of the two companies by party. With the exception of Riley Township, which is discussed below, what is known about party affiliations is based on lists of party activists and biographies in county histories written years after the war. These sources generally contain information only on individuals who persisted and thrived in the county. Most of the volunteers, however, appear to have been young, single, transient men, only a few of whom established families and put down roots in Vigo County.¹²

More information on party affiliation is available for the men of the 43rd than for those of the 11th. The 43rd included a larger number of persisters, and a larger number of sources of party information is available for Sullivan County. County histories, lists of delegates to county political conventions, and voting fraud case

Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-70 (Urbana, Ill., 1978); Rebecca A. Shepherd, "Restless Americans: The Geographical Mobility of Farm Laborers in the Old Midwest, 1850-1870," *Ohio History*, LXXXIX (Winter, 1980), 25-45; Richard S. Alcorn, "Leadership and Stability in Mid-Nineteenth Century America: A Case Study of an Illinois Town," *Journal of American History*, LXI (December, 1974), 685-702; A. Gordon Darroch, "Migrants in the Nineteenth Century: Fugitives or Families in Motion?" *Journal of Family History*, VI (Fall, 1981), 257-77.

¹² Party identifications were based on party activists listed in Terre Haute newspapers, *Terre Haute Daily Union*, *Wabash Courier*, and *Wabash Express* (daily and weekly); county histories, H. C. Bradsby, *History of Vigo County, Indiana, with Biographical Selections* (Chicago, 1891), S. B. Gookins, *1880 History of Vigo County, Indiana* (reprint ed., Knightstown, Ind., 1977), and C. C. Oakey, *Greater Terre Haute and Vigo County . . .* (Chicago, 1908); and the Wilkins Diary. The three-year enlistment period of the 11th may have had an influence on who volunteered. The three-year 11th was preceded by an 11th Regiment with a three-month enlistment. While many of the characteristics of the men of the two regiments were similar, the three-month men were more likely to be in the census, and some of these men came from prominent families, including the important Republican Fairbanks, Ross, and Paddock families and a son of Richard W. Thompson, one of the most important Republican activists in the county. Most of the men from the three-month 11th who reenlisted in the three-year 11th were nonpersisters. An exception was John E. Wilkins, the only volunteer from Companies C and D of the 11th who is known to have left a written record. His diary indicates that he was very devoted to the Union cause.

records for two townships together provide party identifications for hundreds of the county's families. Among the officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men of the 43rd, some twenty-two can be identified by party. Four of the enlisted men were War Democrats from the same family. James W. Lloyd, the head of this family, felt so strongly about the war that he joined the 43rd in spite of family obligations, a substantial farm to run, and other restraints. Lloyd was reported in a county history to have been the first man in the county to volunteer for service and to have made a strong speech in favor of the war policy of the Lincoln administration. Three of Lloyd's sons, including one who lived outside of the county, joined the company with their father. Of eleven other enlisted men identified by party, ten were Republicans, while only one was a regular Democrat. The party affiliations of five of the noncommissioned officers can also be established: all five were Republicans. Two of the three officers of the company were identified by party: both were Republicans. The proportion of Republicans (77.3 percent) among the twenty-two men identified by party is quite extraordinary considering that the average Republican share of the vote in Sullivan County was 26.8 percent.¹³

Was the hugely disproportionate number of Republicans among the volunteers of the 43rd who can be identified by party an anomaly, or did Republicans among the more stable part of the population of the Seventh District volunteer in disproportionately high numbers? An answer to this question can be found by analyzing the predraft volunteers from four townships in Sullivan, Putnam, and Vigo counties, places for which a good deal is known about party affiliations (see Table 1). Of the four townships, Hamilton Township in Sullivan County has the most information available. Hamilton Township contained the town of Sullivan, which was the county seat, the largest town in the county, and the focal point for the county's political activity. Some 253 men listed in the Militia Enrollment of 1862 as having volunteered for service before the

¹³ The prevalence of Republicans among the identified enlisted men resulted in part from the fact that a number were from Hamilton Township, for which a Republican voter list is available. Still, the presence of only one regular Democrat among those identified by party seems remarkable considering the large number of Democrats in the county and the fact that more than 138 Democratic families can be identified from convention lists in the *Sullivan Democrat*. A number of other Democrats can be identified from two county histories: *History of Greene and Sullivan Counties, State of Indiana . . .* (Chicago, 1884), 773; Thomas J. Wolfe, ed., *A History of Sullivan County, Indiana* (2 vols., New York, 1909). Republican voter lists for Hamilton and Jefferson townships are from an investigation of voting fraud in 1864 (see footnote 14). The county voting average is based on the elections held in 1856, 1858, 1860, 1862, and 1864. A War Democrat is defined here as a pre-war Democrat who supported the Republican party and/or its policies during the war but who returned to the Democratic party within a few years of the end of the war. Pre-war Democrats who supported the Republicans during the war and continued doing so for a long period after the war are counted as Republicans.

Table 1
 Political Orientation of Predraft Volunteers Appearing
 in the 1860 Manuscript Census and Average Republican Vote
 for Select Townships in West-Central Indiana

Township (County)	1861				1861 and 1862				Average Republican Vote
	N	Republican	Democratic	Unknown	N	Republican	Democratic	Unknown	
Cloverdale (Putnam County)	32	16 (50.0%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (50.0%)	59	21 (35.6%)	0 (0.0%)	38 (64.4%)	31.2%
Hamilton (Sullivan County)	108	76 (70.4%)	2 (1.9%)	30 (27.7%)	135	84 (62.2%)	2 (1.5%)	49 (36.3%)	31.2%
Jefferson (Sullivan County)	20	15 (75.0%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (25.0%)	27	15 (55.6%)	0 (0.0%)	12 (44.4%)	18.7%
Riley (Vigo County)	18	12 (67.7%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (32.3%)	45	25 (55.6%)	0 (0.0%)	20 (44.4%)	44.6%

Source: U.S., Eighth Census, 1860; Militia Enrollment Records (Indiana State Archives, Indianapolis); U.S. House Committee on Elections, *Papers in the Case of Washburn vs. Voorhees*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1864, H. Misc. Doc. 11, Serial 1270; county histories and newspapers as cited in footnotes 12, 13, 18 in text.

implementation of the first draft were traced in the census and checked against the available information on voting affiliation.¹⁴

The characteristics of the Hamilton Township volunteers were quite similar to the recruits from Sullivan County in the 43rd. Some 102 (40.3 percent) were not in the county at the time of the 1860 census, and 16 (6.3 percent) were in the county but not in Hamilton Township during the time the census was taken. Of the 135 (53.4 percent of the total) men who were present in Hamilton Township in 1860, 49 (36.3 percent) could not be identified by party, 2 (1.5 percent) were Democrats, and 84 (62.2 percent) were Republicans. Circumstantial, but inconclusive, evidence suggests that some of the 49 men who could not be identified by party were probably Republicans. Thus the number 84 for Republicans should be seen as a minimum figure. If only recruits who joined units organized in 1861 are counted, the Republican percentage is even higher. Some 108 of the township's recruits were in the 1860 census and joined during 1861. Of these men, 2 (1.9 percent) were identified as Democrats, while at least 76 (70.4 percent) were Republicans. As was the case with the party affiliation figures from the 43rd, the percentage of Republican volunteers among the stable population in Hamilton was much larger than the Republican proportion of the voting population (about 31.2 percent) whether one uses the number at the time of the draft or the 1861 figures.¹⁵

Many of the men present in the 1860 census fit the typical nonpersister profile. They were landless, low-skilled, single, and young. A number, however, exhibited other characteristics. A surprising number of volunteers were middle-aged, married, and propertied. Some thirty-eight of the recruits were listed in the Militia Enrollment as being over thirty-five years old when they joined. Of the thirty-eight, some twenty-seven appear in the census. Among these twenty-seven, one (3.7 percent) was identified as a Democrat, and at least seventeen (63.0 percent) were Republicans. Some of these men had grown sons who also volunteered. The most extreme example of this trend for older men to join was the Republican

¹⁴The lists for Hamilton and Jefferson townships, Sullivan County; Cloverdale Township, Putnam County; and Riley Township, Vigo County, come from U.S. House Committee on Elections, *Papers in the Case of Washburn vs. Voorhees*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1864, H. Misc. Doc. 11, Serial 1270. The manuscript records of the Militia Enrollment are in the Indiana State Archives. They are arranged by county, with a separate enrollment for each township. Each enrollment contains a list of men eligible for the draft and a separate list of men who had served or were serving at the time of the enrollment. This second list provides a name, an age, and usually the unit and civilian occupation of each soldier from the township. On Lloyd, see *History of Greene and Sullivan Counties*, 773. The company was organized through the effort of three men: Jackson Stepp, Josiah Stanley, and Samuel T. Roach. *Ibid.*, 584. Roach, who became the company captain, and Stanley were Republicans. Stepp cannot be identified by party.

¹⁵The Hamilton average vote is based on elections in 1856, 1860, 1862, and 1864.



SEWELL COULSON, A SULLIVAN COUNTY REPUBLICAN LEADER WHO VOLUNTEERED FOR SERVICE EARLY IN THE CIVIL WAR

From *History of Greene and Sullivan Counties*
(Chicago, 1884), 529.

activist James Case, Sr. Case, aged sixty-one, joined the army along with five of his sons. While Case's advanced age was unusual, multiple enlistments from one nuclear family were not uncommon among Hamilton Republicans. Hannah Crowder, for example, sent four Republican sons off to war, while forty-five-year-old Hardin Boles and two of his sons enlisted.

Since it contained the county seat, Hamilton Township also included an unusually large number of political activists. The same pattern of enlistment existed among these highly visible political leaders as among the general population. Republican activists and their sons were much more likely to enlist than were their Democratic counterparts. There were thirty-four nuclear families of Democratic activists. Among the activists and their military-aged sons in these families, only John S. Milam, aged thirty-eight, joined the army. He served nearly one year as an officer before resigning. One Democratic activist's son might have served, but this cannot be verified. Meanwhile, twenty nuclear families containing Republi-

can activists provided at least sixteen volunteers before the first draft was held. One recruit cannot be assigned to either group because he was both the son of a Democratic activist and the brother of a Republican activist.¹⁶

Jefferson Township was a rural township in the southeastern part of Sullivan County. It contained no towns of significant size. By the time the draft began, some thirty-five men had volunteered for service. Twenty-seven (77.1 percent) of these men were in the township at the time the 1860 census was taken. Fifteen of the twenty-seven (55.6 percent) can be identified as Republicans. One was a farm laborer who worked for a Republican family, and the remaining eleven men cannot be identified by party. Circumstantial evidence suggests that one of the eleven unidentified men might have been a Democrat, while at least a few of the remaining men might have been Republicans. Some twenty of the twenty-seven local men appear to have joined during 1861. Of this group fifteen (75.0 percent) were Republicans. Jefferson's Democratic leaders and their sons do not appear to have volunteered before the draft, but families of Republican activists provided recruits. Whether one looks at enlistments in 1861 or at the time of the first draft, Republican volunteering was out of all proportion to the township's average Republican vote of about 18.7 percent.¹⁷

Were low participation by Democrats and extraordinarily high participation by Republicans unique to Sullivan County? Unfortunately, no other townships or counties in the district offer the quantity and range of materials available for Hamilton and Jefferson townships. However, evidence from two other predominately Democratic townships and one heavily Republican county suggests that this pattern of volunteering was not confined to Sullivan County.

Cloverdale Township in Putnam County was largely rural, but it did have a small town. It had better transportation facilities and a larger population than Jefferson. It also underwent a voting fraud investigation that left a list of Republican voters. By the time the

¹⁶ Republicans also appear to have predominated among Sullivan's military officers, its citizens involved in war-related charity activity, and its draft administrators. See Rodgers, "Northern Political Ideologies," 107-108, 132-33, 147, 374-75, 578.

¹⁷ The Jefferson average vote is based on elections held in 1856, 1860, 1862, and 1864. Immediately after the enrollment was taken twenty-seven more men enlisted. These men were listed separately in the enrollment and their names were crossed out on the list of those subject to being drafted. No other township examined for this study listed men who joined after the enrollment. The number of volunteers (35) before the draft was similar to the number of recruits (42) from Cass Township, Sullivan County, the only township in the district with a larger Democratic vote (88.3 percent) than Jefferson. The banner Republican township in the district provided more volunteers than Jefferson and Cass combined. Penn Township, Parke County, voted about 93.3 percent Republican during the war. Despite a smaller population than Jefferson and a large number of Quaker inhabitants, Penn provided 119 volunteers before the first draft enrollment.

draft was held, Cloverdale had provided some 104 volunteers. Of these men, 45 (43.3 percent) cannot be located in the township at the time of the 1860 census. Among the 59 men who do appear in the census, 21 (35.6 percent) can be identified as Republicans, while the party affiliation of the remaining men cannot be positively determined. Circumstantial evidence suggests that 1 of the unidentified men was a Democrat, while a substantial number of the rest were probably Republicans. If one looks at only the 53 recruits who joined in 1861, one finds that 21 (39.6 percent) were not in the census. Of the 32 men in the census, at least 16 (50.0 percent) were Republicans, while the rest cannot be identified by party. The average Republican vote in Cloverdale Township was only 30.1 percent. As was the case in Hamilton and Jefferson townships, it is clear that in the pre-draft period Republican party members were doing their share and more of the war effort.¹⁸

While the sources of information about Cloverdale Township are not as good as those for the two Sullivan County townships, a number of Cloverdale families can be identified as Democratic from lists of activists in newspapers and from biographical entries in county histories. Whether they were activists or the kind of long-term persisters who appear in county histories, the members of these families were people whose Democratic affiliations were well known in the township. These well-known Democrats and their sons did not volunteer, while volunteers can be found among members of the township's Republican activist families.

Riley Township was a rural township in southeastern Vigo County. Like Hamilton, Jefferson, and Cloverdale it was a majority Democratic township that underwent a voting fraud investigation. The sources of information are not as abundant as those for Hamilton and Jefferson, but a number of Republican voters and activists and Democratic activists and long-term persisters are known. By the time of the Militia Draft, Riley had provided some 108 recruits. Of these, 63 (58.3 percent) cannot be located in the 1860 census for the township. Among the 45 recruits who do appear in the census, 20 (44.4 percent) cannot be identified by party, 25 (55.6 percent) were Republicans, and none can be positively identified as a Democrat. Among the 44 men who joined in 1861, some 26 (59.1 percent) were not in the census. Of the 18 men who were in the census, 12 (67.7 percent) can be identified as Republicans. The 6 remaining men cannot be identified by party, but circumstantial evidence suggests that some of them were Republicans. As was the case in Jef-

¹⁸ The sources of information on voting affiliation in addition to the Republican voter list from 1864 include newspapers and county histories: *Putnam Republican Banner*; *Greencastle Putnam County Indiana Press*; *Biographical and Historical Record of Putnam County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1887); Jesse W. Weik, *Weik's History of Putnam County, Indiana* (reprint ed., Evansville, Ind., 1976).

erson and Cloverdale, some of the recruits came from Republican activist families, while Democratic activist families provided none.¹⁹

Data drawn from Parke County in the northern part of the Seventh District further supports the conclusion that among the persisting population Republicans were more likely to enlist than were Democrats. Parke was a largely rural county with some small towns. Unlike the four townships just examined, Parke featured a heavily Republican polity. In 1880, J. H. Beadle wrote a history of Parke County. Beadle was a long-time resident of the county and a Civil War veteran. The history he produced is unusually thorough in noting in its biographical sketches such things as a subject's military service, fathers who had sons who served, and party affiliation. Beadle even records some instances of men who wanted to join but were prevented from doing so by various factors. The people he wrote about do not represent a random sample of the county's population but instead constitute a list of some of Parke's long-term persisters. Most political studies of nineteenth-century communities suggest that such individuals predominated in positions of authority and shaped the values and positions of their political parties. Indeed, many of the men in Beadle's biographies were politicians, justices of the peace, and men described as prominent in their communities. The men from Parke examined here, then, were individuals who shaped political ideology and who were highly visible, well-known members of their parties.²⁰

The vast majority of Civil War volunteers were under thirty years old. An analysis of the men in Beadle's work who were eighteen to twenty-nine years old at some point during the Civil War (*i.e.*, born between 1832 and 1846) and residing in Parke County when the war began reveals the following information. Of the seventy-one Republicans in this age group, some forty-seven (66.2 percent) served in the military. If the six Quaker Republicans are excluded from the list, the percentage volunteering rises to 69.2. Among the fourteen Democrats in this age group only one (7.1 percent) volunteered. Among Parke men born between 1826 and 1831, eight (36.4 percent) of twenty-two Republicans enlisted, while none of the eight Democrats in this age group joined the military. Two Republicans born before 1826 and two born after 1846 enlisted, while no Democrats in these categories volunteered. Note that,

¹⁹ Riley Township's voting patterns were much more volatile than those of the other three townships. The average Republican vote in Riley during the war years (based on the 1860 gubernatorial and 1864 presidential races) was 44.6 percent. For sources on voter affiliation besides the 1864 Republican list, see footnote 12.

²⁰ J[ohn] H. Beadle, *1880 History of Parke County, Indiana* (reprint ed., Knightstown, Ind., 1977). For two good studies of the importance of persisters in a locality's politics see the works by Alcorn and Doyle cited in footnote 11. Alcorn's study deals with Paris, Illinois, the county seat of Edgar County, which bordered Vigo County.

unlike the predraft volunteer figures above, these numbers are for men who joined at any time during the war.²¹

The figures presented in Table 2 suggest that the figures for Parke County were not unusual for Indiana. Clay, Greene, Owen, and Sullivan counties were in the Seventh District. Porter and Warren counties in northern Indiana and Jackson, Perry, Spencer, and Warrick counties in southern Indiana all had unusually high rates of enlistment in the predraft period. Clark County, Illinois, was located on the western borders of Vigo and Sullivan counties. While there is some variation from county to county, the percentage of Republicans volunteering in each county is consistently higher than that of Democrats. These figures include recruits from the draft period as well as that of the predraft time.

In his biographies of the older men in the county, Beadle was careful to note when his subjects' sons served in the military during the Civil War. Because the ages of children are not recorded in the biographies, no accurate percentage of Democratic and Republican families contributing sons can be given. What can be said is that among the numerous older Democratic fathers whose biographies appear in Beadle's work, only two of them (both described as War Democrats) had sons enlist. Each had two sons volunteer. In contrast, a substantial number of the Republican fathers had one to five sons enlist. Excluding those soldier sons included in the figures above, the thirty-one Republican fathers with volunteer sons contributed forty-eight recruits.

In fact, Republicans in all of the counties listed in Table 2 contributed much more to the war effort than their Democratic neighbors. While examples can be found of Democrats over thirty-five or under draft age volunteering and prominent Democrats organizing volunteer companies, such examples are uncommon. In contrast, dozens of examples of Republicans over and under draft age volunteering, of Republicans organizing volunteer companies, of Republican non-volunteers described as helping soldiers, their families, and the war effort, can be found in these twelve counties. To give just two examples, of the sixty-seven men over thirty-five who volunteered from these twelve counties fifty-four were Republicans, while of the eleven boys born after 1846 who enlisted, ten were Republicans.

The fact that a significant number of the Parke Republican fathers and Hamilton Township Republican nuclear families had more than one son in the army coincides with a great deal of anecdotal evidence contained in county histories and other sources from around the Seventh District. Very few examples of Democratic families providing multiple volunteers for the army can be found in the district, and almost all of these families were War Democrats. Con-

²¹*Ibid.*

Table 2

Republicans and Democrats Born between 1832 and 1846 as Described in County Histories and the Percentage of Those Volunteering for Military Service during the Civil War and Average Republican Vote*

County	Republicans		Democrats		Average Republican Vote 1856-1864
	N	%	N	%	
Indiana					
Seventh Congressional District					
Clay	57	54.4	37	29.7	39.6%
Greene	28	78.6	19	21.1	45.8
Owen	29	82.8	36	33.3	42.5
Parke	71	66.2	14	7.1	60.4
Sullivan	35	74.3	43	14.0	26.8
Counties outside the Seventh District with High Rates of Volunteering					
Jackson	18	50.0	35	34.3	36.4
Perry	25	52.0	18	16.7	43.9
Porter	38	52.6	20	25.0	56.9
Spencer	40	70.0	26	30.8	47.0
Warren	34	50.0	11	9.1	62.6
Warrick	36	58.3	49	14.3	36.5
Illinois					
Clark	42	66.7	24	20.8	38.5

*For each county listed, this table shows the number of Republicans and the number of Democrats described in county histories as being born between 1832 and 1846. It then shows the percentages of the number of Republicans and the number of Democrats who joined the army at some point during the war. The figures on voting are derived as follows: the Indiana figures are based on the 1856, 1860, and 1864 gubernatorial races and the 1858 and 1862 secretary of state races; the Illinois county figure is based on the 1856, 1860, and 1864 gubernatorial races.

Source: J. H. Beadle, *1880 History of Parke County, Indiana* (reprint ed., Knightstown, Ind, 1977); *History of Greene and Sullivan Counties, Indiana* (Chicago, 1884); Charles Blanchard, ed., *Counties of Clay and Owen, Indiana: Historical and Biographical* (Chicago, 1884); William Henry Perrin, ed., *History of Crawford and Clark Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1883); *Counties of Warren, Benton, Jasper and Newton, Indiana: Historical and Biographical* (Chicago, 1883); *History of Jackson County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1886); *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties, Indiana* (Chicago, 1885); Weston A. Goodspeed and Charles Blanchard, eds., *Counties of Porter and Lake, Indiana: Historical and Biographical* (Chicago, 1882).

versely, dozens of examples of Republican nuclear families having more than one member for the army can be cited. Many of these families were headed by prominent political leaders. Samuel Myers, for example, was the most prominent Republican activist in Fairbanks Township, Sullivan County. Five of his six adult sons joined the army. William Harrison, a Republican activist in Russell Township, Putnam County, had all four of his sons and a younger brother enlist in the Union army before conscription was started. In Parke County, the Dooley family had two single sons who enlisted in the army a total of five times, a married son (living just across the border in Montgomery County) who volunteered once after the stimulus of the draft was in place, and a son too young for the army who served in the Home Guards. Samuel R. Cavins, the most important Republican politician in Greene County, had all four of his sons join the army. Lewis P. Letsinger, another Greene County Republican, had six sons and three sons-in-law serve in the army.²²

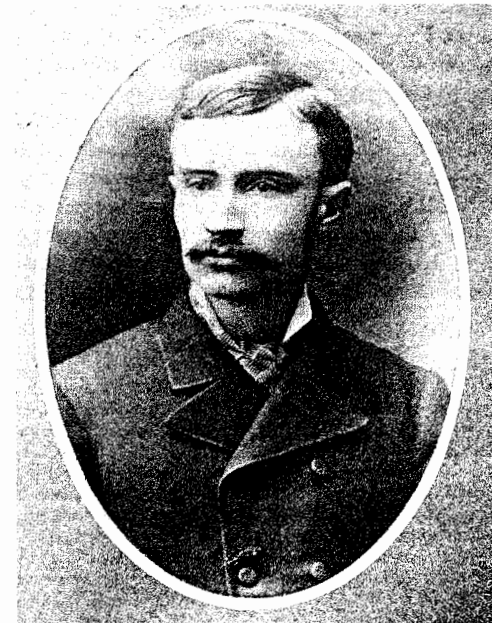
Could it be that while political affiliation appears to have been a major motivational factor for volunteering among the more stable part of the population some other factor reflected in or masked by political affiliation was the real causal factor? The answer is no. The most likely alternative factor was regional origin. Since the Seventh District and the entire southern half of Indiana contained many people who were from the South or whose ancestors had migrated from there, it has been suggested that this segment of the population might have been less enthusiastic for the Union cause. As noted earlier, there is no statistical evidence demonstrating that southern Indiana provided fewer recruits than northern Indiana. With regard to the hundreds of Seventh District volunteers examined in this study, there are no strong indications that being of northern or southern birth or ancestry was a significant factor in determining whether or not one volunteered. For instance, some 44.4 percent of the noncommissioned officers of Companies C and D of the 11th who can be located in the census were born in a northern state other than Indiana or were sons of people from other northern states. This is a much larger figure than the percentage (27.2 percent) of all adult males in Vigo County who had northern origins. However, the enlisted men and noncommissioned officers of Company E of the 43rd displayed a disproportionate percentage of men of southern birth or ancestry. Some 43.9 percent of the adult males of Sullivan County were of southern origins, but about 47.6 percent of the enlisted men and 90.0 percent of the noncommissioned officers of Company E who can be found in the census were born in the South or were of southern ancestry. In addition, regional origin had little if any impact on patterns of volunteering among

²² Rodgers, "Northern Political Ideologies," 555-56; *History of Greene and Sullivan Counties*, 346, 721-22.



SAMUEL R. CAVINS,
GREENE COUNTY'S MOST
PROMINENT REPUBLICAN
LEADER IN THE
CIVIL WAR ERA

Indiana Historical Society Library,
Indianapolis (M42, negative C7114).



ELIJAH H. C. CAVINS,
ONE OF FOUR
CAVINS BROTHERS
TO VOLUNTEER FOR
MILITARY SERVICE IN
THE CIVIL WAR

Indiana Historical Society Library,
Indianapolis (M43, negative C6335).

the Republicans in Beadle's history of Parke County. Among the Republicans born between 1832 and 1846, twenty-nine were non-Quakers of southern birth or heritage, while twenty had a northern background. Of the twenty-nine southern Republicans who volunteered, 69.0 percent enlisted, while 75 percent of the northern Republicans enlisted. Some nineteen of the thirty-one Parke Republican fathers who had sons enlist were born in southern states, while twelve were born in northern ones.²³

If Republicans predominated among the volunteers from the more stable population, what was the political orientation of the nonpersisters? Probably no definitive answer to this question can be given. A few of the nonpersisters remained long enough in the polity from which they volunteered and were sufficiently successful to be included in county histories. A few nonpersisters appear to have been young men who had left home to work elsewhere but who returned home to enlist. However, these two categories combined include only a very small part of the nonpersisters. For the vast majority little can be known. What can be inferred from straw polls of troops and from general political studies is contradictory. On the one hand, straw polls of soldiers often resulted in such overwhelming Republican majorities that large numbers of nonpersisters must have voted Republican. On the other hand, no study of mid-nineteenth century voting behavior suggests that unskilled, single, rootless, young men and older unskilled laborers without property were overwhelmingly Republican. If anything, existing studies suggest just the opposite.²⁴

The most plausible hypothesis for explaining the political views of most nonpersisters is that the majority of them did not have a strong political orientation when they joined and that many of these weakly oriented volunteers were converted to the Republican view by the zealous party members who joined in such large numbers. Over 40 percent of the privates in the three companies of the 11th and 43rd who could not be located in the census were too young to have voted in 1860. Given their frequent movement, it is possible that many of those in their early and middle twenties had never lived in a place long enough to meet residency requirements

²³ Beadle, *History of Parke County*. Of the six Quakers in Beadle born between 1832 and 1846, two volunteered and four did not. For background on the Quakers and military service in Indiana, see Jacquelyn S. Nelson, *Indiana Quakers Confront the Civil War* (Indianapolis, 1991).

²⁴ On mobility and voting see the Doyle and Alcorn works cited in footnote 11 and Kenneth J. Winkle, *The Politics of Community: Migration and Politics in Antebellum Ohio* (Cambridge, England, 1988). Median wealth for Republicans in west-central Indiana seems to have been greater than for non-Republicans. See Rodgers, "Northern Political Ideologies," 199-377 *passim*. For background on nineteenth-century voting, see Paul Kleppner, *The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892: Parties, Voters, and Political Cultures* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979); Joel H. Silbey, *The American Political Nation, 1838-1893* (Stanford, Calif., 1991).

for the franchise. Displaced from the influence of their families and neighbors and unlikely to have established any personal pattern of voting, most of these young men probably had no strong political orientation.²⁵

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that in the Seventh District the young Democrats who did live at home, where strongly Democratic kin and neighbors could exert influence over them, did not join the army in numbers proportional to their presence in the population. It is also supported by one of the few literary sources left by a nonpersister. E. B. Reese was a young, single farm laborer from Pennsylvania who happened to be living near Gosport, Owen County, when the war began. In his short memoir he says that he told his pro-Union employer, a Reverend Milligan, that he was thinking about joining. The minister then took over, pushing his ambivalent farmhand toward a decision to join and even bringing a recruiter to the house to sign him up. Reese never really explains why he joined or for what he thought he was fighting. He makes some vague comments about preserving the Union at one point toward the end of his memoir, but he makes no clear pronouncement of his motivation for fighting or his views on slavery. Except for passing references to Lincoln being a "great president," Reese has nothing to say about politics. Aside from his recruitment story, he also has very little to say about Owen County or Indiana. He appears not to have been integrated into the community to any meaningful degree at the time of his enlistment. In fact, what seems to have impressed Reese most was not some great national cause or duty to his adopted state or local neighborhood, but the camaraderie he experienced with the men of his unit and the thrill and glory of battle.²⁶

While Reese was ambivalent about why he fought, the letters of Republican volunteers from the Seventh District often reveal an intense, almost missionary, zeal for the Union cause and an equally intense disdain for Democrats and their leaders. Greene County Republican Elijah H. C. Cavins, for instance, wrote: "Let the avenging hand of destruction sweep over the entire south, leaving nothing but smoke, ruin and death, rather than that the great prob-

²⁵ On the ages of volunteers, see Rodgers, "Collective Profile of Union Army Volunteers." On the importance of external support on political views, especially for Democrats, see Jean H. Baker, "The Ceremonies of Politics: Nineteenth-Century Rituals of National Affirmation," in *A Master's Due: Essays in Honor of David Herbert Donald*, eds. William J. Cooper, Jr., Michael F. Holt, and John McCordell (Baton Rouge, 1985), 161-78; Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983).

²⁶ E. B. Reese Memoir, typescript, 59th Indiana folder, Civil War Records, Putnam County General File (DePauw University Archives). Reese's memoir does not contain information on what he did when he left the army. He does not appear in the biographical section of Charles Blanchard, ed., *Counties of Clay and Owen: Historical and Biographical* (Chicago, 1883). He was living in Ohio when he wrote his memoir sometime after 1910.

lems of free government be solved, bringing out an answer that a republican form of government is a failure." Simpson S. Hamrick of Putnam County signed his letters to his father "your Son in the Union Cause." His letters regularly condemned Democrats in Putnam County and the Seventh District as traitors and their position on the war as "toryism."²⁷

Fervently Republican soldiers did not fail to try to convert others to the views they held so strongly. Their letters refer to their circulating pro-Union materials among their fellow soldiers, to the availability of Republican newspapers among the troops, and to the muzzling of those who might espouse Democratic views. The efforts of Republican soldiers to mold the views of their comrades appear to have been as effective as the efforts of Reverend Milligan to push Reese toward enlistment. For example, two young Greene County officers of the 97th Indiana boasted to another officer, who was back in the Seventh District, that the attitude of the men of their regiment toward Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation had changed. At first many of the soldiers were very upset by the proclamation. Then, apparently, Republicans in the unit went to work. The discontent of the soldiers was quieted. The men then were persuaded to reverse their opinion and support the proclamation. Soon the men of the 97th were giving unanimous approval to resolutions in favor of Lincoln's policy, resolutions that were sent off to Hoosier Republican newspapers for publication.²⁸ The presence of fervent Republicans, the relative absence of strongly Democratic soldiers (especially early in the war), and the weak and malleable political views of nonpersisters combined to produce overwhelming support for Republican candidates and policy positions in straw polls of soldiers.²⁹

²⁷ Elijah H. C. Cavins to Riley Cavins, October 25, 1862, M42, Elijah H. C. Cavins Papers (Indiana Historical Society); Simpson S. Hamrick to A. D. Hamrick, October 13, 1861, September 26, 1862, Hamrick Papers.

²⁸ Simpson S. Hamrick to A. D. Hamrick, October 25, 1861, December 3, 1862, Hamrick Papers; Jacob E. Fletcher and William F. Jerauld to Levi Woodrum, April 10, 1863, Woodrum Family Folder, Putnam County General (DePauw University Archives); Rufus Dooley to Sarah Dooley, March 10, 1863, Dooley Papers; George Washington Lambert to brother and sister, March 23, 1863, March 13, 1864, Lambert Papers; Samuel H. Mattox to Ann Mattox and relatives, February 24, 1863, typescript, SpC. B. M4368, Mattox Family Folder (Vigo County Public Library). A search for the political affiliations of the officers of the 97th found that two were probably Democrats, thirteen were Republicans, and another four were possibly Republicans. The rest could not be identified by party.

²⁹ An interesting comparison can be made between this process and the religious revivals that occurred in the Confederate army. A recent study has shown that these revivals were not caused primarily by a fear of death among the soldiers but were mainly the result of purposeful evangelizing by religious organizations. The evangelizing was most successful where officers supported it. See Drew Gilpin Faust, "Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army," *Journal of Southern History*, LIII (February, 1987), 63-90.

Two major facts stand out about the men who volunteered for the army from the Seventh District during the period before a draft existed. First, a substantial proportion of the volunteers were young, single nonpersisters who were not socialized or politically rooted in the county or township from which they volunteered and who probably did not have strong political orientations. The percentage of volunteers who were nonpersisters appears to have been greater in Vigo, a relatively urban county, but the figure for rural Sullivan County was also substantial. Second, among the more stable parts of the population, Republicans were much more likely to join the army than were Democrats, especially during the huge initial surge of volunteers in 1861. The great difference between Republican and Democratic levels of participation suggests that political ideology was an important motivational factor for volunteers and nonvolunteers among those rooted and socialized in the party politics of west-central Indiana.

The west-central Indiana Republicans who complained about Democrats not joining, then, were at least partially correct. The Democrats they knew—long-time neighbors and political activists and their sons—did not in fact join in significant numbers. However, these same Republicans failed to note the large numbers of nonpersisters who volunteered. These young, rootless men were nameless faces who passed into the army without being noticed. The number of nonpersister volunteers appears to have been large enough to eliminate significant statistical differences between county-level data on party dominance and data on level of enlistment. In essence, the large numbers of nonpersisters masked statistical differences that might otherwise appear between heavily Democratic and heavily Republican counties.

While almost all the data presented here comes from only one congressional district, there is no reason to believe similar patterns of volunteering did not take place in areas of Indiana, Illinois, and other midwestern states with political and socioeconomic characteristics similar to those of the Seventh District. Indeed, the statistics in Table 2 suggest that the pattern of enlistment in west-central Indiana probably existed, with some variations, in other regions. If the findings here are in fact applicable to large areas of the Midwest, then they raise some interesting questions about the existing literature on volunteers and their motivations. Can one, for instance, make claims about the "patriotism" of all of the people of a county based on a simple examination of volunteer and census numbers when so many recruits were not socialized in the county and when large segments of the stable population may not have volunteered in significant numbers?

The facts presented here also have implications for the fine studies of Union soldiers and their communities written by Reid Mitchell, Gerald E. Linderman, and others. Among other things,

these studies describe how communities encouraged enlistment, courage on the battlefield, and relatively good behavior in camp.³⁰ While the figures here in no way refute the theses of these works, they do suggest some caveats. Many of the soldiers who went to war had no ties to the communities in which they enlisted. Republicans seem to have been under many of the community influences various authors have described, but, obviously, the Democrats of west-central Indiana were not subject to the same kinds of pressures that their Republican neighbors experienced. Communities did not exert pressure on all the men they sent to war, and they were not monolithic in their support for the war or in the kinds of influence they exerted on young, longtime residents.

The facts presented here also have potential implications for the study of women and family life in the Midwest during the Civil War. Most of the best work on the impact of the war on women and families has focused on the South, where the large manpower demands of the Confederacy had a very serious impact on domestic institutions.³¹ When scholars turn their attention to the Midwest, they are going to find a different situation. Large numbers of the early recruits in this region were single men who were not significantly integrated into their communities. Not only was this true of enlistment in early units like the 11th and 43rd, but it may have been true of subsequent enlistment as well. For example, Beadle's Parke County history contains information on some ninety-nine married men of all political types born between 1826 and 1846. Only 26.3 percent enlisted, and some of those who did enlist did not do so until the last year or so of the war. In addition, Democratic families were probably not affected by the war to the same degree as Republican families.

Finally, this study suggests that historians may need to be more sensitive to the limitations of the literary materials available about the Civil War. While many of the recruits analyzed here were single men with few ties to the communities in which they enlisted,

³⁰ See the works by Mitchell, Linderman, and others cited in footnote 7.

³¹ On southern women during the Civil War see George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana, Ill., 1989); Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); George Rable, "Missing in Action: Women of the Confederacy," in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York, 1992), 134-46; Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," in *ibid.*, 171-99. Most of the work done on northern women and the Civil War has focused on military nurses, benevolence organizations, suffragists, and other high profile women rather than on the war's impact on the everyday life of women. See, for example, Kristie Ross, "Arranging a Doll's House: Refined Women as Union Nurses," in *ibid.*, 97-113; Jennie Attie, "War Work and the Crisis of Domesticity in the North," in *ibid.*, 247-59; Elizabeth D. Leonard, *Yankee Women: Gender Battles in the Civil War* (New York, 1994); Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, Conn., 1990); Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Women in the Civil War* (Lincoln, Neb., 1994).

the collections of Civil War letters that historians rely upon for information about soldiers are generally those of married men and of families who persisted in one place for a long time. The major guide to the manuscript collections of the Indiana Historical Society and Indiana State Library, for example, lists seventy-one major collections of Civil War letters.³² At least 47.9 percent of these collections are in part or in whole letters between a husband and his wife, while most of the rest are to parents, fiancées, and loved ones in the community in which the soldier correspondent enlisted. In addition, some 56.3 percent were written by officers or surgeons, men who were more likely to be stable members of the community than the enlisted men they commanded.

The material presented here and its implications suggest that despite the enormous number of studies of the Civil War and its impact upon America there is still much yet to be discovered and learned.

³² Eric Pumroy and Paul Brockman, *A Guide to Manuscript Collections of the Indiana Historical Society and Indiana State Library* (Indianapolis, 1986). In some cases additional information about a collection in Pumroy and Brockman was found in Ann Turner, *Guide to Indiana Civil War Manuscripts* (Indianapolis, 1965).