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Maligned “Milish:” Mississippi Militiamen in the Civil War

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MALIGNED "MILISH:" MISSISSIPPI MILITIAMEN IN THE CIVIL WAR

by

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ABSTRACT

MALIGNED "MILISH:" MISSISSIPPI MILITIAMEN IN THE CIVIL WAR

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Thousands of southern men avoided regular military service in the American Civil War and enlisted or were drafted into state organized militias. In Mississippi, these units were termed Mississippi State Troops or Minute Men. This thesis argues that Mississippi militiamen's pre-war positions and localized conception of military service directly influenced their wartime experiences. Militiamen, often in their thirties and forties, were older than the average Confederate soldier, established community members, and heads of families who sought service near home. The Mississippi state government, however, visualized militia service as anything but local and developed a centralized militia system that removed men from their communities for long durations. Overwhelmed by wartime demands, state officials failed to properly utilize these men, which damaged militiamen's morale. Organized as a local defense force, militiamen expressed devotion to the Confederate cause, but their primary loyalty remained tied to their families and communities.

Civil War militiamen offer a critical lens into the southern home front and soldier ideology, but historians have largely ignored their service. Current scholarship focuses on young, unmarried Confederate volunteers of 1861 and 1862. Historians have falsely assumed that Civil War militiamen fit within this accepted demographic. This study challenges the existing historiography on Civil War soldiers, civilians, and southern communities. Grounded in the fields of War and Society and Southern history, this thesis

offers the first scholarly examination of Mississippi's militia in the Civil War, utilizing governors' papers, newspapers, military documents, and a quantitative study based on muster rolls and census data.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Countless professors, archivists, and friends have influenced this project from its conception to its completion. I would like to offer my deepest and most sincere thanks to my committee chair and advisor, Dr. Susannah J. Ural. Without her thoughtful guidance and well-timed encouragement, this project would not have been possible. Despite numerous research glitches and source limitations, she always believed in this project and my abilities. Dr. Kyle F. Zelner has also proved instrumental to this project. Given his expertise in colonial militias and communities at war, he has been both an inspiration and valued reader. Although outside her field of expertise, Dr. Heather M. Stur willingly agreed to serve on my thesis committee. Her excellent course and teaching encouraged me to consider other methodological approaches to my work.

I also want to thank the Department of History at the University of Southern Mississippi and the Dale Center for the Study of War and Society. The Dale Center has provided an unusually supportive environment and community of knowledgeable military historians. Funding provided by the Dale Center Graduate Fellowship, Lamar Powell History Graduate Scholarship, and Colonel W. Wayde Benson Fellowship offset research expenses. Research trips to archives in Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Jackson, Mississippi; Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and Washington D.C. would not have been possible without this additional funding. I am exceptionally grateful to the generous donors of the Dale Center.

Historical research cannot be undertaken without the dedicated assistance of talented librarians and archivists. I am deeply indebted to Nadine Phillips of the Interlibrary Loan Department at the University of Southern Mississippi. Without

question, she always obtained obscure genealogical materials or yet another hard-to-find monograph about militiamen. Everyone on the staff of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History provided helpful assistance and timely research services during my numerous trips to Jackson, Mississippi. I especially want to thank Jeff Giambrone for sharing the finding-aid to Governor Pettus's Papers, bringing numerous sources to my attention, and generally taking an interest in the project. The fantastic staff at the Louisiana State University Special Collections took time out of their busy schedules to search files for information on the Mississippi State Troops, locating an almost impossible to find letter. At the Old Vicksburg Courthouse, Bubba Bram waived the researcher's fee and took time to pull documents from a basement vault. As I struggled to find sources written by Mississippi militiamen, I blindly called genealogical and historical societies across the state and fortunately reached Chris Watts at the Marion County Historical Society. Upon hearing of my source scarcity, he immediately offered his expertise on Civil War Mississippi and pointed out several letters regarding the Mississippi militia. His comments and source suggestions have substantially improved this project.

Friendly and talented Civil War historians from across the county have taken time out of their busy schedules to thoughtfully answers my many questions. Timothy B. Smith, Victoria Bynum, and the late Michael Ballard offered valuable advice on conducting research in Mississippi, mentioned relevant primary and secondary source materials, and shared their expertise on the Civil War in Mississippi. My discussion with Keith Bohannon at the 2015 Southern Historical Association in Little Rock, Arkansas helped clarify my understanding of Confederate conscription policies and its implication

on state militias. Likewise, speaking with Barton Myers at the 2016 Biennial Meeting of the Society of Civil War Historians in Chattanooga, Tennessee shed light on the Confederate War Department and the bureaucracy of conscription. Expressing genuine interest in my project, Stephen Berry encouraged me to consider southern militiamen in new ways and his suggestions have improved the final project. I am exceptionally thankfully for the expertise and encouragement that these well-known historians have provided during the course of this thesis.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to offer my most sincere thanks to Jeff Prushankin. As my undergraduate mentor and Civil War professor at Millersville University, he first fostered my love of history and encouraged me to consider graduate school. His classes on military history and the Civil War have shaped my understanding of the Confederacy. His continued research advice and well-timed encouragement has proved instrumental.

DEDICATION

Moving a thousand miles away from existing friends and family is always a challenge, but the graduate students in the Department of History at the University of Southern Mississippi have welcomed me into their fold. I offer a special thanks to the History 710/711 group. Enduring the joys and tribulations of historical methodology and thesis writing together has created a bonding experience like no other. This group of people has been fantastic to work with and I appreciate everyone's kindness and their contributions to my thesis. I am also exceptionally grateful for the friendship, comradely, and expertise of Jonathan Harton; it is a rare gift to have others working on militiamen in the department. Likewise, Lindsey Peterson, Lisa Foster, and Lucas Somers have created a thriving community of Civil War graduate students, of which I am thankful.

Fortunately, graduate school has been more than reading scholarly monographs and writing a lengthy thesis. Regular dinner gatherings and social outings with Rick Lovering, Sam Taylor, Rob Farrell, Emily Smith, Nick Schaefer, Lisa Foster, Lucas Somers, Olivia Moore, and Anna Rikki Nelson have provided much-needed breaks from the academic grindstone. Although frequently uncooperative, this native northeasterner has also appreciated Rob Farrell's valiant efforts to "assimilate the Yankee Carpetbagger" to the unique culture of the Gulf Coast. Witnessing a crawfish boil, enjoying a night on Bourbon Street, mastering a basic red beans and rice meal, and experiencing Mardi Gras celebrations has left a lasting impression.

Despite moving away to Mississippi to chase my master's degree, old friends have not forgotten me. The regular phone conversations with Dan Harpold offered warm reminders of our time in Lancaster, Pennsylvania and the summer excursions to Civil

War battlefields at Gettysburg, Petersburg, Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg, and the Wilderness. Both Becky Lesher and Dylan Leakway deserve a special mention for always opening their home and providing friendship when I found myself in Washington D.C. I also want to thank the full Gilbert Hall crew—Becky Lesher, Dylan Leakway, Dylan Gingrich, and Brad Bergman—for offering endless distractions and amusing commentary throughout this arduous graduate school journey. Although none of us live in the same state or even the same region of the country anymore, you guys have proved instrumental in maintaining my connection with the world outside of academia. Perhaps someday in the near future, we can all land in the same city and spend a weekend together. Until then, keep the interesting social and political commentary coming.

I would also like to thank my parents, Doug and Bobbi Barnett. Although questioning my academic aspirations and desire to move halfway across the county, you have nonetheless been supportive my choices. I am thankful for all the love and support you have provided over the years. Thank you, mom and dad, I could not have done this without you.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LSU	Louisiana State University Libraries, Special Collections
MDAH	Mississippi Department of Archive and History
NARA	National Archives and Record Administration
OR	United States War Department. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederacy Armies*, 128 vols. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901.
UDC	United Daughters of the Confederacy
UNC	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

On July 12, 1862, Micajah Wilkinson bid a final farewell to his wife, Mary, and their four young sons. Wilkinson had never intended to shoulder a gun in the defense of his state or country. Before the war, he was a well-established community member and esteemed household head, who managed a mid-sized plantation and slaves in south Mississippi.[1] Southern secession and the outbreak of Civil War, however, brought immediate and lasting changes to Micajah and Mary Wilkinson's plantation and the lives of most Mississippians. Long before Union armies reached the borders of the Magnolia State, close family friends living across the Mississippi River in Bossier Parish, Louisiana, warned the Wilkinsons of impending doom and emancipation. Following a spring 1861 crop failure, Nancy Willard mused, "I have come to the conclusion that our prosperity is at an end for some time to come I allude to the whole Country and the South in particular for I do fear we have come to the jumping off place for if Lincoln comes out best Man he will free the negro."[2]

Immediately after the state seceded from the Union on January 9, 1861, an exuberant war fever swept through Micajah Wilkinson's hometown of Liberty, Mississippi. Countless young, single Southerners rapidly volunteered for national Confederate service. The Amite County Rifles, eventually becoming Company C, 7th Regiment Mississippi Infantry, organized in April 1861.[3] Micajah Wilkinson's younger

[1] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860).

[2] Nancy Willard, Bossier Parish, Louisiana, to Micajah and Mary Wilkinson, May 28, 1861, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, Special Collections, Louisiana State University Libraries, Baton Rouge, Louisiana (hereafter citied as LSU).

[3] Dale Edwyna Smith, *The Slaves of Liberty: Freedom in Amite County, Mississippi, 1820-1868* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 125.

brothers, Benjamin Franklin Wilkinson and Jefferson Washington Wilkinson, joined the company and marched off to camp, leaving behind wives and young children.[4] Reacting to increased Union threats, Mississippi authorized the formation of additional Confederate regiments and called upon white southern men to assist the state in its hour of great need. On March 10, 1862, Micajah Wilkinson's neighbor and older brother, John Cain Wilkinson, enlisted in Company K, 33rd Regiment Mississippi Infantry. He, too, marched off to war leaving behind a plantation, slaves, wife, and six young children.[5] Micajah Wilkinson was the only Wilkinson brothers who did not don the gray uniform and volunteer for regular Confederate service.[6]

Wilkinson did not oppose slavery or the idea of an independent Confederacy, but he resented the destructiveness of war and the Confederacy's interference with his daily life. Unlike his brothers Benjamin**,** Jefferson, and John, Micajah Wilkinson desperately wanted to avoid regular Confederate military service. As an established community member and head of household, he desired to remain at home in Liberty with his wife and four young children to oversee his plantation and manage the family's seventeen slaves. Even after going to war, Micajah Wilkinson's focus lingered on his family and community. Remembering his wedding anniversary and happier times at home, he recalled that "we have spent sixteen years of our life together . . . & happily as husband & wife. . . . You made a kind & loving and affectionate wife & my darling sons a loving &

[4] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Mississippi* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903 – 1927).

[5] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860).

[6] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

affectionate mother. . . I live for thee & thee alone," he reminisced.[7] Being only thirty-nine years of age in 1862, Micajah Wilkinson feared being forcefully conscripted into the Confederate army before war's end.[8] He determined that avoiding militia service would leave him vulnerable to Confederate conscription, "I would get off on it or not & if I was to get off I would bee [sic] conscripted & I had rather stay with the militia."[9] Therefore, on July 12, 1862, he elected to serve in Company C, Quinn's 2nd Regiment Minute Men. In doing so, Micajah Wilkinson sought to avoid regular Confederate military service. He hoped that militia service would keep him in the community, allowing him protect his wife, children, and brothers' families during the war.[10]

Micajah Wilkinson, a middle-aged farmer, is representative of the typical Mississippi citizen-soldiers and militia experience: he delayed enlisting until 1862, took unauthorized "French leave" to care for his ailing wife, and his wartime experience was defined by camp boredom and frustration. Despite an inglorious record, Wilkinson commemorated his military service for the remainder of his life. Although he never actually joined the regular Confederate army, Wilkinson's a gravesite identifies him as a Confederate veteran. In glimmering, gold lettering, Wilkinson's tombstone proudly

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[7] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 29, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 30, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[8] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Mildale, Liberty, Mississippi, to Mary Wilkinson, March 20, 1862, LSU; Mary Wilkinson, Amite County, Mississippi, to Micajah Wilkinson, August 3, 1863, LSU.

[9] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 21, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 12, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[10] It is not known if Micajah Wilkinson volunteered or was drafted into Quinn's Second Regiment State Troops. Regardless, Wilkinson did not apply for a discharge and served with the unit. United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

proclaims "Micajah Wilkinson, Co C 2nd Regt, Miss State Trp, Confederate States Army."[11]

Thousands of southern men in their late thirties and early forties from across class lines avoided regular Confederate military service and instead enlisted or were drafted into state organized militias, termed State Troops or Minute Men. By serving in militia units instead of national Confederate regiments, these citizen-soldiers demonstrated a localized conception of military service. Despite high rates of absenteeism and desertion, Civil War militiamen were not all disloyal shirkers or Unionists, as several historians have concluded.[12] The vast majority of Mississippi militiamen were loyal to the Confederacy, but their primary loyalty lied with their homes, families, and communities. Overburdened with home front demands, many Mississippi militiamen requested official leave or abandoned their posts when illness occurred at home, when crops needed harvesting, or when Union soldiers threatened their personal property. As established society members with essential occupations and often heads of households, these Mississippi citizen-soldiers believed they needed to remain in their communities during the war.

This thesis argues that Mississippi militiamen's pre-war positions in society directly influenced their wartime service. Mississippi citizen-soldiers were not the extremely patriotic, young, and single Union and Confederate volunteers of 1861 and

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[11] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for Micajah Wilkinson (January 10, 1823- January 7, 1907), Rowland Wilkinson Cemetery (Amite County, Mississippi), http://www.findagrave.com (Last Accessed: August 3, 2016).

[12] Michael D. Pierson, *Mutiny at Fort Jackson: The Untold Story of the Fall of New Orleans* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1924).

early 1862. Rather, Mississippi militiamen were older, usually married, and crucial members of local communities. The vast majority of these citizen-soldiers operated farms and supported extended families during the war years. These men, therefore, were needed on the southern home front and intentionally avoided prolonged periods of absence from their communities. The majority of Mississippi militiamen expressed idealistic support for the Confederacy; their brothers, sons, or friends often volunteered for regular Confederate service. Yet, the militiamen's practical concerns often overshadowed their yearning to fight for southern independence and the Confederate cause.

Based on their personal understanding of military service, Civil War-Era militiamen frequently applied for furloughs, deserted, or severely tested their commanders' authority. Confederate commanders, state government officials, and high-ranking militia officers often portrayed members of the Mississippi State Troops as unfaithful, abysmal soldiers. Militiamen, however, were not disloyal Confederates. Instead, they viewed military service through a localized lens. Organized as a state and local defense organization, the militiamen's primary loyalty lied with their state and families.

As established community members with families, these citizen-soldiers had localized conceptions of military service. The Mississippi state government, however, visualized their service as anything but local. State politicians developed a centralized militia system that removed men from their communities for long durations of time.[13]

[13] Each southern state developed its own unique militia system; some southern states preferred a decentralized system with local control, while other states, like Mississippi and Georgia, opted for a centralized system tightly controlled by the state governor. Almost

Then, overwhelmed by wartime demands, state officials failed to properly utilize these men. In cases of possible invasion, high-ranking state politicians and militia commanders mobilized militia.[14] Called away from their farms, communities, and families with minimal notice, militiamen assembled in camps of instruction across to the state to await future orders. The state of Mississippi frequently failed to supply tents, arms, or uniforms. Many militia units never performed combat duty and spent the duration of their service waiting in undersupplied camps.[15] These demoralized citizen-soldiers feared for their family's safety and health as they aimlessly waited in militia camps or haphazardly performed guard duty. Longing for home, many frustrated militiaman applied for discharges, leaves of absences, or simply deserted the unit.

The lives and service of Civil War militiamen offer a critical lens into southern communities and soldier ideology. Historians cannot obtain an accurate portrait of the Confederate home front or Civil War armies without considering militia or local defense forces. Studying militiamen adds nuance to our understanding of Civil War soldiers, civilians, and southern communities. This thesis offers the first extensive examination of Mississippi's militia in the Civil War.

Few Civil War scholars study militias, home guards, or local defense organizations. Earl Hess, William H. Bragg, and Michael D. Pierson are among the few professional historians to analyze these groups in the Confederacy. In "Civilians at War: The Georgia Militia in the Atlanta Campaign," Hess considers the fighting capabilities of

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immediately after secession, Mississippi created a centrally controlled Military Board to coordinate all military operations within the state.

[14] The militia was often mobilized for thirty, sixty, or ninety day periods of active service.

[15] Soldiers who took "French leave" left the unit without official permission for a period of time. Unlike deserters, however, soldiers on French leave willing returned to their units.

the Georgia State Troops.[16] Confederate commanders and soldiers "had trouble taking the militia seriously" or "on the other side of the coin, were those, usually members of the upper echelon command structure and nineteenth-century historians, who praised its contribution to the defense of Atlanta."[17] According to Hess, militiamen had little military impact on the outcome of the Atlanta Campaign, but the presence of armed citizen-soldiers boosted Georgians' morale. By calling out the militia, Georgia Governor Joseph E. Brown assured civilians that he took their safety seriously and did everything in his power to stem the Yankee invasion. Unlike the Georgia State Troops, the Mississippi militia never inspired nor reassured the state's civilian population. Instead, Mississippians placed their faith with the regular Confederate army.

William H. Bragg, in conjunction with William R. Scaife, also offers two studies of the Georgia militia.[18] In *Joe Brown's Pets: The Georgia Militia, 1861-1865*, Bragg, and Scaife provide a narrative military history of the militia's wartime experiences. The authors praise the Georgia militiamen's fighting prowess. *Joe Brown's Army: The Georgia State Line, 1861-1865* offers a more analytical analysis of the Georgia militia. In this work, Bragg and Scaife underscore the contentious relationship between Governor Brown and Confederate President Jefferson Davis regarding Georgia's militia. Brown sought to shelter his militiamen and state government employees from conscription into the Confederate army. The authors' thesis is similar to Albert Burton Moore's early

[16] Earl Hess, "Civilians at War: The Georgia Militia in the Atlanta Campaign." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 66, No. 3 (Fall, 1982): 332-345.

[17] Hess, "Civilians at War," 332.

[18] William R. Scaife and William Harris Bragg. *Joe Brown's Pets: The Georgia Militia, 1861-1865* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004); Scaife and Bragg, *Joe Brown's Army: The Georgia State Line, 1861-1865* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987).

work on Confederate conscription. Like Moore's 1924 monograph, Bragg and Scaife argue that Brown's states' rights policy undermined the Confederate war effort.[19] Bragg and Scaife believe that states' rights destroyed the Confederacy from within. This thesis determines that unlike Georgia extreme states' rights arguments did not manifest in wartime Mississippi. Jefferson Davis and Mississippi's Civil War governors, John J. Pettus and Charles Clark, developed strong working relationships. As a Mississippian, Davis was well acquainted with Mississippi's wartime leaders, creating a relatively harmonious state and federal relationship. Official Mississippi militia policy did not illegally interfere with Confederate conscription in the state. Thus, the experiences of the Georgia State Troops were not representative of Confederate militias as a whole.

Another study, Michael D. Pierson's *Mutiny at Fort Jackson: The Untold Story of the Fall of New Orleans*, considers class-based tensions among Confederate soldiers and Louisiana militiamen stationed near New Orleans.[20] He argues that the mutiny at Fort Jackson, which occurred a few miles south of New Orleans on April 28, 1862, demonstrates the fragmentation of southern society, lack of Confederate nationalism, and strong Unionist sentiment found among many members of the white working class. Incorporating Marxism into his analysis, Pierson considers militiamen's class status and socio-economic background but does not offer a quantitative analysis. He contends that recent immigrants and working-class whites filled the ranks of Louisiana's militias. Militia organizations "had a reputation as a way for Unionists to seem patriotic while

[19] Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1924).

[20] Michael D. Pierson, *Mutiny at Fort Jackson: The Untold Story of the Fall of New Orleans* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

avoiding active Confederate service."[21] Furthermore, southern militia laws favored the white elite. Fearful of slave uprisings, Pierson notes that Louisiana's militia law excused one white man on every plantation from military service. These exemptions, according to Pierson, alienated many urbanites and non-slaveholding whites, revealing internal class conflict. Unionists, urbanites, and angry southern whites joined local militia companies, making Louisiana militias exceptionally prone to munities. Compared to Louisiana, Mississippi had far fewer foreign immigrants and urban dwellers.[22] In contrast to Pierson's claims of class conflict, Mississippi militia organizations reflected a cross-section of society. Mississippians of lower-socioeconomic backgrounds did not solely bear the burden of militia duty. Furthermore, most Mississippi militiamen expressed loyalty to the Confederate cause.

This thesis also engages with works on Confederate nationalism. Historians of colonial America, the Revolutionary War, and the Americans Civil War often recognize the complexity of nationalism and existence of duel loyalties during wartime. During these early conflicts, military service was not the only indication of nationalism or patriotism. Soldiers fighting for American Independence in George Washington's Continental Army did not always reenlist or remain in the ranks for their entire duration of service. Civilians determined that only some men—unmarried, servants, slaves, apprentices, unskilled laborers—needed to serve in the armed forces. A historian of Revolutionary War America notes, "these citizens acted as if society had the right to

[21] Pierson, *Mutiny at Fort Jackson*, 63.

[22] In 1860, only 0.024 percent of Mississippians were born in another country. In comparison, 21.53 percent of Louisiana's population was of foreign birth. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

expect those who were suited for the army to stay in it as long as need be, while others stayed home and served the cause in their appropriate ways."[23] Men who deserted the Continental Army or refused to reenlist could still support Revolutionary ideology and America's quest for independence from Great Britain.[24] Likewise, Civil War military service was not the only way to demonstrate Confederate nationalism. Communities recognized that family loyalty, personal infirmity, or individual circumstances could supersede southerners' ability to fight for Southern Independence. These men could remain on the home front, avoiding military service, while still serving their communities and indirectly assisting the Confederacy.

Historians of modern military conflicts, such as the Vietnam War, offer a far different interpretation of nationalism. South Vietnamese soldiers defined nationalism based on military service. Avoiding military duty or remaining on the home front directly indicated an opposition to Vietnamese nationalism. Therefore, only dedicated soldier serving in the armed forces could claims to be true nationalists.[25] Despite these recent historiographical trends in Vietnam War scholarship, this thesis relies on the eighteenth and nineteenth-century interpretation of nationalism. Thus, Southerners during the Civil War did not need to serve in the national Confederate army or remain in the militia in order to demonstrate their ideological commitment to the Confederate cause or the preservation of slavery.

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[23] Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979; reprint: 1986), 128-129.

[24] Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War*, 128-129.

[25] Jessica M. Chapman, *Cauldron of Resistance: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States, and 1950s Southern* (Cornell: Cornell University Press 2013), 40-61.

Anne S. Rubin's study of Civil War nationalism, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-186,* proved instrumental to this thesis.[26] Rubin traces the development of southern identity and Confederate nationalism from the antebellum period into Reconstruction. She argues that Southerners quickly developed a sense of national identity during the Civil War. Independent of politics, Confederate nationalism did not evaporate with the surrender of Lee's Army in 1865. Rather, "white southerners held onto the vestiges of their Confederate identity" into Reconstruction.[27] Rubin maintains that individuals acting against the interests of the Confederacy did not always indicate a lack of Confederate nationalism. Southern women loyal to the Confederate cause might still buy supplies from Unionists or cross enemy lines to protect their families. Sometimes Southerners, like this study demonstrates with Mississippi militiamen, chose to protect their homes and families instead of serving the needs of the Confederate government. Rubin rightfully argues that these men, despite their actions, still retained a devout sense of Confederate nationalism. Similar to the southerners of Rubin's study, most Mississippi militiamen even retained their sense of Confederate identity in the post-war period.

Jarret Ruminski's dissertation, "Southern Pride and Yankee Presence: The Limits of Confederate Loyalty in Civil War Mississippi, 1860-1865," offers a state-level study of Southern nationalism in Mississippi.[28] "Rather than trying to discern whether

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[26] Anne S. Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

[27] Rubin, *A Shattered Nation,* 2.

[28] Jarret Ruminski, "Southern Pride and Yankee Presence: The Limits of Confederate Loyalty in Civil War Mississippi, 1860-1865," PhD Diss., (Alberta, Canada: University of Calgary, 2012).

Mississippians' allegiance to the Confederacy was weak or strong," Ruminski views "Mississippians through the lens of different, co-existing loyalties that, according to circumstances, indicated neither popular support for nor rejection of, the Confederacy."[29] The Confederate government proved unable to acquire the complete loyalty and devotion of their citizens. Southerners developed macro-level loyalties to their nation and government while still holding micro-level commitments to their local communities and families. This multiplicity of loyalties caused Mississippians to act in seemingly contradictory ways. Rubin's *A Shattered Nation* and Ruminski's "Southern Pride and Yankee Presence" both help explain Mississippian militiamen's dual, and at times conflicting, loyalties.[30]

Stephanie McCurry's *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* underscores the practical limitations of Confederate nationalism.[31] As a patriarchal, slaveholding nation based on undemocratic principles, the Confederacy faced the epic task of mobilizing non-slaveholders, white women, and enslaved African-Americans in the midst of war. According to McCurry, women exerted political influence by petitioning state and Confederate political leaders for relief, which undermined the southern war effort. Similar to the southern women of McCurry's study, militiamen's wives also exerted an active political role during the war. Women across the state requested militia protection. Some women also petitioned the governor to

[29] Ruminski, "Southern Pride and Yankee Presence," 2.

[30] Dual loyalties are not a usual topic in Civil War-Era studies. For an examination of Irish-Americans dual loyalties, see, Susannah Ural Bruce, *The Harp and the Eagle: Irish-American Volunteers and the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

[31] Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

release their husbands from compulsory militia service. Yet, many of these women expressed commitment to the Confederate cause and presented valid concerns. In contrast to McCurry's argument, most Mississippi militiamen's wives and non-slaveholders did not openly challenge the Confederacy's basic political or social structure.

Although an older work, Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still's *Why the South Lost the Civil War* remains critical to any discussion of Confederate nationalism. The authors emphasize Southerners' lack of devotion to the ideological cause and internal divisions within the Confederacy.[32] Class differences, racial tension, religious variations, and conflict between slaveholders and non-slaveholders plagued the South. The authors contend that Southerners, lacking consensus and commitment, never developed a sense of national identity. "The Confederate nation was created on paper, not in the hearts and minds of its would-be citizens," concludes Beringer.[33] This study of Mississippi militiamen contradicts Beringer's thesis. Class, religion, or slaveholding status did not divide Mississippians.

Furthermore, Beringer's study fully discredits Frank L. Owsley's states' rights thesis.[34] Focusing mainly on Georgia and North Carolina, Owsley argues that internal dissent caused the Confederacy's defeat. Southerners held an extreme understanding of states' rights and placed state and local loyalty above the needs of the Confederate States

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[32] Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr. *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 1058.

[33] Beringer, *Why the South Lost the Civil War*, 1058.

[34] Frank L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925); "Local Defense and the Overthrow of the Confederacy", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 11 (Mar. 1925): 492–525. Like most modern works, this thesis discredits Owsley's argument.

of America. Despite a 1925 publication date, Owsley's states' rights argument still occasionally resurfaces in studies of Civil War conscription and local defense organizations. Despite serving Mississippi, the development of state-level militia organizations did not suggest an extreme states' rights position or an opposition to the national government. Most modern historians now agree with Beriniger; the Confederacy did not collapse because of extreme states' rights ideology.

In contrast to the authors of *Why the South Lost the Civil War*, Gary Gallagher's *The Confederate War* emphasizes southern determinism.[35] Gallagher argues that southerners developed a strong national identity and maintained a sense of commitment throughout the Civil War. "Although class tensions, unhappiness with intrusive government policies, desertion, and war weariness all form a part of the Confederate mosaic," Gallagher contends, "they must be set against the larger picture of soldiers persevering against mounting odds, civilians enduring great human and material hardships in pursuit of independence, and southern white society maintaining remarkable resiliency until the last stages of the war."[36] In the face of Union invasion, governmental inefficiency, and wartime deprivation, Confederates soldiers of all classes and backgrounds identified with the newly created Confederacy and relentlessly continued the fight for southern independence. As wartime hardships increased, Southerners turned to the Confederate armies, especially Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, to boost morale. State government and national government institutions in Richmond assumed a secondary position, as civilians and soldiers alike turned to the military. As the

[35] Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[36] Gallagher, *The Confederate War*, 4.

most important national institution, southern recognized the centrality of military events and battlefield victories for national morale and the outcome of war. Mississippi civilians, as seen in newspapers, also relied on regular Confederate armies to boost their hopes. Most civilians and soldiers realized the limitations of the militia system, Mississippi government, and central Confederate government, but they did not lose faith in the national Confederate armies.

Given militiamen's high rate of absenteeism, studies on Confederate desertion also inform this thesis. Published in 1928, Ella Lonn's monograph, *Desertion During the Civil War,* offers the first extensive study on Civil War-era desertion.[37] She argues that desertion rates peaked during the last eight months of the war. A lack of devotion, personal hardship, or low morale on the home front caused many Confederates to abandon their units. Unpaid soldiers stationed far from their homes or serving under despised commanders also regularly deserted. Notably, inactive service caused absenteeism rates to spike, "when near home, even good soldiers saw no reason why they should stay away from families with an inactive army."[38] Much like Confederate regulars, many Mississippi militiamen, lacking a tangible military propose, frequently deserted or took French leave when faced with extended camp stays. Lonn maintains that substitutes, conscripts, and foreign immigrants frequently abandoned their posts. In contrast to Lonn's study, this thesis will show that Mississippi militia substitutes and drafted militiamen were not exceptionally prone to absenteeism. While not perfectly

[37] Ella Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (New York: Century Company, 1928; reprint: Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

[38] Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War,* 17.

illustrating Mississippi militiamen's desertion patterns, Lonn's study remains one of the standard works on Civil War desertion and is instrumental to this study.

Originally published in 1932, Bessie Martin's *A Rich Man's War and Poor Man's Fight: Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army* contends that poverty frequently provoked men to desert.[39] Using 1860 census data to analyze class, Martin found the highest rates of desertion among soldiers from impoverished regions of the Confederacy. Poor, struggling families begged soldiers to return home as wealthy men received military exemptions or discharges. Loopholes in Confederate conscription laws caused poor Alabamians to consider the Civil War "a rich man's war and poor man's fight."[40] Soldiers committed to serve in Confederate forces until their terms of enlistment expired. Nonetheless, many demoralized men illegally returned home to care for their destitute families. In contrast to Martin's study on regular Confederate soldiers from Alabama, this research confirms that most Mississippians did not consider Civil War militia service an unfair burden on the poor.

More recently, Mark A. Weitz's *More Damning than Slaughter: Desertion in the Confederate Army* argues that wartime conditions and family hardships caused many southern soldiers to question their commitment to the Confederacy.[41] He contends that

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[39] Bessie Martin, *A Rich Man's War and Poor Man's Fight: Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932; reprint: Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003).

[40] The Confederate Conscription Act of April 16, 1862 drafted southern men between eighteen and thirty-five into the Confederate armies. The act exempted government employees, miners, doctors, teachers, ministers, druggists, and printers. The Twenty-Slave Rule, which exempted men who owned twenty or more slaves from mandatory military service, was the most controversial exemption. James M. Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Second Session of the First Congress* (Richmond: R. M. Smith, 1862), 77-79.

[41] Mark A. Weitz, *More Damning than Slaughter: Desertion in the Confederate Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005). Weitz's earlier work on Confederate desertion

southern soldiers' loyalty to their communities and families exceeded their commitment to the Confederate nation. Weitz argues that threats emerged from the "Confederate government's inability to protect Confederate civilians, not from Union invasion, but from starvation, from each other, and from the Confederate government."[42] Internal class conflict, an inattentive Confederate government, and deteriorating home front circumstances undermined Confederate nationalism across the South. According to Weitz, desertion destroyed the Confederacy from within. This study of Mississippi militiamen contradicts Weitz's findings. Militiamen, similar to the Confederate regulars in Weitz's study, frequently left their units in order to care for their families and farms. These citizen-soldiers, however, often returned to their unit once the crisis at home subsided. This study will demonstrate that militiamen's high rates of absenteeism were not indicative of class conflict, Unionism, or an absence of Confederate nationalism. Studies on Civil War soldiers' enlistment and combat motivations provide a basis of comparison between regular Confederate soldiers and Mississippi militiamen. Gerald Linderman's *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* is one of the earlier works examining Civil War soldier's combat motivation.[43] Drawing heavily from memoirs and post-war recollections, Linderman's flawed study argues that Victorian ideals of courage and manhood motivated both Union and Confederate Civil War soldiers. He contends, "the young men of the 1860s carried with them into military life a strong set of values that continued to receive reinforcement from home. In

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focuses exclusively on Georgia, Mark A. Weitz, *A Higher Duty: Desertion Among Georgia Troops During the Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).

[42] Weitz, *More Damning than Slaughter*, 30.

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

a day of simpler assumptions, when one's actions were thought to be the direct extension of one's values, they attempted to apply their values in combat, in camp, and in hospital."[44] Wartime experiences, however, clashed with men expectations and Victorian notions of manhood. Linderman contends that the violence of combat fundamentally changed and disillusioned soldiers, which, in turn, created estrangement between men in the ranks and civilians on the home front. Although a foundational work on solder's enlistment motivation, most historians now recognize the flaws in Linderman's research and the weaknesses of his analysis. Linderman's drew heavily on the post-war memories of Union officers, which skews his findings toward the most educated and articulate soldiers. The works limited analysis of enlisted men, lower-class individuals, and Confederate soldiers leads scholars to questions to scope of Linderman's findings. Despite this works many shortcomings, it inspired additional scholarship on Civil War soldiers.

James M. McPherson's *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* overturns Linderman's findings.[45] Focusing almost exclusively on men who enlisted in 1861 and 1862, McPherson argues that Union and Confederate soldiers fought for ideological causes—duty, loyalty, honor, nationalism, and patriotism—as well as for the men standing beside them in the heat of combat. Profoundly ideological soldiers of 1861 and 1862 joined because of their genuine belief in the cause. McPherson maintains that those ideological beliefs strengthened in the face of combat, developing into a sustaining force that allowed nineteenth-century soldiers to confront the horrors of battle. Despite

[44] Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 2.

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

experiencing the shock of Civil War combat, volunteer soldiers remained resolutely committed. Instead of manly valor or courage, McPherson claims that men were terrified of being labeled "yellow-bellied cowards" by their fellow soldiers or families at home. Militiamen, though supportive of the Confederate cause, offer a stark contrast to the patriotic Union and Confederate volunteers of McPherson's study. Mississippi citizen-soldiers were not driven by profoundly idealistic ideals, but often sought to protect their families and property.

Building upon McPherson's groundbreaking study, Aaron Sheehan-Dean's *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virgini*a and Chandra Manning's *What this Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* tie the southern home front to soldiers' battlefield experiences.[46] In his study of Civil War Virginia, Sheehan-Dean contends that honor, nationalism, family, and states' rights motivated Virginia's sons, from all class backgrounds, to enlist in the Confederate armies. Throughout the conflict, Virginian soldiers remained tied to their families and local communities; Confederates fought to protect their wives, children, and hearths. In addition to preserving slavery, Chandra Manning's *What this Cruel War Was Over* also notes Southerners' personal and localized motivations. Confederates, she argues, believed that their personal dignity and the safety of their family depended on the survival of the Confederacy and the peculiar institution. Similar to Sheehan-Dean's *Why Confederates Fought* and Manning's *What this Cruel War Was Over,* this study

[46] Aaron Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virgini*a (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Chandra Manning, *What this Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007).

demonstrates that Mississippi militiamen, to an even greater degree than regular Confederate soldiers, fought to protect their families and property.

Joseph T. Glatthaar's *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* and *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia: A Statistical Portrait of the Troops Who Served under Robert E. Lee* provide a detailed analysis of Confederate soldiers fighting in the rolling hills of northern Virginia.[47] In these sweeping studies, Glatthaar's comprehensive statistical analysis considers soldier's age, economic background, marital status, antebellum occupations, and connection to slavery. Furthermore, he uses official military records and personal correspondences to provide a detailed study of desertion, exemptions, morale, medical care, and religion among Lee's soldiers. The Confederacy, according to Glatthaar, did not died from states' rights, a lack of manpower, food shortages, industrial disadvantages, or home front divisions. Rather, Southerners' independent nature, and Lee's failure to enforce professional military discipline caused the army's surrender and the defeat of the Confederacy. Although focusing exclusively on Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, Glatthaar's excellent and detailed analysis provides a point of comparison, which is used here to contrast Mississippi militiamen to regular Confederate soldiers.

The overwhelming majority of studies on Civil War soldiers focus on the highly-motivated men of 1861 and 1862. Kenneth W. Noe's *Reluctant Rebels*, however,

[47] Joseph T. Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: Free Press, 2008); Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia: A Statistical Portrait of the Troops Who Served under Robert E. Lee* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

considers Confederate soldiers who enlisted after 1862.[48] These soldiers developed a reputation as shirkers, but Noe contends that later enlisting Southerners, while less idealistic and nationalistic than the men of 1861, displayed commitment to the Confederate cause. Instead of duty, honor, and courage, Confederates who joined the army after 1862 enlisted to protect their personal property from Federal destruction. Home and family remained a strong presence in soldiers' lives even after enlisting. Units comprised of kinsmen and neighbors quickly developed a sense of group cohesion based on their pre-war relations. Soldiers, however, struggled to bond with unit newcomers or community outsiders, which hindered the development of unit pride. At times, family loyalty trumped their oath of service causing low morale and absenteeism. Mississippi militiamen, although older and more likely to be married than regular Confederate enlistees, fit neatly within Noe's methodological and analytical framework.

Although outside the purview of Civil War scholarship, the methodologies of historians Kyle F. Zelner's *A Rabble in Arms: Massachusetts Towns and Militiamen during King Philip's War*, Fred Anderson's *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Year's War*, *and* Charles Royster's *Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783*, form the foundation of this study.[49] Although militia structure and perceptions of citizen soldiers changed drastically from the colonial period to the mid-nineteenth century, these

[48] Kenneth W. Noe, *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates who Joined the Army after 1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[49] Royster, *A Revolutionary People at* War; Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Year's War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Kyle F. Zelner, *A Rabble in Arms: Massachusetts Towns and Militiamen during King Phillip's War* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

work help place Civil War militiamen within the context of long-standing militia experience and citizen-soldier tradition.

Zelner's *A Rabble in Arms* offers an analysis of colonial impressment policies and a prosopographical study of the Massachusetts militiamen during King Philip's War. Examining the impressment system in new England, Zelner notes "that a unique, locally controlled institution—the town committee of militia—impressed the seventeenth-century soldier of Massachusetts Bay. While much of the Massachusetts militia system was based on the English model, the committees of militia were a completely new invention, directly linked to the insistence of Puritan New Englanders that they controlled, at the local level, the chief institutions of their lives."[50] As institutions controlled by local elites, the actions of these militia impressment committees offer a glimpse into Massachusetts communities and life in colonial New England.

Adopting a quantitative approach, Zelner uncovers the marital status, socioeconomic background, religious afflictions, and criminal background of the active duty militiamen of King Philips's War. A detailed statistical analysis reveals that locally controlled impressment boards comprised of elite community members sent undesirables, transients, community outsiders, criminals, and young unmarried men off to war. He argues, "the men sent off to war in seventeenth-century New England were *not* a representative cross-section of their communities."[51] The community, Zelner maintains. selected men whose wartime deaths would prove minimally disruptive. Colonial Massachusetts sent the "rabble" instead of the community's "flowers" off to war. In

[50] Zelner, *A Rabble in Arms*, 7-8
[51] Zelner, *A Rabble in Arms*, 9.

contrast to the colonial militiamen of Zelner's study, Civil War-era militiamen in Mississippi were a representative cross-section of their community. Mississippi did not exclusively send destitute tenant farmers or former criminals to the front. Despite demographical differences, however, Mississippi militiamen during the Civil War lend themselves to a similarly methodological framework and Zelner's analysis inspired the qualitative section of this thesis.

Examining Massachusetts provincial soldiers in the Seven Year's War, Anderson's *A People's Army* considers the effects of New England society and culture on men's conception of military service. He argues that colonials' unique understanding of enlistment, soldierly conduct, and combat clashed with British professionals' perceptions of warfare. Judging by the standards of a professional army, British officers regarded the provincials as an incompetent and irrational fighting force.[52] According to Anderson, "to judge provincials as only deficient versions of professional troops, without reference to the provincials' shared values and their beliefs concerning war and military service, would be to misunderstand the actions and motivations of eighteenth-century New Englanders at war."[53] Provincials were not, in fact, professionally trained soldiers in the British model and their seemingly irrational behavior was based on New England customs, culture, and religious beliefs. Provincials' experiences in New England, Anderson claims, directly shaped their expectations of military service and their combat experiences during the Seven Years' War.[54]

[52] Anderson *A People's Army,* viii-ix.
[53] Anderson *A People's Army,* ix.
[54] Anderson *A People's Army,* ix.

Perhaps most importantly for this thesis, Anderson contends that provincial soldiers developed a unique conception of military service based on their understanding of contracts and their positions within New England society. Colonial New Englanders considered themselves free men who could willingly enter voluntary contracts—in this case, a contract for military duty. According to Anderson, colonial soldiers "did not regard himself as an employee of the King. It was, after all, the province that paid his wages and supplied him with food, according to the contract . . . to which he had subscribed his enlistment."[55] Therefore, the King, who was not a party to this agreement, could not alter or modify a soldier enlistment contract. "Any unilateral attempt to change the agreement simply nullified it and voided the solder's contractual responsibilities," Anderson claims.[56] In contrast to colonial soldiers' perceptions of military service, high-ranking British officers expected complete subordination and strict obedience from the all British professional and provincial soldiers under their command. British policies of control and professionalism clashed with provincial soldiers' preconceived notions of military service. As a result, provincial soldiers, under the leadership of their colonial officers, often mutinied or deserted if British regulars abused their authority or failed to provide needed supplies. In these cases, provincial soldiers considered their terms of service violated, making nonviolent mutinies or mass desertions acceptable courses of action.[57]

Nineteenth-century Southerners also developed a unique understanding of contacts based on their experiences with slavery and land agreements in the antebellum

[55] Anderson, *A People's Army,* 178.
[56] Anderson, *A People's Army,* 178.
[57] Anderson, *A People's Army,* 165-195.

period. Slave-owning southerners could hire out their enslaved African-Americans to work for other farmers, large corporations, or small business. In order to hire slaves, southerners often developed contracts between renters and slave owners to ensure adequate treatment of hired hands and stipulate agreeable terms of service. Slave owners, often out of financial self-interest, mandated that employers provide hired slaves with new clothing, adequate food, and reasonable working conditions.[58] In addition to slave contracts, poor white regularly negotiated land contracts with landowners. Antebellum tenant contracts often outlined labor agreements, building maintenance, and crop allotments. In addition to provided owners and lessees with a measure of legal responsibility, these contracts allowed wealthy landlords to ensure a measure of social control over their yeoman tenants. If a tenant violated their terms of the contract, landlords could legally remove the offender from the land.[59] Therefore, Civil War militiamen, regardless of their class or direct involvement with slavery, would have been familiar with contractual labor agreements and may have based their military service on a similar understanding of contacts.

In his study of the American Revolution, Royster's *A Revolutionary People at War* examine American character in relation to the Continental Army. He contends that Americans, fearful of a large standing army and military depositions, favored localized

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[58] Damian Alan Pargas, *Slavery and Forced Migration in the Antebellum South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 191-193; Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Press, 1995), 56-57. For a discussion of free African Americans and contacts, see

[59] Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). 30-32; Wilma A. Dunaway, *Women, Work and Family in the Antebellum Mountain South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 118.

militias and citizen-soldiers. Instead of professional soldiers like the British Regulars, American perceived themselves as virtuous tradesmen, farmers, and community men. Encompassing all adult males between sixteen and sixty years of age, Revolutionary War militiamen could till the land and run community business in peacetime and mobilize in times of crisis to protect their families and local communities. Royster contends that militiamen's "readiness to serve gave a double guarantee for the survival of liberty: freedmen's sacrifice precluded reliance on dangerous mercenaries, and the virtue that citizens proved in the field could sustain self-government."[60] Although tolerating the regular Continental Army during wartime, Americans continued to espoused the benefit of citizen-soldiers and request the development of additional militia units. During the Southern campaigns, the numerous militiamen served as an auxiliary force to the larger Continental army and demonstrated popular enthusiasm for Revolutionary ideals.[61] Nonetheless, Royster maintains, "the popular preference for militia service rather than regular army duty became not simply an alternative or an auxiliary to the Continental Army but sometimes an expression of hostility to a professional military regime."[62] Even after the Revolutionary War, American remained suspicious of standing armies and career soldiers and, instead, advocated for a military defense system based on voluntarism and citizen-soldiers. Therefore, the Americans of the Revolutionary generation sought to preserve the colonial militia tradition and prevent the development of a professional military force in the New Republic.

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[60] Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War,* 36-37.
[61] Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War,* 322-325.
[62] Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War,* 323.

Civil War-Era Mississippi, however, differed sharply from Revolutionary America. In Mississippi, most citizens praised and valued national military service over local militia duty. Southerners of the nineteenth-century recognized the need for a professional, standing military force; Mississippians realized that armed militiamen could not protect the state from Union invasion and enemy occupation. Despite civilians' favorable perceptions of the national Confederate armies, state government officials and militia commanders espoused the value of a strong local defense forces and armed militiamen. Thus, this thesis on Civil War militiamen in Mississippi reverses many of Royster's observations. Nonetheless, scholarship by historians of colonial and Revolutionary America provide contextualization and methodical frameworks for analyzing citizen-soldiers of various conflicts. This thesis, therefore, attempts to replicate the models of Zelner, Anderson, and Royster, in order to understand Civil War-era militiamen.

An unfortunate dearth of source material makes studying Civil War militiamen or citizen-soldiers, as they are referred to throughout this thesis, an extremely challenging endeavor.[63] Union and Confederate Civil War soldiers wrote, preserved, and published thousands of letters, diaries, and memoirs, which provide a rich and diverse source base for historians. Southern militiamen, however, left few official documents and even fewer letter collections for future researchers. Military historian Steven H. Newton expounded upon the problems of studying southern home guard units. He notes:

> As fragmentary as Confederate records usually appear to researchers piecing together regimental histories or campaign narratives, they are a model of

[63] Citizen-soldier can be used to identify any volunteer soldier who is not career army. To avoid excessive, unnecessary repetition, however, the term "citizen-soldiers" is used as a synonym for "militiamen" throughout this thesis.

> completeness when compared to the extant material on the home guards. Official reports of engagements are almost non-existent, and it is difficult in most localities to identity company designations, estimate unit strength, or unearth personal rosters.[64]

Newton could well have been discussing the limited archival material available on Mississippi militias. Ideally, this study would uncover militiamen's enlistment motivations: Why did Southerners join militias instead of regular Confederate units? Without letters and diaries, however, any view of Mississippi militiamen's enlistment and combat motivations are obscured. Unfortunately, severe source limitations constrain this study. Nonetheless, this study was attempted regardless of source restriction because any analysis of Civil War militiamen offer a critical lens into the southern home front and soldier ideology. A comprehensive understanding of the Civil War-era home front cannot be reached without incorporating militiamen and their families.

Micajah Wilkinson's Papers, housed at Louisiana State University's Special Collections Library, offer the only full letter collection written by a private in the Mississippi State Troops.[65] This source offers a fantastic lens into militia camp life, Confederate conscription, and wartime hardships in Civil War Mississippi. The candid correspondence between Micajah Wilkinson and his wife, Mary, provided intimate details about militiamen's enlistment and sustaining motivations. Supplementing census data and official military records with Wilkinson's private letters, provides historians with a complex picture of the Wilkinson's family before, during, and after the Civil War. The Micajah Wilkinson's papers, however, only represent one family's Civil War

[64] Steven H. Newton, "The Confederate Home Guard: Forgotten Soldiers of the Lost Cause?," *North & South* 6, No. 1 (November, 2002): 40.

[65] Micajah Wilkinson's Papers, LSU.

experience. As such a limited source, these papers cannot form the foundation of this study.

Unfortunately, letters, wartime diaries, and memoirs produced by Mississippi civilians and regular Confederate soldiers rarely mention militia forces. Despite the relatively substantial number of militiamen who served in the Vicksburg Campaign, Mary Loughborough's *My Cave Life in Vicksburg,* Emma Harris Balfour's *Civil War Diary: A Personal Account of the Siege of Vicksburg,* and William A. Drennan's *Diary of the Defense of Vicksburg* do not even mention the Mississippi Minute Men.[66] Postwar memoirs, including Horace Smith Fulkerson's *A Civilian's Recollection of the War Between the States* and James Monroe Gibson's *Memoirs of J.M. Gibson; Terrors of the Civil War and Reconstruction Days* also ignore the militiamen who served in their communities.[67] Brief remarks regarding militia organizations, however, are occasionally uncovered in other diaries and personal letter produced by Confederate soldiers or civilians. A Covington County man briefly mentioned the local militia's drunken and disorganized gathering in an 1862 letter, but the author soon moved onto other subjects and failed to further consider the militia.[68] This letter is one of the few primary sources produced by a Mississippi civilian that even mentions the militia.[69] Overall, Confederate

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[66] Mary Ann Webster Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg, With Letters of Trial and Travel* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1864); Gordon A. Cotton, ed.,*Mrs. Balfour's Civil War Diary: A Personal Account of the Siege of Vicksburg* (Vicksburg, MS: Print Shop, 2004); William A. Drennan, *Diary of the Defense of Vicksburg* (Vicksburg, MS: 1863).

[67] Horace Smith Fulkerson, *A Civilian's Recollection of the War Between the States* (Baton Rouge: O Claitor, 1939); James Monroe Gibson, *Memoirs of J.M. Gibson: Terrors of the Civil War and Reconstruction Days* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966).

[68] Nathan L. Watts, Williamsburg, Mississippi, to James Aultman Pickering Watts, April 20, 1862, Marion County Museum & Archives, Columbia, Mississippi.

[69] Jason Niles's diary also offers a civilian's perspective of the Mississippi militia. See, *Diary of Jason Niles (1814-1894): June 22, 1861-December 31, 1864* (Chapel Hill: University of

soldiers and southern civilians devoted slight attention to the Civil War militia experience and these sources are of limited usefulness.

Published within the state and written by local Mississippians, daily and weekly newspapers regularly discussed militia policy, conscription laws, and the exploits of local militia companies. In almost every edition, the *Natchez Daily Courier* and *Natchez Weekly Currier* published militia orders from local commanders and the Mississippi governor.[70] Likewise, letters-to-the-editor in the *American Citizen* harshly criticized Mississippi's handling of the militia.[71] Printed in Raymond, Mississippi, the *Hinds County Gazette* devoted a short-lived column, authored by a member of the Raymond County Minute Men, to the militia camp experiences.[72] Although criticized by some historians for providing a limited interpretation created solely for public conception, newspapers can successfully gauge the pulse of public opinion and allow historians a lens into civilians' and Confederate soldiers' perceptions of the Mississippi militia.

In addition to newspapers, a discussion of the Mississippi militia system can be found in the official paperwork, private letters, and memoirs of Mississippi policymakers and high-ranking Mississippi militia commanders. The official correspondences of Mississippi Governors John J. Pettus and Charles Clark demonstrate the extreme limitations of Mississippi's militia system.[73] Throughout the war, rank-and-file

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North Carolina, Documenting the American South, Digital Collection), http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/niles/niles.html (Last Accessed: August 3, 2016).

[70] *Natchez Daily Courier* (Natchez, Mississippi); *Natchez Weekly Currier* (Natchez, Mississippi).

[71] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi).

[72] *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi).

[73] John J. Pettus, Correspondence and Papers, 1859-1863, MDAH; Charles Clark, Correspondence and Papers, 1863-1865, MDAH.

militiamen and state-level military commanders flooded the governor's office with inquiries about discharges, unarmed troops, late payments, missing supplies, and Confederate conscription polices. The replies and response of Pettus and Clark remain unknown, as most of the governors' out-going mail did not survive. Nonetheless, letters found within Pettus's and Clark's official correspondences allow researchers to uncover the frustrations and voices of both Mississippi civilians and citizen-soldiers.

Letter collections from high-ranking militia commanders reveal disorganization within the Mississippi government. The correspondence of Mississippi Brigadier General James Z. George reveals a frustrated militia commander mired in state-level bureaucracy.[74] Governor Pettus and other militia commanders frequently ignored George's pressing inquiries. Confederate military commanders further perplexed militia commanders, George among them, by circumventing the chain of command and assuming direct control of Mississippi State Troops. Confounded militiamen and their officers were often caught within a bureaucratic maze. Disgruntled militia privates under George's command deserted en mass when dissatisfied with their commander, denied furlough, or conscripted into the regular Confederate armies. George's personal and official correspondence offers a window into ground-level militia operations.

Although an imperfect and incomplete source base, original State Troop muster rolls—used in conjunction with the Confederate Compiled Service Records—allow researchers to uncover the composition of Civil War militia companies.[75] Original militia

[74] 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; James Z. George Papers, MDAH.

[75] The Confederate Compiled Service Records were created at the turn of the twentieth century by the United States War Department. "Original Confederate documents in the custody of the War Department were transcribed verbatim. These original documents included muster rolls, hospital registers, prisoner-of-war rolls, and other records. The majority of the War Department

muster rolls are located at the Mississippi Department of History and Archives in Jackson, Mississippi or in local archives scattered across the state.[76] Militia records are in varying degrees of completeness and not all muster rolls are dated or include unit designation. For example, only one surviving muster roll remains of Henley's Invincibles, a militia company organized in the spring of 1861.[77] These extremely incomplete document collections are of limited use and cannot form the foundation of any quantitative study. Yet, some militia companies have surprisingly complete records. A few militia officers, such as the commander of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, diligently completed morning reports and regularly noted absences, desertions, and furloughs.[78] These militia records are as complete and comprehensive as any regular Confederate regiment.

The complete State Troops muster rolls, Confederate Compiled Service Records, and 1860 census data from the foundation of the quantitative study found in Chapter II "Homeward Bound: Militiamen's Localized Conception of Service." Using muster rolls and the Confederate Compiled Service Records, a random ten-percent sample of militia privates and non-commissioned officers was assembled based on complete regiment and

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Collection of Confederate Records came into the custody of the War Department through capture and surrender during and at the end of the Civil War. Additionally, the War Department purchased some Confederate records in the post-war period, and also accepted donations." After compiling data, the War Department created cards detailing each soldier's military experiences. These records are by no means complete. Given the exceptionally incomplete nature of Mississippi Confederate records, however, the Compiled Service Records offer one of the most comprehensive sources of information on Mississippians who served in the Civil War. DeAnne Blanton, email message to author, July 20, 2016.

[76] Muster roll, unknown company, undated, Old Vicksburg Courthouse Archive and Museum, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

[77] Henley's Invincibles, Harrison County, Muster and Pay Roll, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.

[78] 3rd Battalion Minute Men, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.

battalion muster rolls, which frequently included between one-thousand and twelve hundred members. After assembling this sample population, the Compiled Service Records were used to track desertion, absenteeism, discharges, and furloughs. The 1860 census, used in conjunction with muster rolls, provides a portrait of the militiamen's socioeconomic status, pre-war occupations, age, marital status, and connection to slavery. This data shows that Civil War militiamen hailed from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, ranging from extremely wealthy planters to middling-yeoman farmers to impoverished tenant farmers. Heads of households, especially married men with young children, often wished to remain in Mississippi for the war's duration and formed the backbone of the militia forces.

Militiamen, based on their pre-war experiences, occupations, and societal positions, had a localized understanding of military service. Chapter II demonstrates that Mississippi militiamen were a representative cross-section of their community. Both wealthy slaveholders and destitute tenant farmers volunteered or faced conscription into the state militia forces. In order to leave the service, men from all backgrounds had to apply for discharge, desert, or temporally leave the unit without permission. Few were punished for their absenteeism. Almost all militiamen were farmers in 1860. Still attempting to tend to their farms despite Union invasions, militiamen regularly deserted or requested leave from their units at harvest time. In addition to farming duties, the average militiaman, as a married man with children between thirty and forty-five years of age, was burdened with personal responsibilities on the home front. While these citizen-soldiers avoided Confederate military service, the militiamen's sons, brothers, neighbors, and close friends frequently enlisted in regular Confederate regiments. Militiamen, while

not disloyal to the Confederacy, valued personal property, local community, and family above the Confederate cause.

During the war, the Mississippi state legislature and both governors exercised control over the Mississippi State Troops. Chapter III, "A Grand Standing Army or the Militia?: Mississippi's Mismanagement of the State Troop" considers the state's handling of their militia forces. This chapter argues that the bureaucratically over-burdened militia system undermined the organization's efficiency and encouraged militiamen to abandon their posts. Contrary to militiamen's localized conception of service, Mississippi created a centrally-controlled military system that placed men in organized camps of instruction far from their communities for months at a time. Mississippi, overburden by other wartime demands, lacked the infrastructure to pay, arm, or manage their standing militia forces. Realizing the shortcomings of Mississippi's militia system, civilians quickly became disillusioned with their local militia company. Moreover, citizen-soldiers themselves often became disheartened and found Mississippi's military system utterly incompatible with their understanding of militia service. Frustrated by the state's inefficacy, bored in camp, and longing for their family, many militiamen left their units to return home well before their terms of enlistment expired.

Chapter IV, "Farmers or Soldiers?: Civilians' and Confederate Soldiers' Perceptions of the Militia," considers Mississippi civilians' and Confederate soldiers' perceptions of the militia. Newspapers, regularly expressing the sentiments of Mississippi civilians, uniformly mocked the motley militiamen. Aside from a few months in 1861, southern civilians and regular Confederate soldiers criticized the Mississippi State Troops. This chapter demonstrates that Mississippians on the home

front and in Confederate uniform preferred men to join regular Confederate armies or simply remain at home and uninvolved in the war. Young men, unburdened by family obligations and physically fit for military service, were encouraged to enlist in Confederate regiments rather than shirk their national duty by hiding in state militias. Mississippians, however, preferred older men, household heads, married men with children, and farmers to avoid militia service altogether and remain in their communities. Instead of languishing in militia camps, these men on the home front could harvest crops to feed civilians and soldiers, prevent slave uprisings, maintain local businesses, and protect women and children. The militia, according to the majority of civilians and Confederate soldiers, either sheltered able-bodied young men from proper military duty or unnecessarily tore older men and farmers away from their communities in times of crisis.

Chapter V, "From Maligned to Revered: Post-War Remembrance," follows the militiamen into the postwar period. This chapter contends that, in the postwar decades, the maligned militiamen evolved into "Confederate veterans" and revered symbols of the Lost Cause. Citizen-soldiers and their commanders equated their time in the Mississippi State Troops with Confederate service more broadly. Citizen-soldiers, similar to their neighbors who had enlisted as regular Confederate soldiers, joined local chapters of Confederate veterans' organizations and subscribed to veteran's magazines. Families and descendants proclaimed militiamen's "Confederate service" on tombstones in cemeteries across the state. For example, militia private Micajah Wilkinson commemorated his military service for the remainder of his life despite his inglorious militia record. Although he never joined the regular Confederate army, Wilkinson's tombstone

proclaims his glorious Confederate service in the "Co. C, 2 Regt, Mississippi State Troops, Confederate States Army" and his status as a revered Confederate veteran.[79] For the sake of their post-war careers in politics, wartime government officials and high-ranking militia commanders often distanced themselves of the bureaucratic aspects of the Mississippi State Troops. Nonetheless, militia commanders and privates alike sought to claim the status of "Confederate veterans."

[79] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for Micajah Wilkinson (January 10, 1823- January 7, 1907), Rowland Wilkinson Cemetery (Amite County, Mississippi), http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=21912752&PIpi=98825625 (Last Accessed: August 3, 2016).

CHAPTER II – HOMEWARD BOUND: MILITIAMEN'S LOCALIZED CONCEPTION OF SERVICE

Like many of his affluent neighbors, forty-five-year-old J. M. Knight moved to Madison County, Mississippi, during the early nineteenth-century and, by 1860, had accumulated several slaves and vast landholdings.[80] Although financially prosperous, Knight experienced personal tragedy. During the late 1850s, his wife, Elizabeth, passed away, leaving Knight a widower with two young daughters. Ending his career as a Baptist clergyman, Knight dedicated himself to farming and raising his children. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Knight had no one to manage his slaves and vast estate or care for his daughters. As a result, he enlisted as a private in Company I of Colonel Benjamin King's 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men instead of joining a regular Confederate regiment, which would remove him from his farm and family.[81]

In Copiah County, deep within the piney woods of south-central Mississippi, thirty-five-year-old H. H. Thompkins worked a small plot of rented farmland. Comprised of 7,432 white residents and 7,968 slaves, Copiah County contained elite planters,

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[80] Madison County, Mississippi, in the central region of the state, prospered during the early nineteenth century. Established on January 29, 1828, the county's population rose steadily and Canton, the county seat, became one of Mississippi's largest cities. Fertile soil attracted planters to the region and, by 1860, 5,260 white Southerners and 18,118 enslaved African Americans lived and worked in Madison County. J. M. Knight is listed as J. S. Knight is some enlistment records. United States Bureau of the Census, 1850 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860).

[81] In 1860, Knight owned $11,000 in real estate, $10,000 in personal wealth, and seven slaves. Knight was an upper-class southern and respected member of society. United States Bureau of the Census, 1850 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1850); United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860); United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Mississippi* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903 – 1927); Muster Roll, July 4, 1862, Company I, 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men; Undated 1862-1863, MDAH.

yeoman farmers, and poor, landless tenants, like Thompkins. Growing subsistence crops, Thompkins worked his leased land, but never accumulated much wealth, holding only $200 in 1860. Despite his poverty, the farm supported his wife and their five young children. As an older man, breadwinner, farmer, and head of household, Thompkins was tied to Copiah County and, presumably, did not want to endanger his family's well-being or livelihood by leaving home for months or even years at a time. Therefore, he did not enlist in the Confederate army. He did, however, serve as a private in Company A, 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men.[82]

Civil War militia companies reflected the communities from which they were drawn. Wealthy planter J. M. Knight and landless farmer H. H. Thompkins brushed shoulders within the enlisted ranks of Colonel Benjamin King's 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men. Despite hailing from opposition end of the socioeconomic spectrum, these men bore striking similarities. As older men in their thirties and forties, Knight and Thompkins were established heads of household with large families to support. As a widower without extended family nearby, Knight was the sole provider and caretaker of his two young daughters. Likewise, meager wages from the farm protected Thompkins, his wife, and children from utter destitution. Knight oversaw slaves producing cash crops on his vast estate while Thompkins or his family performed manual labor on their rented land. Both men, however, worked in agriculture in 1860. An exceptionally labor-

[82] Thompkins did not own real estate or slaves, but held only $200 in personal wealth in 1860. His circumstances were typical of a poor militiaman. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903 – 1927); muster roll, July 2,1862, Company A, 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

intensive and seasonal occupation, Knight and Thompkins needed to remain on their lands, planting, tending, and harvesting crops even during wartime. Burdened with personal obligations, both Knight and Thompkins joined the state militia instead of the national Confederate army.[83]

Mississippi militiamen held a localized conception of military service based on their pre-war lives, occupations, and positions within southern society. Hailing from a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds, these citizen-soldiers were a representative cross-section of their communities. Militia service did not disproportionately fall to the destitute members of society; the Civil War was not a rich man's war, a poor man's fight. Wealthy slaveholders, yeoman farmers, and impoverished tenants alike served in the Mississippi State Troops. Regardless of class background, the average Mississippi militiaman was a vital member of his household and local community. Almost all of the state's militiamen were in their mid-thirties or forties. As a result, the majority of these middle-aged, married men had several children and supported extended family during the war. Most cultivated the rural Mississippi countryside for a living, but a substantial minority ran important community businesses. While these citizen-soldiers avoided regular Confederate military service, their sons, brothers, neighbors, and close friends often enlisted in regular Confederate regiments. The militiamen of the Magnolia State expressed loyalty to the Confederacy. These men, however, were encumbered by home

[83] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules.

front responsibilities and unable to leave their homes and communities for extended durations.[84]

Figure 1. Personal Wealth and Real Estate, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men.

A statistical portrait of Mississippi militiamen reveals vast economic diversity. Militia muster rolls rarely contain detailed information about soldiers' personal background or economic situations. Instead, the names of Mississippi militiamen were

[84] Several historians have directly connected Confederate military duty to the southern home front, see Aaron Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virgini*a (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Chandra Manning, *What this Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007).

collected using original muster rolls and the Confederate compiled service records. Then personal wealth and real estate value, collected from the 1860 census, were combined to determine men's socioeconomic status. Some families were not included in the census. As a result, economic classes of some militiamen remain unknown; it is likely that these men hailed from poor, lower, or middle-class families. These income brackets are based on historian Joseph T. Glatthaar's analysis of General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. In his study Glatthaar notes, "guidelines for the lower, middle, and upper classes are fairly subjective, they are based on my knowledge of the data and the time period in consultation with other leading scholars in the field. In discussion with Dr. James McPherson, we agreed on the $800 demarcation of total wealth for the lower end of the income bracket. . . . The top end of the income bracket was set liberally at $3,999, which in many cases would enable someone to own up to three slaves. [Civil War Historian] Garry Gallagher, who also reviewed the statistics, has suggested that $3,999 might be too high."[85] Despite this criticism, few Mississippi militiamen with incomes under $3,999 held slaves and, for the purpose of this study, Mississippi militiamen holding between $800-$3,999 in personal wealth and real estate are classified as members of non-slaveholding, southern yeomanry. Glatthaar offers the most detailed statistical analysis of the Confederate army to date.[86] Therefore, using these specific

[85] Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia: A Statistical Portrait of the Troops Who Served under Robert E. Lee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 140

[86] Joseph T. Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: The Free Press, 2008); Joseph T. Glatthaar, "Everyman's War: A Rich and Poor Man's Fight in Lee's Army," *Civil War History* 54, No. 3 (September 2008): 229-246; Joseph T. Glatthaar, "A Tale of Two Armies: The Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and the Union Army of the Potomac and their Cultures," *Journal of Civil War Era* 6, No. 3 (September 2016): 315-346.

income brackets allowed Mississippi Militiamen to be compared to regular Confederate soldiers.

Table 1

Socioeconomic Status of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men

Wealth (Combined Personal Wealth and Real Estate)	**Class Status**	**Number of Militiamen (n)**	**Percentage of Sample Population (%)**	**Cumulative Percentage (%)**
$0-399	Poor	11	16.42%	16.42%
$400-799	Lower Class	3	4.48%	20.90%
$800-1,199	Lower-Middle Class	8	11.94%	32.84%
1,200-3,999	Upper-Middle Class	17	25.37%	58.21%
$4,000- 10,000	Upper Class	11	16.42%	74.63%
$10,000-24,999	Elite	8	11.94%	86.57%
$25,000	Upper Elite	9	13.43%	100%
Unknown	Unknown	35	(not calculated in total percentage)	

Table 2

Socioeconomic Status of Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi Men (1864)

Wealth (Combined Personal Wealth and Real Estate)	**Class Status**	**Number of Militiamen (n)**	**Percentage of Sample Population (%)**	**Cumulative Percentage (%)**
$0-399	Poor	9	25.71%	25.71%
$400-799	Lower Class	1	2.86%	28.57%
$800-1,199	Lower-Middle Class	0	0%	28.57%
1,200-3,999	Upper-Middle Class	6	17.14%	45.71%
$4,000- 10,000	Upper Class	9	25.71%	71.42%
$10,000-24,999	Elite	6	17.14%	88.56%
$25,000	Upper Elite	4	11.43%	99.99%
Unknown	Unknown	18	(not calculated in total percentage)	

Reflecting the diversity of Mississippi society, Southerners from all economic classes served in local militia companies. In the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, at least sixteen percent of men were lower class and approximately twenty-five percent were respectable members of the southern middle class. At most, twenty-six percent of militiamen were upper class or elites.[87] Socioeconomic status mattered little and militia companies reflected the broader social composition of Mississippi.[88] Shared cultural and

[87] The economic classes of some men remain unknown; it is likely that these men hailed from poor, lower, or middle-class families.

[88] For analysis of economic class in Mississippi see, Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Bradley G. Bond, "Headers, Farmers, and Markets on the Inner Frontier: The Mississippi Piney Woods, 1850-1860," in Samuel C. Hyde, ed., *Plain Folk of the South Revisited* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997); William Kauffman Scarborough, *Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-Nineteenth Century South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003); Dennis J. Mitchell, *A New History of Mississippi* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014), 133-135.

social beliefs often defined mid-nineteenth-century social classes and indicated the formation of a unique class conscience.[89] Nonetheless, a statistical breakdown of wealth within the South in 1860 allows Mississippi militiamen to be compared to the large southern population.[90] In 1860, approximately half of southern families were lower class, thirty-percent were members of the of the middle class, and twenty percent were wealthy members of the upper class.[91] Lower, middle and upper-class Southerners served together in the Mississippi State Troops without regard to antebellum wealth.

Table 3

Socioeconomic Status of Southern Society in 1860[92]

Wealth (Combined Personal Wealth and Real Estate)	**Class Status**	**Percentage of Sample Population (%)**
$0-799	Poor/Lower Class	50.5%
$800-3,999	Middle Class	30.1%
Over $4,000	Upper Class	19.4%

[89] Historians of the nineteenth century often define class based on occupations or a set of shared cultural and social values. For works examining the cultural and social elements of class, Jonathan Daniel Wells and Jennifer R. Green, eds. *The Southern Middle Class in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011); Jonathan Daniel Wells, *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class, 1800-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina University Press, 2004); Jennifer R. Green, *Military Education and the Emerging Middle Class in the Old South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[90] Using the Integrated Public Microdata Series (IPUMS), Civil War historian Joseph T. Glattharr developed a statistical analysis if wealth within the South in 1860. As the most comprehensive statistical portrait of southern wealth, Glattharr's data is used to compare Mississippi militiamen with southern society at large. Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 140.

[91] Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 140.

[92] Statistical data on southern wealth gathered from Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 140.

Table 4

Socioeconomic Status of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men Compared to Southern Society in 1860

Wealth (Combined Personal Wealth and Real Estate)	Class Status	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Militia Sample Population (%)	Percentage of Southern Society (%)
$0-799	Poor/ Lower Class	17	16.19%	50.5%
$800-3,99	Middle Class	25	23.89%	30.1%
Above $4,000	Upper Class	28	26.67%	19.4%
Unknown (Most likely members of the lower or middle class)	Unknown Class Status	35	33.33%	

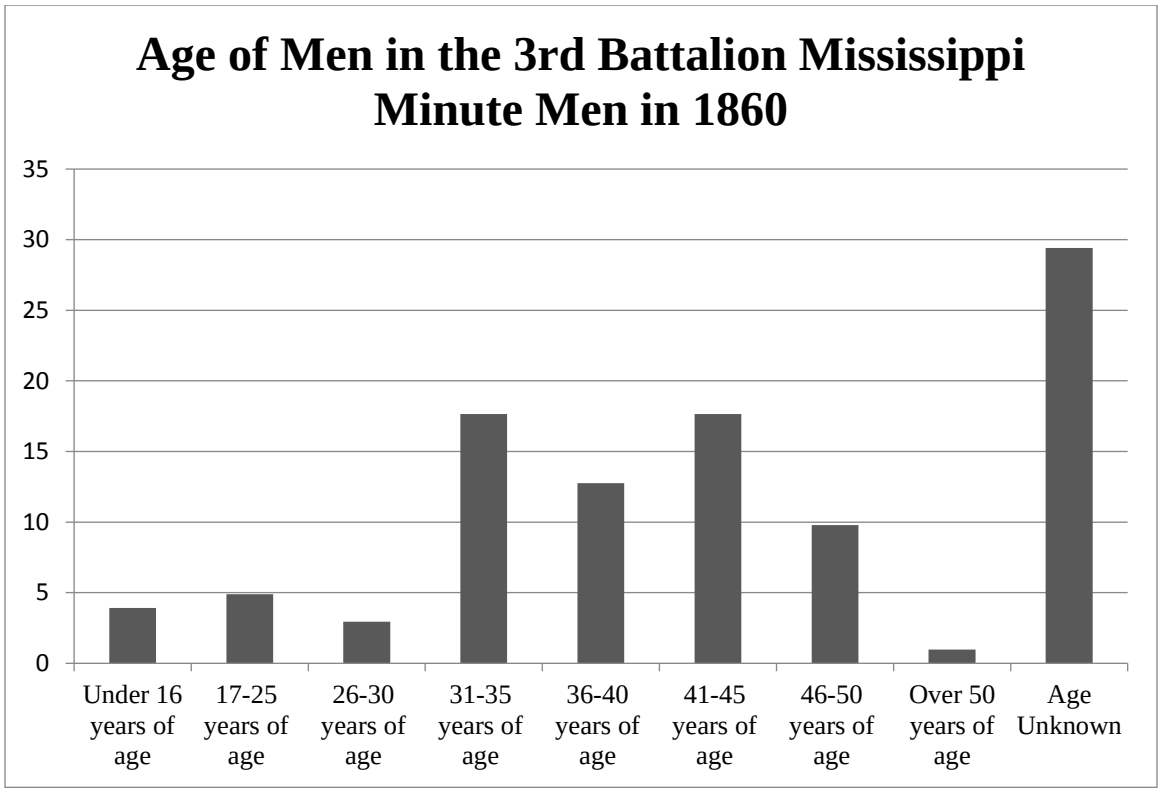

Figure 2. Age of Men in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men in 1860.

On average, Mississippi militiamen were older than regular Confederate soldiers. Unencumbered youths in their late teens and early twenties rushed off to war large numbers in spring and summer of 1861. Compelled by duty and honor and without family, occupational, or community responsibilities, the median age for regular Confederate enlistees in 1861 was just twenty-two years of age.[93] Twenty-year-old George Webb of Baton Rouge, Louisiana worked as a farm hand in 1860. As an unmarried man with limited responsibilities, he bid his mother, Amelie, goodbye and moved northward to join Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Regular Confederate soldiers, like George Webb, were often young, single men unfettered by family ties or work obligations.[94]

Table 5

Ages of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men

Age	**Number of Militiamen (n)**	**Percentage of Sample Population (%)**	**Cumulative Percentage (%)**
Under 17 years old	4	3.92%	3.92%
17-25 years old	5	4.90%	8.82%
26-30 years old	3	2.94%	11.76%
31-35 years old	18	17.65%	29.41%
36-40 years old	13	12.75%	42.16%
41-45 years old	18	17.65%	59.81%
46- 50 years old	10	9.80%	69.61%
Over 50 years old	1	0.98%	70.59%
Unknown	35	29.41%	100%

[93] James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), viii. The average age for Confederate soldiers was 26.5 years of age.

[94] Joseph T. Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: Free Press, 2008), 398-399.

Table 6

Ages of Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi Men

Age	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Sample Population (%)	Cumulative Percentage (%)
Under 17 years old	1	1.92%	1.92%
17-25 years old	3	5.77%	7.69%
26-30 years old	4	7.69%	15.38%
31-35 years old	6	11.54%	26.92%
36-40 years old	9	17.31%	44.23%
41-45 years old	9	17.31%	61.54%
46- 50 years old	4	7.69%	69.23%
Over 50 years old	0	0.00%	69.23%
Unknown	16	30.78 %	100.01%

Mississippi militiamen, however, represented a different demographic. Considerable older than Confederate army volunteers, most Mississippi citizen-soldiers were in their late thirties or forties. The average member of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men was thirty-six-years-old in 1860.[95] The median age of men in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men was exactly thirty-six. Statistical analyses of other militia companies offer similar results. In the 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, the average age was thirty-eight and the median age was twenty-nine. The median age among men in the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men was slightly lower at thirty-eight.[96] Older men comprised the majority of militia forces, and just ten percent of the 3rd

[95] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; muster rolls, 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[96] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; muster rolls, 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

Battalion Mississippi Minute Men was under thirty years of age.[97] At thirty-five years of age, Joseph Allen supported his pregnant wife, five young children, and Charles Hall, a fifteen-year-old who boarded with the family.[98] As a head of household, family man, and farmer, Allen did not rush off to war in 1861. Instead, he remained on his farm in Starkville and never joined the Confederate army. Allen did, however, became a private in the local militia company in 1861, living at home and regularly practicing military maneuvers in his community. In the late summer of 1862, the Mississippi government mobilized militias from across the state. The Starkville militia company became Company E, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and Private Allen, along with other men from Oktibbeha County, left their homes and marched forty miles north to a militia camp.[99] Militiamen in their late thirties and forties had extensive families, personal responsibilities, and established occupations. As vital members of southern communities, these men sought to remain within the state during wartime.

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[97] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[98] Although unspecified in the 1860 census Charles Hall, who attended school, may have been a boarder or a laborer for the family. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[99] As an upper-middle-class farmer, Allen had $2,000 worth of real estate and $2,000 in his personal estate. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860); Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi*, 510. United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Mississippi* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903 – 1927). The Company E muster rolls could not be found. They are not located at Oktibbeha County Heritage Museum in Starkville, Mississippi, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History in Jackson, Mississippi, or in the National Archives and Record Administration in Washington D.C. When available, original muster rolls and pay vouchers were compared to the Compiled Service Records. In cases where original muster rolls were not available, the Compiled Service Records were used.

Table 7

Marital Status of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men

Marital Status	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Sample Population (%)
Married	53	76.81%
Single	16	23.19%
Unknown	33	(not calculated in total percentage)

Table 8

Marital Status of Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men

Marital Status	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Sample Population (%)
Married	24	68.57%
Single	11	31.43%
Unknown	35	(not calculated in total percentage)

The overwhelming majority of Mississippi citizen-soldiers, as thirty and forty-year-old men, supported wives and children. W. C. Nelson, a thirty-six-year-old planter, was married with three children. He had absolutely no intention of leaving his family or plantation but was drafted into Captain E. W. Lacey's militia. Forced to leave the community against his will, Sergeant Nelson left his wife and children on their rural plantation as he marched off to camp.[100] Fearful of wartime hardships and deprivation, militiamen with domestic responsibilities wanted to stay with their families. Nonetheless, Mississippi active duty militia service habitually tore married men from their local communities. Over three-fourths of men left a spouse behind when the 3rd

[100] In 1860, Nelson had eighteen slaves, $25,000 in personal wealth, and $12,000 in real estate in Lowndes County, Mississippi. Muster rolls, company D, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

Battalion Mississippi Minute Men mobilized in the early fall of 1862.[101] After leaving home a militiaman mailed his wife an emblem of his love and commitment, "a curl of your best friends [sic.] hair . . . & a sprig off [sic.] evergreen. I want you to pin this sprig, quaetering [sic.] a cross your heart & a wear it as long as it stays green."[102] Once again in 1864, the Mississippi government mobilized the militia. Approximately sixty-nine percent of married men in the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops marched off to camp, forsaking wives and children.[103] As married men with family obligations, Mississippi citizen-soldiers were apprehensive about their family's welfare, safety, and security as war engulfed the state.

Although characteristic of militiamen, only one-fourth of regular Confederate soldiers were married at the time of their enlistments. Without marital obligations or children to support, single men could leave their communities without disrupting society. Therefore, mostly single men, who lacked personal obligations, joined national Confederate armies such as Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Although missed by neighbors and relatives, communities functioned without these young, single Southerners.[104] Men who enlisted in regular Confederate forces after 1861, however, often had additional family and personal responsibilities tethering them to the southern home front. Approximately half of later-enlisting Confederates were married at the time

[101] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[102] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 29, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[103] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[104] Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army*, 18.

of their enlistment.[105] Facing additional home front burdens and responsibilities, Confederate regulars and militiamen with spouses occasionally needed to return to their families, which directly shaped married men's perceptions of service and their military record.

Table 9

Family Status of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men

Family Status	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Sample Population (%)
Has Children	50	75.63%
No Children	17	25.37%
Unknown	35	(not calculated in total percentage)

Table 10

Family Status of Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops

Family Status	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Sample Population (%)
Has Children	25	73.53%
No Children	9	26.47
Unknown	21	(not calculated in total percentage)

As married men, over three-fourths of Mississippi militiamen supported children in 1860.[106] In contrast, only twenty-forty percent of regular Confederate soldiers had dependent children when they enlisted during the opening years of the war. By the later war period, married men entered regular Confederate service at a higher rate, but, even in

[105] Noe, *Reluctant Rebels,* 15.

[106] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

1864, fathers comprised only forty-percent of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.[107] Most militiamen, unlike the majority of regular Confederate soldiers, had married and, with their wives, had several children in the 1840s and 1850s.[108] These citizen-soldiers, as parents of several children, expressed poignant emotional ties to their families. Longing to be close to loved ones, several militiamen snuck away from their militia camp to visited family or friends and others wrote lengthy letters home.[109] In the closing line of his letter, a militia private expressed his love and longing for his wife and sons, "give my compliments to my Father & Mother & brothers & sisters & Aunt Deonam . . . & except [sic.] a double portion for yourself & dear little boys, [I] remain you [sic.] affectionate Micajah."[110] Missing his son's important milestones, Micajah Wilkinson hoped "that he will get harty [sic.] & learn to walk before long."[111] Unlike single men, fathers feared for the personal safety, welfare, and financial security of their wives and children during the war. Dependents bound many Southerners to their families

[107] In his study on later enlisting Confederate soldiers, Kenneth Noe claims that forty-one percent of men were married. Noe, *Reluctant Rebels*, 15; Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 127.

[108] Nonetheless, some widowers supported children and a few newly married couples were childless, which slightly altered the percentage of men with dependents. For example, in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, fifty-three men were married, but only fifty had children. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[109] The letters of many Mississippi militiamen have not been preserved. Thus, historians must rely on the few letter collections that have survived. Niles, Diary of Jason Niles, UNC, Documenting the American South, Digital Collection, 86, 41; Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 30, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[110] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 30, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 29, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[111] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 21, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

and communities, which often deterred them from entering regular Confederate service.[112]

Table 11

Heads of Households of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi State Troops

Household Status	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Sample Population (%)
Head of Household	52	77.61%
Dependent	15	22.39%
Unknown	26	(not calculated in total percentage)

Table 12

Heads of Households of Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops

Household Status	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Sample Population (%)
Head of Household	26	74.29%
Dependent	9	25.71 %
Unknown	20	(not calculated in total percentage)

In addition to their status as married men and fathers, Mississippi citizen-soldiers often occupied essential roles within their family units as heads of households. Unlike most Confederate soldiers, three-fourths of militiamen, as heads of southern households, bore family, personal, and financial obligations.[113] Burdened by home front responsibilities, these heads of housebound struggled to manage household finances and support large families during the war. One, town doctor Richard G. Wharton provided

[112] Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 134.

[113] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

for his wife, six children, eight slaves, and a fifty-six-year-old woman at his Port Gibson, Mississippi residence. His occupation offered a very comfortable salary, yet wartime inflation disrupted the southern economy, cause even wealthy families to face wartime shortages.[114] By 1870, Wharton had endured the death of his wife had lost over half his fortune.[115] After departing for duty, a militia private from Liberty, Mississippi instructed his wife on basic financial and household matters. "I want you to hold on to all the money that you can until I give you further advice you must not let the horses & hogs suffer for water . . . you must be as saving of corn as you can," he reminded Mary.[116] As heads of households, militiamen's primary wartime duty was to look after their family and run their households. Thus, these men's loyalty to the Confederacy and duty to the state as citizen-soldiers occupied a secondary position.[117]

In contrast, the majority of regular Confederate soldiers lacked familial responsibilities, allowing them to focus on their military duties. As younger men, just starting out, half of Confederate soldiers had not yet established independent households. Living with their parents' or in an employers' residence alleviated these young, single men from many household and financial responsibilities. Holding the fewest

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[114] In 1860, Wharton held $5,000 in real estate, $7,000 in personal wealth, and eight slaves. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, company D, 2nd Battalion State Troops, MDAH.

[115] By 1870, Wharton only had $2,500 in real estate and $300 in personal wealth. United States Bureau of the Census, 1870.

[116] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 30, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 29, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[117] Holding duel loyalties, Mississippians were devoted to their families and the Confederacy. Jarret Ruminski, "Southern Pride and Yankee Presence: The Limits of Confederate Loyalty in Civil War Mississippi, 1860-1865," PhD Diss., (Alberta, Canada: University of Calgary, 2012).

responsibilities in society, communities and households could spare these young men for active duty military service in the regular Confederate army. Across the Confederacy, young men, free from household responsibilities, left home to fight in the regular Confederate army under Robert E. Lee. James D. Gillman, a twenty-two-year-old laborer, left his mother's home in Amherst County, Virginia to join the Lynchburg Artillery in April 1861. As one of seven children, Gillman's three older brothers remained at home to care for their aging mother and manage the household. Likewise, William Herring, from a large and wealthy slaveholding family in North Carolina, had a limited role on the plantation. Thus, Herring enlisted in the 3rd North Carolina Cavalry and left home without fearing for the security of his parents or siblings. The overwhelming majority of these unmarried, childless Confederate soldiers, who were not the main household breadwinner, did not fear for the financial security of their loved ones at home. Therefore, these young, single Southerners could leave their communities to join the regular Confederate army without jeopardizing their family's wellbeing.[118]

[118] Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army*, 19.

Table 13

Occupations of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men

Occupation	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Sample Population (%)
Farmer or Planter	45	64.29%
Overseer	7	10%
Student	4	5.71%
Craftsmen or Skilled Laborer	5	7.14%
Professional or Businessmen	4	5.71%
Unskilled Laborer	5	7.14%
Unknown	32	(not calculated in total percentage)

In addition to their role as husbands, fathers, and heads of households, militiamen occupied vital roles within their communities. Farmers and planter accounted for fifty-three percent of Mississippi's white working population in 1860.[119] Many of these men enlisted in their local militia companies instead of joining regular Confederate forces because militia service allowed Southerners to remain within the state, closer to their families and farms. Farmers in Marion County realized their unique role within the community. William J. Rankin, the commander of Marion's Men explained:

> I am at the head of a company of men in this (Marion) County numbering about seventy men, nearly all of whom are married men of small means, sober and industrious citizens – who want to lend a helping hand in defending our Country. . . . Now the most of my company have to work in field to make corn in the spring and early summer, but in the fall and winter, say for 7 months they can go forth to fight. Is there any place for such a company? . . . We are willing to fight to the end of the war should it last for years, if we could get time in the spring to make bread for our families – every man of us but three are farmers.[120]

[119] 49,406 Mississippians worked as farmers or planters in 1860. The aggregate population in the census was 93,298. Therefore, fifty-three percent of the state worked in agriculture before the war. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[120] William J. Rankin, Marion County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 12, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

Similar situations occurred in militia companies across the state. More than half of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and over eighty-percent of the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men worked the land in 1860.[121] As agriculturalists, citizen-soldiers occupied an important role within the Confederacy's agrarian-based economy. Thus, militiamen could not leave their farms unattended for extended durations of time.

Table 14

Occupations of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men Compared to Occupations in Mississippi

Occupation	**Number of total population in 1860 (n)**	**Percentage of Total population In 1860 Census (%)**	**Number of Militiamen (n)**	**Percentage of Sample Population (%)**
Farmer or Planter	49,406	52.96%	45	64.29%
Overseer	3,950	4.23%	7	10%
Student	2,246	2.41%	4	5.71%
Craftsmen or Skilled Laborer	12,258	13.14%	5	7.14%
Professional or Businessmen	9,345	10.02%	4	5.71%
Unskilled Laborer	15,571	16.69%	5	7.14%

A notable minority of militiamen worked as overseers, skilled laborers, and professionals before the war. Overseers, who controlled the Mississippi slave population, joined militia companies in order to remain in the state. Less than five percent of

[121] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

Mississippians worked as overseers in 1860, while ten-percent of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men were employed in this field.[122] Even during wartime, southern communities need overseers, skilled laborers, and professionals. Militia mobilization in 1864 pulled a Hinds County schoolteacher from his classroom, disrupting the education of many students.[123] Employed as a blacksmith in Newton County, S. S. Hughes marched off to war with the 1st Battalion State Troops, leaving a wife, three children, an elderly woman, and seven slaves behind.[124] In addition to serving in the militia, forty-nine-year-old Irvin M. Fortinberry worked as the Marion County treasurer, school treasurer, community mailman, and served on the Board of Police attending "to the destitute families of Volunteers who are already in the service and have executed Bond as Treasurer in that case Which requires at least half my time to attend to those needy families."[125] Mississippi towns could not function without these men, thus they enlisted in militia companies and resented leaving their local communities. Civilians and citizen-soldiers wanted farmers, planters, overseers, craftsmen, and white-collar workers to remain on the home front.[126]

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[122] 3United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[123] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster roll, company A, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[124] S. S. Hughes owned $800 in real estate, seven slaves, and $7,400 in personal wealth. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster roll, company D, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[125] Ivin M. Fortinberry, Columbia, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 13, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[126] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), June 27,1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 19, 1862; Robert Farish, Carroll County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 15, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

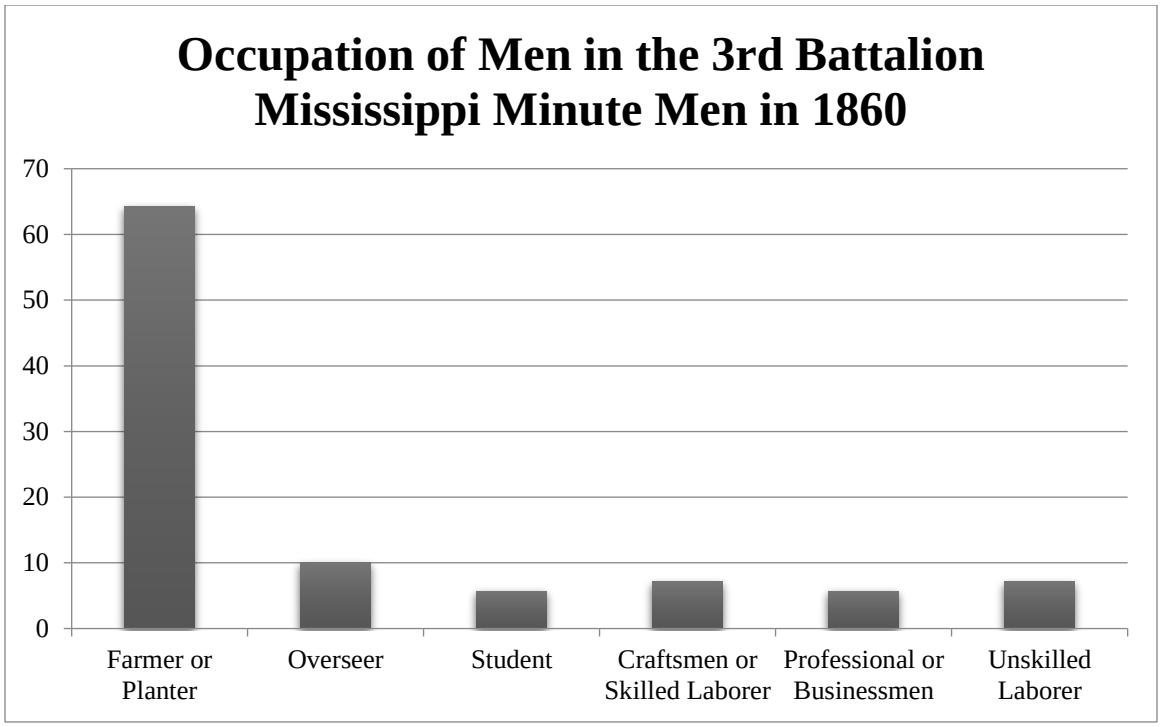

Figure 3. Occupations of men in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men in 1860

Absent from militia companies were unskilled laborers and young students. In comparison, unskilled laborers comprised thirteen percent of soldiers in Robert E. Lee's army. Likewise, students made up fourteen percent of the Army of Northern Virginia. [127] In contrast, just seven percent of men were unskilled laborers in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and only six percent of militiamen attended school before the war.[128] Elisha Knox, a destitute fisherman in his early fifties, joined the militia as a substitute. Lacking financial security and a stable occupation, Knox willingly left his

[127] Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 5.

[128] See, "Occupations of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men," 52. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

community and served the active duty militia.[129] Unencumbered by social obligations based on their antebellum occupation, unskilled laborers and young students mainly enlisted in regular Confederate companies or served as militia substitutes. Militia duty fell mostly to established community members.

Given their youth, many regular Confederate soldiers lacked established careers and listed themselves as unskilled laborers or students on the 1860 census.[130] Approximately fifty-five percent of soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia farmed their own property or their families' land prior to enlistment.[131] Farmers, or the children of farmers, rushed to join the army during the early years of the war. In 1861 and 1862, approximately half of soldiers who enlisted in the Army of Northern Virginia worked the land. Older Confederate soldiers, meanwhile, had well-established antebellum careers within their communities, but men over forty comprised only five percent of Robert E. Lee's army.[132] Realizing the need to manufacture goods and feed Southern armies, fewer farmers joined the ranks of Lee's army during the later war period. By 1864, only thirty-nine percent of new recruits tilled the land and fewer than four percent worked as skilled laborers.[133] Although requiring men to serve as Confederate soldiers and provide wartime

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[129] At fifty-years-old, Knox had no real estate, personal wealth, or slaves. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, Company C, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[130] Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 115, 121; Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army*, 18.

[131] Glatthaar, "A Tale of Two Armies," 328.

[132] Sixty-six percent of Lee's soldiers who were over forty years of age labored as farmers and fifteen percent worked as professionals before the war. Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 115, 4.

[133] Glatthaar, *Soldiering in the Army of Northern Virginia*, 100. According to Kenneth Noe's study of later enlisting Confederates, at least thirty-seven percent owned farmland and thirty-three percent worked as landless tenants. Noe, *Reluctant Rebels*, 17.

military protection, southern communities also need older men to remain in their communities to ensure local stability, control slaves and prevent starvation.

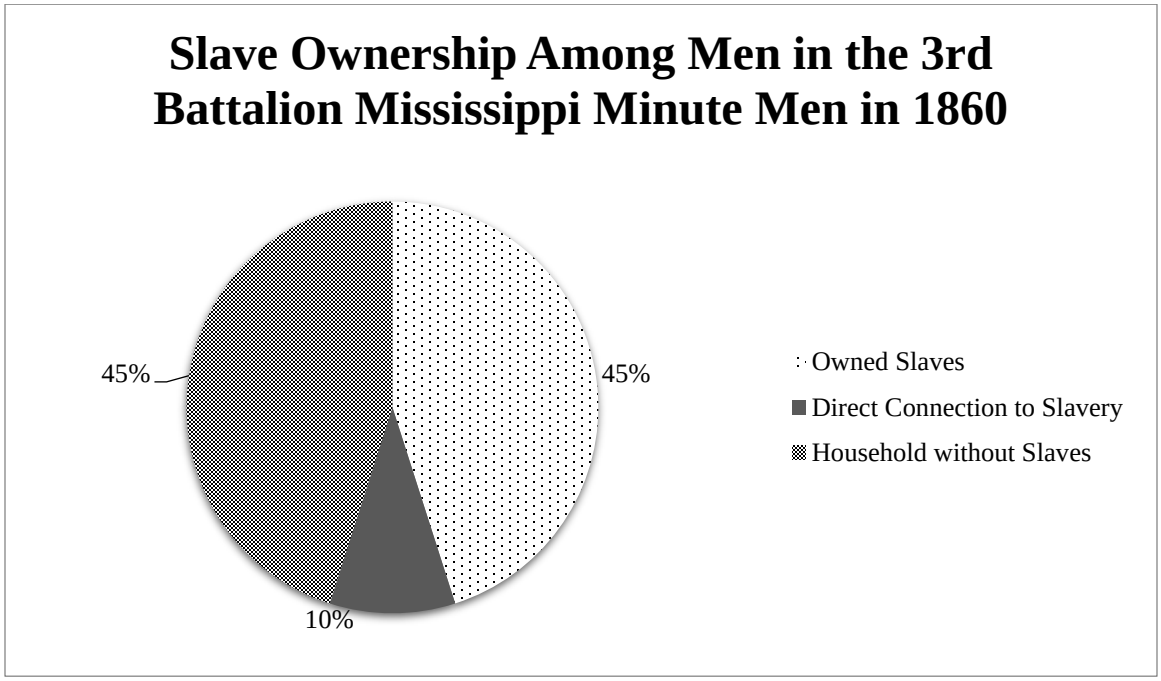

Figure 4. Slave Ownership Among Men in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men in 1860

Table 15

Slave Ownership of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men

Slave Ownership	**Number of Militiamen (n)**	**Percentage of Sample Population (%)**
Non-Slaveholding	32	45.07%
Direct Connection to Slavery (Overseer or Lived in a Household with slaves)	7	9.86%
Owned Slaves	32	45.07%
Unknown	31	(not calculated in total percentage)

Table 16

Slave Ownership of Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops

Slave Ownership	**Number of Militiamen (n)**	**Percentage of Sample Population (%)**
Non-Slaveholding	14	40.00%
Direct Connection to Slavery (Overseer or Lived in a Household with slaves)	3	8.57%
Owned Slaves	18	51.43%
Unknown	31	(not calculated in total percentage)

Around half of Mississippi militiamen and Confederate soldiers had direct connections to slavery. As one of the largest slaveholding families in Noxubee County, L. W. Walker owned 139 slaves and $170,000 worth of real estate in 1860. Walker's eighteen-year-old son, William, remained on the plantation. Instead of enlisting in the Confederate army, William Walker, a member of the slaveholding elite, joined the local militia company.[134] Even Southerners without slaves sometimes had a direct connection to slavery. Forty-one-year-old James Wilborn never owned slaves, but he worked as an overseer on W. C. Nickles's plantation before being drafted into the militia.[135] In the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, forty-five percent of the men owned slaves and an

[134] In 1860, L. W. Walker was an elite planter in Noxubee County, Mississippi. In addition to owning 139 slaves and $170,000 in real estate, the family held $230,000 in personal wealth. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, Company C, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[135] His last name can be spelled as "Wilborn" or "Wilburn." United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, Company D, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

additional ten percent worked as overseers or lived within slaveholding households.[136] As slaveholders and overseers, Mississippi militiamen supported the peculiar institution and had a vested interest in the success of the Confederacy.[137]

Table 17

Number of Slaves Owned by Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men

Number of Slaves	**Number of Militiamen (n)**	**Percentage of Sample Population (%)**	**Cumulative Percentage (%)**
Owned 1-5 Slaves	12	37.50%	37.50%
Owned 6-10 Slaves	8	25.00%	62.50%
Owned 11-15 Slaves	3	9.38%	71.88%
Owned 16-20 Slaves	2	6.25%	78.13%
Owned Over 20 Slaves (Upper Class)	7	21.89%	100.02%

[136] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[137] In addition to preserving slavery, Chandra Manning's *What this Cruel War Was Over* also notes Southerners' personal motivations. Confederates, she argues, believed that their personal dignity and the safety of their family depended on the survival of the Confederacy and the peculiar institution. Chandra Manning, *What this Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 32-39.

Table 18

Number of Slaves Owned by Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi Men (1864)

Number of Slaves	Number of Militiamen (n)	Percentage of Sample Population (%)	Cumulative Percentage (%)
Owned 1-5 Slaves	6	33.33%	33.33%
Owned 6-10 Slaves	3	16.67%	50.00%
Owned 11-15 Slaves	0	0%	50.00%
Owned 16-20 Slaves	3	16.67%	66.67%
Owned Over 20 Slaves (Upper Class)	6	33.33%	100.00%

Drawn from a diverse slave society, Mississippi militiamen ranged from yeoman farmers owning just one slave to upper-class planters holding over a hundred enslaved African-Americans. Approximately thirty-five percent of slaveholding militiamen owned between one and five slaves.[138] As small farmers, these men used slave labor to assist with household and field labor. Before the war, thirty-two-year-old James M. Sandefer's three slaves, his wife, and four children worked a modest farm in Lowndes County, Mississippi.[139] Likewise, in Chickasaw County, forty-one-year-old William Lanham most likely used his six slaves to assist with farm work.[140] Over half of the slaveholding

[138] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[139] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, Company D, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[140] William Lanham was drafted into the militia. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

militiamen owned ten or fewer slaves.[141] Elite slaveholders, owning over 250 slaves, did not regularly appear within the ranks of the Mississippi militia.[142] Nonetheless, numerous upper-class planters—those owning more than twenty slaves—found themselves serving Mississippi, and the Confederacy, as militiamen.[143] William Walker's father held 139 slaves on his expansive Noxubee County plantation. Likewise, in Noxubee County, Randal McLeod owned eighty enslaved African-Americans.[144] In the fall of 1862, both Walker and McLeod joined the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men. Even those militiamen who did not personally own slaves had direct connections to Mississippi's slave society. Although lacking personal wealthy and real estate, a militia private from Monroe County worked as an overseer managing a wealthy planter's ninety-five slaves.[145] It is quite clear that slave-owners from a range of class backgrounds served in the Mississippi militias.

[141] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[142] William Kauffman Scarborough defines elite planters as those owning over 250 slaves. Few southerners, however, fell within these parameters. Scarborough, *Masters of the Big House*, 3-4.

[143] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[144] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

[145] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, Company A, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

Figure 5. Number of Slaves Owned by Men in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men in 1860.

Representing a cross-section of their local communities, at least half of militiamen did not own slaves.[146] William Mouton, a private in Company B, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, owned a mid-sized farm in Monroe County.[147] The yeoman did not own slaves; therefore, Mouton, his wife, and/or their six children worked the land. Non-slaveholding militiamen farmed their plots of land without the assistance of enslaved African-Americans. Male labor shortages, induced by wartime demands, disrupted the lives of these non-slaveholders. Many southerners, therefore, struggled to

[146] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[147] William Mouton was a forty-four-year-old farmer before the war. He had $1,000 worth of real estate and $5,044 in personal wealth. He did not own slaves. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, Company B, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

manage their lands during harvest and planting seasons. Tethered to the home front by work and family responsibilities, middle-aged southern men often joined local militias instead of enlisting in the Confederate army, which would move them far away from their homes and farms. Although sometimes removing citizen-soldiers from their local communities, militia service kept men within the state, providing opportunities to receive official leave or desert to return home to work at harvest time.

Overall, Mississippi militiamen greatly differed from regular Confederate army volunteers. Although socioeconomically diverse, Mississippi militiamen were typically older than the young Confederate volunteers of 1861. Often in their thirties and forties, approximately three-fourths of citizen-soldiers were married men with children in 1860. As household heads, these men had family and personal responsibilities that tied them to the Magnolia State. Moreover, Mississippi citizen-soldiers often occupied vital roles within their communities. As farmers and planters, militiamen needed to tend their fields, providing much-needed sustenance for citizens and Confederate soldiers. In order to preserve and policies the South's slave society, white men, especially planters and overseers, needed to remain on the home front. Therefore, these civilians often resented militia mobilization, which removed a substantial number of white men from their communities.

Mississippi Militiamen in the Midst of Civil War

Joseph Willis Allen married Martha Ann Williams on December 30, 1848, in Bibbs County, Alabama. After the birth of their daughter, the small family relocated to Mississippi, eventually settling in Starkville, in the northern-central section of the state. Although illiterate, Joseph Allen and his wife purchased a small farm and, in time, the family achieved middle-class prosperity.[148] Martha had twins in 1852 and bore several more children in quick succession. By 1860, Joseph Allen's household contained his pregnant wife, five young children, and Charles Hall, a fifteen-year-old who boarded with the family.[149]

As a thirty-five-year-old household head and farmer, Allen did not rush off to war in 1861. Despite the war-fever sweeping the state, he remained in Starkville. Instead of joining the Confederate army, he became a private in the local militia company in 1861, practicing military maneuvers in his home community. In the late summer of 1862, the Mississippi government mobilized militias across the state. The Starkville militia company became Company E, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and entered active service in September of that year. Allen (along with other men from Oktibbeha County) left his home and marched forty miles north to a militia camp in Okolona.[150]

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[148] As an upper-middle-class farmer, Allen had $2,000 worth of real estate and $2,000 in his personal estate. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[149] Although unspecified in the 1860 census Charles Hall, who attended school, may have been a boarder or a laborer for the family. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Bureau of the Census, 1850 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1850); Ancestry.com. *Alabama, Marriage Index, 1800-1969* [database on-line]. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006; United States Bureau of the Census, 1870 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1870).

[150] Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi*, 510. United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Mississippi* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903 – 1927). The Company E

With the Union army attacking Vicksburg, state government officials placed the 3rd Battalion Minute Men under the command of Confederate Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton. Allen dutifully followed orders and, in November 1862, traveled with his unit to Vicksburg. In June 1863, however, his children became ill. After hearing the news, Allen, a father, abandoned his unit and returned home. Nonetheless, he willingly returned to the militia once his children sufficiently recovered. Bearing an explanatory letter from the local Justice of the Peace, militia commanders pardoned Allen for his illegal absence. With his family in good health, Allen faithfully served until the unit surrendered at Vicksburg on July 4, 1863, earning $91.00 for his loyal service.[151]

Frequently, militiamen's marital status, age, antebellum occupation, and socio-economic status directly affected their military service records. To legally avoid militia service, many dissatisfied militiamen applied for military discharges or temporary furloughs. Hiring a substitute was another common, socially acceptable method to obtain release. Although against military regulations, men, hailing from various class backgrounds, deserted or took "French leave," temporarily abandoning their unit without permission. Few militiamen received punishment for their illegal absenteeism. Southerners used both officially sanctioned and illegal means to remain in their community and avoid active duty militia service far from home. Furthermore, some citizen-soldiers disobeyed orders that contradicted their localized conception of militia service. At times, Confederate commanders, seeking to wage a national war, ordered

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muster rolls could not be found. They are not located at Oktibbeha County Heritage Museum in Starkville, Mississippi, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History in Jackson, Mississippi, or in the National Archives and Record Administration in Washington D.C.

[151] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

members of the Mississippi State Troops to leave their county of residence. In turn, a few militiamen simply refused or deserted their posts. Despite their unsoldierly behavior, Unionist sentiment did not flourish within the ranks of the Mississippi State Troops. Rather, militiamen expressed loyalty to the Confederate cause. Ultimately, citizen-soldiers held localized conception of service based on their antebellum experiences and personal circumstances, which directly affected their wartime record.

Volunteers and draftees, who needed or wanted to return to their communities, could request official discharges papers from state officials in Jackson, Mississippi or national leaders in Richmond, Virginia.[152] Numerous Confederate soldiers and state militiamen claimed exempt status—for both fraudulent and legitimate reasons.[153] Members of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men were not strangers to discharge requests; approximately thirty-three percent of the men originally in the unit were released before their term of service expired in the summer of 1863.[154]

[152] Unfortunately, official military records often do not list the reasons for men's discharges. Nonetheless, militia records indicate the commonality of discharge among members of the Mississippi Minute Men and the State Troops.

[153]Although focusing on Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, Joseph T. Glatthaar offers the best analysis of Civil War discharges. Confederate soldiers frequently applied for medical exemptions. Fraudulent medical claims overwhelmed the Confederate system, which prompted the Medical Department to tighten military regulations and discharge requirements. Some men in Lee's army sought release for religions objections—as conscious objectors or pacifists. In contrast to these regular Confederate soldiers, no Mississippi militiamen sought a discharge based on religious beliefs and pacifism. Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army*,398-399.

[154] One hundred and two men were in the ten percent sample population. Thirty-six men requested discharges. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

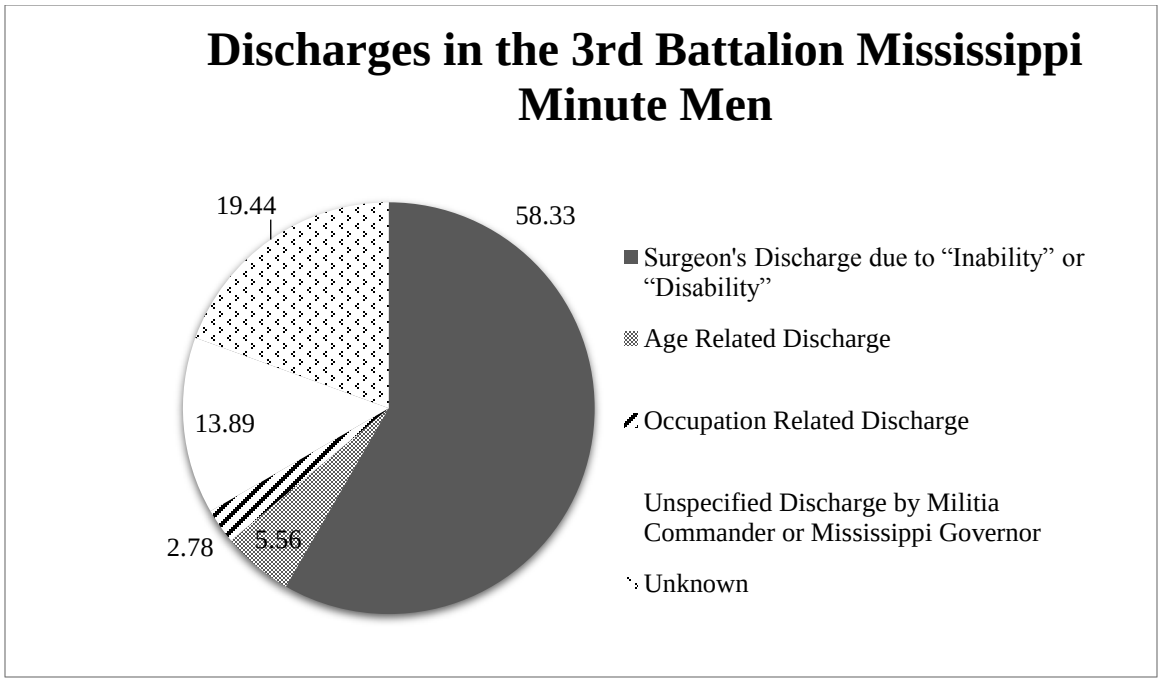

Figure 6. Discharges in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men.

Reasons for exemption differed according to men's individual circumstances, but the majority of Mississippi militiamen requested medical discharge certificates.[155] Older than most Confederate enlistees, the average member of the militia was thirty-six-years-old in 1860.[156] As a result, these older men often suffered soreness or illness after practicing military drilling or sleeping outdoors in a militia camp. After a few weeks in camp, private Micajah Wilkinson, at thirty-nine-years-old, could barely walk as a result of a sore foot, "my foot still keeps sore, if anything it is worse than it was when I left

[155] For examples of men who received medical discharges, see 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[156] See, "Ages of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men, 46.. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; muster rolls, 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

home."[157] Regimental surgeons, after conducting physical examinations, issued exemptions to fifty-eight percent of the Mississippi militiamen due to "inability" or "disability."[158] For example, medical professionals found Private J. H. Holloway, a forty-four-year-old, lower-class farmer, unfit for camp life and active duty.[159] Socioeconomic status did not influence medical discharges. Forty-eight-year-old, Private J. T. Jackson owned thirteen slaves and a small plantation in Monroe County. He, too, received a medical discharge in the fall of 1862.[160] Given their advanced age, militiamen could not physically withstand the rigors of military service.[161]

Fraudulent medical claims also transpired as some demoralized militiamen alleged infirmity in order to avoid serving.[162] The sudden increase in medical exemptions, which ensued after the 1862 mobilization of the Mississippi State Troops,

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[157] Wilkinson became ill several times during his militia service. Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 7, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, March 20, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. For additional mentions of illness in militia camps see, Micajah Wilkinson, Jackson, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, July 28, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah, Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[158] Thirty-six men in the sample population requested discharges. Twenty-one of these were discharged with a regimental surgeon's certificate indicating "inability" or "disability." Thus, exactly 58.33 percent were discharged because of age of inability. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[159] Muster Rolls, Company F, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[160] Muster Rolls, Company B, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[161] Later-enlisting Confederate soldiers, who were slightly older than the young Confederate enlistees of 1861, suffered from the effects of ill health. Older men's health prevented them from serving in combat and remaining in the ranks. Kenneth Noe, *Reluctant Rebels*, 11, 197-198.

[162] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 27, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 12, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. Petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to James Z. George, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH. Confederate soldiers also abused medical discharge requests; see, Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army*, 398.

vexed militia commanders. "Even protest is seized upon to secure an exemption," Mississippi Brigadier General James Z. George reported, "diseases have suddenly developed to a most alarming rate, outside appearances are nothing, so termed stout looking, active men are afflicted with some deadly malady."[163] Illegitimate medical discharges demonstrated a disconnect between Mississippi's official militia policy and militiamen's localized conception of service. Longing to return home using any means available, militiamen would feign illness, risking official punishment or commanders' wrath. In doing so, militiamen indicate their profound desire to remain in their local communities.

Table 19

Ages of Discharged Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men in 1860

Ages	**Total number of Militiamen in Sample Population (n)**	**Militiamen Receiving a Discharge (n)**	**Percentage (Men Receiving a Discharge/ total number) (%)**
Under 17 years old	4	0	0.00%
17-25 years old	5	2	40.00%
26-30 years old	3	1	33.33%
31-35 years old	18	8	44.44%
36-40 years old	13	3	23.08%
41-45 years old	18	11	61.11%
46-50 years old	10	5	50.00%
Over 50 years old	1	0	0.00%

In addition to medical exemptions, Mississippi government officials sometimes excused men over fifty years of age. Six percent of privates in the 3rd Battalion

[163] James Z. George, Batesville, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 3, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

Mississippi Minute Men received a release based on age.[164] Forty-nine-year-old W. T. Barry served as a private in Company D, but instead of drilling in camp with his unit, Barry worked in a commissary store. After turning fifty in March 1863, Barry collected his payment from the state and returned to his family's farm in Lowndes County.[165] Although far less common than medical exemptions, the state did, at times, excuse some men over fifty from the hardships of militia duty.

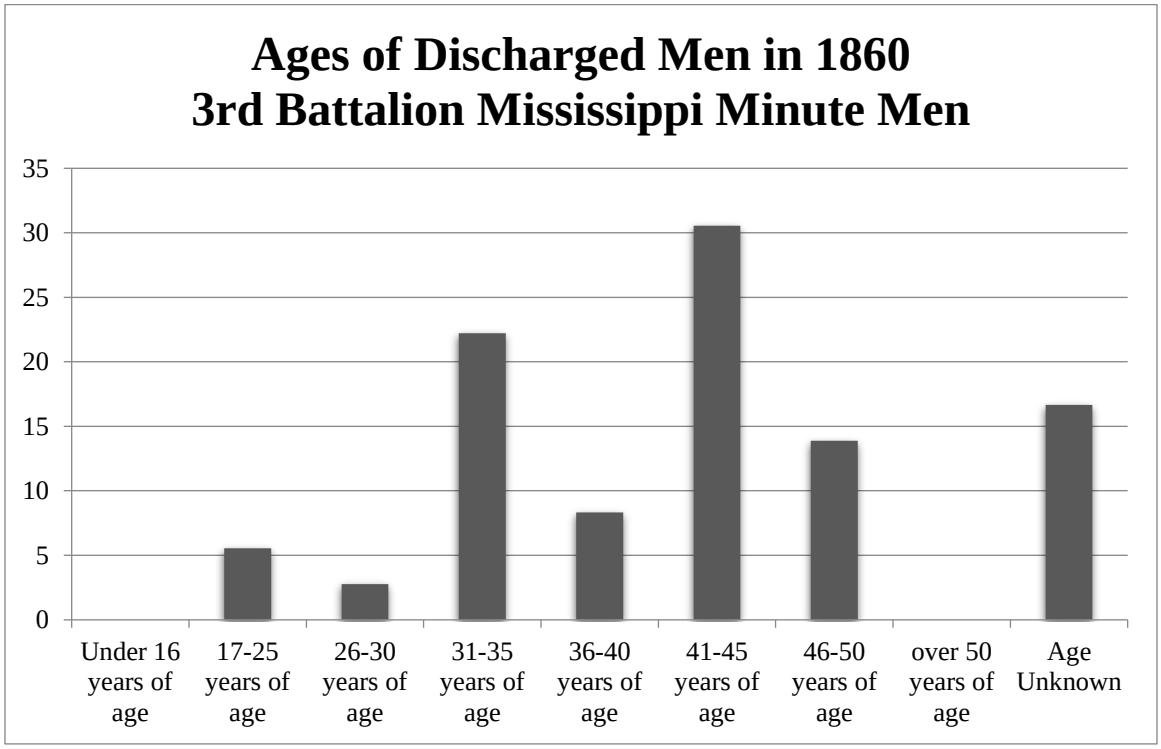

Figure 7. Ages of Discharged Men in 1860 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men.

[164] Only, two men received discharges based on age out of the thirty-six men discharged from the 3rd Battalion Minute Men. Thus, age accounted for a mere 5.56 percent of discharges. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[165] W. T. Barry owned $1,500 worth of real estate and $1,600 in personal wealth. He did not own slaves. He was married with five children at the time of his enlistment. Muster Rolls, Company D, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

At times, citizen-soldiers also petitioned high-ranking militia commanders or the governor for release. Those requests were sometimes granted. For example, Governor Pettus and militia General Davis discharged fourteen percent of the men in the 3rd Battalion Minute Men.[166] Pettus permitted James Hardwood Duke, a destitute farmer from Lowndes County, to leave his militia unit.[167] Likewise, Warren Harrell, an exceptionally wealthy planter, and slaveholder, received a discharge notice from his commanding officer on August 12, 1862.[168] While personal or professional affairs seemingly prevented these men from serving in the Mississippi Minute Men, the precise reason behind these men's discharges remains unknown.

[166] Three out of thirty-six men received an exemption from Pettus. Two out of thirty-six men received an exemption from a high-ranking militia commander. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[167] James Hardwood Duke was thirty-three-years-old. He did not own property nor have any personal wealth. Muster Rolls, Company D, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[168] In his mid-forties, Warren Harrell owned twenty-nine slaves, $20,000 in real estate, and had $35,000 in personal wealth. Muster Rolls, Company D, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860.

Table 20

Wealth of Discharged Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men

Wealth (Combined Personal Wealth and Real Estate)	**Class Status**	**Total number of Militiamen in Sample Population (n)**	**Militiamen Receiving a Discharge (n)**	**Percentage (Men Receiving a Discharge/ Total Number) (%)**
$0-399	Poor	11	6	54.45%
$400-799	Lower Class	3	1	33.33%
$800-1,199	Lower-Middle Class	8	3	37.50%
$1,200-3,999	Upper-Middle Class	17	10	58.82%
$4,000- 9,999	Upper Class	11	3	27.27%
$10,000-24,999	Elite	8	4	50.00%
Above $25,000	Upper Elite	9	5	55.56%

Table 21

Slave Ownership of Discharged Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men

Slave Ownership	**Total number of Militiamen in Sample Population (n)**	**Militiamen Receiving a Discharge (n)**	**Percentage (Men Receiving a Discharge/ Total Number) (%)**
Non-Slaveholding	32	15	46.86%
Direct Connection to Slavery (Overseer or Lived in a Household with slaves)	7	0	0.00%
Owned Slaves	32	14	43.75%

The state also granted discharge requests to men hailing from a variety of backgrounds. Age seemingly had a seemingly nominal influence on exemptions, as men

of all ages returned to their communities before their terms of service expired.[169] Moreover, the state did not favor slaveholders or the exceptionally wealthy with militia exemptions.[170] Out of thirty-six militiamen released from service, forty-two percent owned slaves and thirty-nine percent were non-slaveholders.[171] Warren Harrell owned twenty-nine slaves and a lavish plantation in Chickasaw County. Meanwhile, George Ethridge was a yeoman farmer who supported his family without the assistance of slave labor. Both Harrell and Ethridge procured discharges.[172] Status as an exceptionally wealthy businessman or slaveholder, therefore, did not guarantee release. The poor were not unjustly burdened with militia duty.[173]

In the 3rd Battalion Minute Men, at least three percent of privates received a discharge directly based on their antebellum occupations.[174] Ely Hubbard was a forty-

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[169] Age varied considerably among the discharged members of the 3rd Battalion Minute Men. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[170] Rich and poor men fought alongside one another in the militia and in the Confederate army. For a discussion of slave ownership in the Army of Northern Virginia, see Joseph T. Glatthaar, "Everyman's War: A Rich and Poor Man's Fight in Lee's Army," *Civil War History* 54, No. 3 (September 2008): 229-246.

[171] Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[172] In his mid-forties, Warren Harrell owned twenty-nine slaves, $20,000 worth of real estate, and had $35,000 in personal wealth. Newly married, George Ethridge had $800 worth of real estate and $300 in personal wealth. Muster Rolls, Company F, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; Muster Rolls, Company C, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860.

[173] Militia discharges do not indicate class conflict. Historians, including David Williams, contend that wealthy Southerners received exemptions or paid poor men to serve in their place, which instigated class-based conflict within the Confederacy. The Civil War, according to this author, was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. David Williams, *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998).

[174] One out of thirty-six men received an exemption based on their per-war occupations. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

two-year-old schoolmaster before being drafted into the local militia company. His occupation was vital to the Noxubee County community; thus, the state quickly granted his discharge request on September 18, 1862.[175] Although occupational status accounted for few known discharges in the 3rd Battalion Minute Men, numerous citizen-soldiers needed to work on the home front instead of serving in active duty militia companies. Torn between militia duty, family responsibilities, and community obligations, several officers and enlisted men of the 1st Battalion Minute Men petitioned the governor, requesting permission to leave militia service if their occupations benefited the community.[176] Numerous men individually wrote the governor begging for militia exemptions based on their antebellum or wartime professions. Arguing their important roles within their communities, A. Leafstrand, a tanner and shoemaker in Winchester, and G. M. Wincoff, owner of a wagon and blacksmith shop in Abbeville requested release from militia duty.[177] Meanwhile, residents of Scott County collectively petitioned for the discharge of Isaiah Roberts, their local shoemaker.[178] Moreover, many Mississippians wanted white men to remain on the home front to control enslaved African-Americans, prompting several overseers and slaveholders to request militia exemptions.[179] Local

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[175] Living with a local merchant, Ely Hubbard worked as a schoolteacher in Noxubee County, Mississippi. He held $5,000 in personal wealth in 1860. Muster Rolls, Company C, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860.

[176] Petition, 1st Battalion Minute Men, Mississippi, undated, 1st Battalion Minute Men, MDAH.

[177] A. Leafstrand, Winchester, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 6, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; G. M. Wincoff, Abbeville, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, October 30, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[178] Petition, Scott County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 6, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[179] John Handy, Canton, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 3, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; William J. Brent, Holmesville, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 4,

government officials, teachers, doctors, and ministers also applied for discharges.[180] Even in the midst of Civil War, local officials needed to enforce law and order, schoolchildren needed to be educated, and congregations needed religious instruction. Mississippi civilians requested that these critical members of society remain at home, even during wartime.

1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Mrs. Hodges, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 26, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Samuel Magurder, Madison County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 8, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Thomas W. Harris, Columbus, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 4, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; William J. Brent, Holmesville, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 4, 1863, Correspondence and Papers; G.D. Moore, Noxubee County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 19, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Edward C. Eggleston, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 16, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Moses S. Steed, Warren County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 7, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Arch Brown, Desoto County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 15, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; J. W. Carroll, Lexington, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 21, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. For examples of civilians expressing fear of slavery revolt and requesting slave masters and overseers be returned to their community see, *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), June 27, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 27,1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 26, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 19, 1862.

[180] Militiamen or other community members often petitioned the governor for militia exemptions or discharges based on occupation. For examples, see Wilson Ferral, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 21, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Dr. A. Cox, Columbus, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, December 22, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Daniel McWilliams, Lauderdale County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, December 26, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; M. R. Clark, Brookhaven, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 19, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; H. W Curtis, Carroll County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 20, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; William Delay, Oxford, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 29, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Samuel Gilbert, Jefferson County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 29, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; F. B Paden, Dalton, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 1, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Isaiah Roberts, Scott County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 2, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; S. F. Smurr, Ebenezer, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 2, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; A. Leafstrand, Winchester, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 6, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

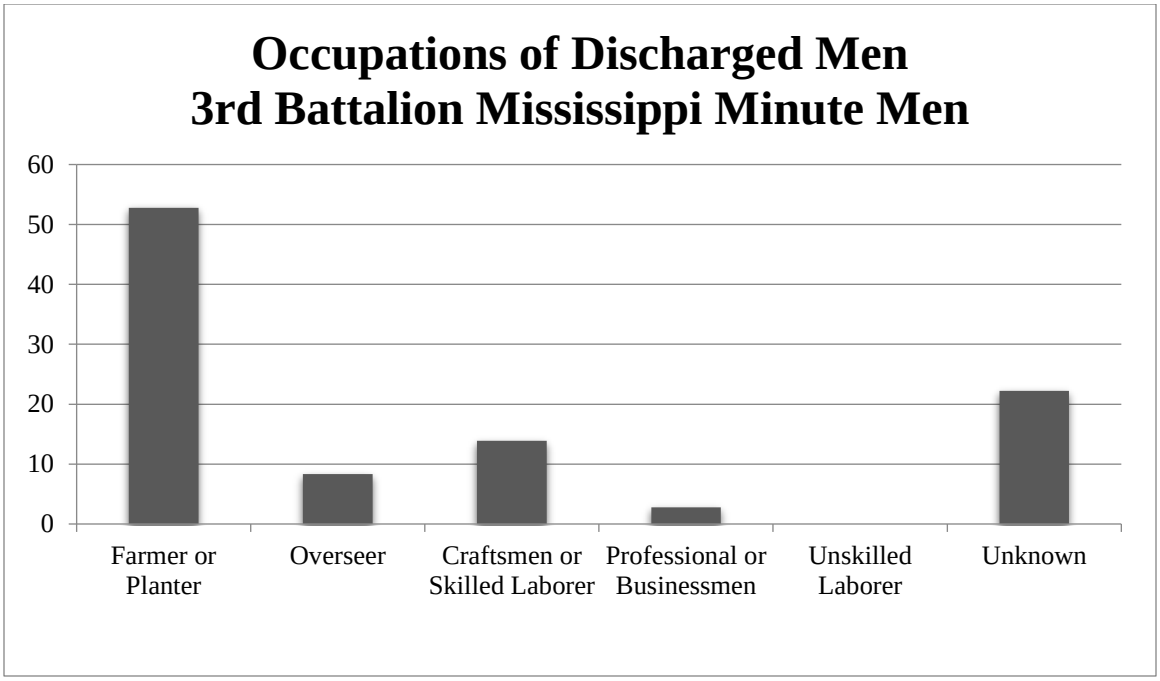

Figure 8. Occupations of Discharged Men 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men.

Table 22

Occupations of Discharged Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men

Occupation	Total number of Militiamen in Sample Population (n)	Militiamen Receiving a Discharge (n)	Percentage (Men Receiving a Discharge/ Total Number) (%)
Farmer or Planter	45	19	42.22%
Overseer	7	3	42.86%
Student	4	0	0.00%
Craftsmen or Skilled Laborer	5	5	100%
Professional or Businessmen	4	1	25.00%
Unskilled Laborer	5	0	0.00%

Some militiamen received releases based on their roles within southern society. Vital community members were more likely to receive discharges than non-essential

residents. Over half of the discharged Mississippi militiamen were farmers or planters in 1860.[181] This situation was unique to militia service; in Richmond, Virginia, Confederate politicians and Eastern Theater commanders rarely exempted farmers from regular Confederate service.[182] Many Mississippians thought citizen-soldiers needed to till the land in order to supply sustenance to both Confederate soldiers and local civilians instead of sitting aimlessly in militia camps.[183] Disillusioned civilians concluded, "what good are they doing? Why keep them in camp? . . Now is the very time they should be at home, getting their plantations in order, preparing their lands for seed, and making all the necessary arrangements for a big crop."[184] Active military duty, according to Mississippians, was not militiamen's primary responsibility. Instead, civilians expected militiamen to maintain order and stability on the home front, only shouldering a rifle during times of extreme crisis.[185]

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[181] Nineteen out of thirty-six men received an exemption based on their pre-war occupations as a farmer or planter. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[182] Only eight percent of conscripted farmers, railroad workers, and millers in Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia received exemptions. Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army*, 402.

[183] Several newspapers expressed concern over militiamen's inability to plant crops and the impact such a food shortage would have on the population. See, *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), August 15, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 19, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), June 27, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 13, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 27, 1863; *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee), February 28, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), November 7, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 13, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), April 3, 1863; *Tri-Weekly Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), December 22, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 3, 1863; *Daily Clarion* (Meridian, Mississippi), April 1, 1864; *Natchez Weekly Currier* (Natchez, Mississippi), June 14, 1862; *Daily Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), April 2, 1863.

[184] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 27, 1863.

[185] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 27, 1863.

Table 23

Heads of Households of Discharged Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi State Troops

Household Status	Total number of Militiamen in Sample Population (n)	Militiamen Receiving a Discharge (n)	Percentage (Men Receiving a Discharge/ Total Number) (%)
Head of Household	52	27	51.92%
Dependent	15	7	46.67%
Unknown	26	8	30.78%

As dedicated community members and household heads, some militiamen requested temporary leave to visit home. A least sixteen percent of men in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men obtained a brief furlough. Men's reasons for returning home remain largely unknown; sixty-three percent were furloughed for unspecified reasons.[186] Regardless of their reasoning, Mississippi militiamen petition for release more often than often than young, single Confederate soldiers serving in the national armies.[187] Feeling an overwhelming sense of responsibility to their families, militiamen—throughout the war—applied for discharges to support ailing parents, wives, or children. Soon after Mississippi's secession in January 1861, militia Private James A. Porter requested temporary leave to visit his ailing mother in Pennsylvania.[188] Likewise,

[186] Sixteen men out of one-hundred-and-two men in the sample population received leave. \Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[187] In her study of women and African-Americans in the Confederacy, Stephanie McCurry argues women exerted political influence by petitioning state and Confederate political leaders for relief. Responding to the pressure of wives and husbands, some men also petitioned national leaders and Confederate commanders for release, which undermined the southern war effort. McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning,*135-177.

[188] James A. Porter, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 16, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

a militiaman from Monticello reported the poor condition of families in Lawrence County.[189] Facing a deteriorating home front and family crises, the 4th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men collectively petitioned Governor Pettus for assistance, requesting leave to care for their families.[190] Numerous officers of the 1st and 3rd Regiment Mississippi Minute Men acted similarly, begging the governor for a fifteen-day furlough to attend to family matters.[191] Others simply missed the comforts of home and kinship. Private B. A. Smith, a member of the 5th Mississippi State Troops, asked if the militia could be disbanded for the Christmas holiday.[192] Given their status as married men with dependents, militiamen remained intensely loyal to their families.

Even with the assistance of slaves, maintaining farms and plantations required extensive labor, which prompted militiamen, over half of which were farmers, to request discharges during planting and harvest seasons. "What is to become of my little crop & wherewith shall we feed, not only our own family but the families of volunteers (and they are numerous) which have been left on our hands & under our protection? . . Want and Famine is to threaten not only the wives & weeping little ones of those in tented fields, but the army itself is in danger of being rendered meager by reason of the diserted [sic.] fields & untilled crops," a militiaman prophesied.[193] Many citizen-soldiers, employed as

[189] M.M. Fortinberry, Monticello, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, December 1, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[190] Petition, 4th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 16, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[191] Petition, officers of the 1st and 3rd Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, Mississippi to John J. Pettus and T. C. Tupper, undated, 1st Regiment Minute Men, MDAH.

[192] B. A. Smith, Columbus, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, December 11, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[193] Richard Winter, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 6, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

farmers, individually requested short-term leave to gather crops.[194] Aware of the consequences of militia callouts, Mississippi commander James Z. George requested that Governor Pettus furlough all militiamen at harvest time. Failing to heed George's timely advice, Pettus instead offered to "try and arrange for the African militia to gather the crops."[195] This was not the solution Mississippians desired, as white Southerners already feared slave rebellion.[196] Questioning the ability of unsupervised slaves, most planters doubted if "the crops of corn [can] be made & housed . . . if left to the management of improvident & thriftless class as our negroes."[197] The overwhelming majority of militiamen farmed the Mississippi countryside, prompting many of them to request seasonal discharges because of farming responsibilities.[198]

The state also issued furloughs to infirm militiamen, permitting them to leave undersupplied militia camps and return home to regain their strength. In the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, at least thirty-one percent of combatants received excused absences to recover from the debilitating effects of illness.[199] Granted a brief reprieve

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[194] James B. Ross, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 8, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[195]John K. Bettersworth, ed., *Mississippi in the Confederacy: As They Saw it and Seen in Retrospect* (Baton Rouge: Lousiana State University Press, 1961), 100; James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, October 31, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[196] James Z. George, Batesville, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 3, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Richard Winter, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 6, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[197] Richard Winter, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 6, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[198] For an occupational breakdown of the Mississippi militia, see "Occupations of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men," 58. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[199] Five out of sixteen furloughed men in the sample population were given leave due to illness. One man received a furlough following a promotion and the remaining ten men were discharged for unknown reasons. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

from militia camps and combat duty, these men returned to their homes and received medical care from their families. At forty-six-years-old, militia Private P. H. Burrow became unwell while stationed at Okolona. Undersupplied Mississippi surgeons lacked medicine to adequately care for troops in camp, thus ill men, including Burrow, received sick leave to travel home.[200] After sufficiently recovering, Burrow returned to camp, briefly took French leave, and then remained with the unit until its demobilization in March 1863.[201] A lack of supplies prevented ill militiamen from residing in militia camps.

Union and Confederate conscription policies allowed men to legally avoid military service by offering a substitute.[202] This practice also applied to state militias. The Mississippi government permitted militiamen to return home when they provided a replacement; substitutes were a common presence within Mississippi militia units that

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[200]A. K. Brantley, Vicksburg, Mississippi to T. A. Burgin, July 1, 1863, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[201] Muster Rolls, Company C, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[202] Confederate substitution remains an understudied topic rife with outdated assumptions and misconceptions. Historians who have tackled this subject often portray principals as disloyal men who lacked Confederate nationalism and shirked their duty. Their substitutes, eager for generous payment bounties, often deserted long before seeing combat. Others scholars have cited the commonality of substitution to demonstrate class conflict. Historians, including David Williams, contend that wealthy Southerners paid poor men to serve in their place, which instigated class-based conflict within the Confederacy. The Civil War, according to this author, was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1924); Bell Irving Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier in the Confederacy* (1943; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978); Eugene C. Murdock, *Patriotism Limited, 1862-1865: The Civil War Draft and the Bounty System* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1967); Mary L. Wilson, "Profiles in Evasion: Civil War Substitutes and the Men Who Hired Them in Walker's Texas Division," *East Texas Historical Journal* 43 (Spring 2005): 25-38; Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army*, 400; David Williams, *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998).

served longer than thirty days.[203] Hired surrogates comprised approximately seven percent of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, which contained both volunteers and drafted men.[204] A similar pattern emerged within the 1st Battalion Minute Men, where substitutes comprised approximately ten percent of the unit.[205] Citizen-soldiers who hired another man to serve in their stead were not inherently disloyal to the Confederate cause.[206] Rather, these men's primary loyalty remained with their families and communities.[207]

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[203] Militia companies that served only thirty days did not typically contain substitutes. For example, none of the fifty-five men in the sample population hired a substitute in the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops. This could have occurred because locating and paying substitutes often took several weeks. In these cases, the militia was disbanded before substitutes could be hired and placed in the ranks. Muster Rolls, August 1864-September 1864, 1st Regiment, Mississippi State Troops, 1864, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

[204] Drawn from several counties across the state, the 3rd Battalion Minute Men offers a representative example of a Mississippi militia unit. Furthermore, this militia regiment kept more precise records, recording conscription, leave, desertion, and substitution. These records, however, are not complete and are often contradictory. For example, records indicate that militia private T. J. Hurst hired P. H. Forman as a militia substitute. Both men, however, are listed as present when the unit surrendered at Vicksburg. In other cases, records do not list principals' names. Private Chison Thomas served in the unit for only two months as a substitute. It is unknown who hired Thomas or why he only served two months. Nonetheless, statistical data allows historians to understand the composition of these militia companies. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[205] Muster Rolls, 1st Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[206] Recently, a few historians have reexamined Confederate substitution. In his study on Confederate substitution in Rockingham County, Virginia, John M. Sacher argues that Confederate substitution policies did not cause class conflict. Community members did not always view principals as cowards or disloyal Confederates. Instead, civilians valued principals that served their community during the war. John M. Sacher, "The Loyal Draft Dodger?: A Reexamination of Confederate Substitution," *Civil War History* 57, No. 2 (June 2011), 167.

[207] Jarret Ruminski examines the multiplicities of Southerners' loyalties within Civil War Mississippi. He argues that the Confederate government proved unable to acquire citizens' sole loyalty. Southerners developed macro-level loyalties to their nation and government while still holding micro-level commitments to their local communities and families. Jarret Ruminski, "Southern Pride and Yankee Presence: The Limits of Confederate Loyalty in Civil War Mississippi, 1860-1865." PhD Diss. (Alberta, Canada: University of Calgary, 2012).

Advertisements requesting militia substitutes appeared frequently in wartime newspapers. After the governor mobilized the Minute Men of Adam's County, a Natchez resident sought "a good substitute, as a Minute Man, to take the place of one whose business will not permit him leaving home."[208] George C. Harper, a successful engineer and family man, also sought to forgo militia duty and placed a notice in a Jackson newspaper, promising to "pay liberally for a substitute for myself in the Militia service."[209] These Southerners considered it their primary wartime duty to run their businesses, assist their families, maintain order, and control slaves. Frequent advertisements indicate that most civilians, Confederate soldiers, and other militiamen considered substitution an acceptable custom during the war.

Southerners who could not serve for personal or professional reasons sometimes hired lower-class men or underage boys as substitutes. Boys under eighteen years of age could not be conscripted into regular Confederate service in 1862, therefore these adolescent boys sometimes served as militia substitutes. It is unknown if these boys volunteered or were paid to serve in the militia. An exceptionally wealthy Mississippi planter paid Elisha Knox to serve in his stead. Knox, a fifty-three-year-old, destitute

[208] *Natchez Daily Courier* (Natchez, Mississippi), October 25, 1862. This advertisement did not reveal the principal's name. Furthermore, it is unknown if this militiaman found a substitute. For another militia advertisement from Natchez, see *Natchez Daily Courier* (Natchez, Mississippi), October 10, 1862.

[209] *Daily Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), July 19, 1862; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860). The newspaper advertisement is vague and Harper does not list an exact price. In the 1860 Census, Harper claimed $3,500 in real estate and a $7,000 personal estate. After the war, Harper filed a claim with the Southern Claims Commission. His claim was denied. United States Government, *U.S. Southern Claims Commission, Disallowed and Barred Claims, 1871-1880* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860).

fisherman, served as a private in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men.[210] Barney Lewis, a forty-three-year-old mechanic with six children, wanted released from the 1st Battalion Minute Men. Despite living in poverty with only $500 in personal wealth, Lewis successfully located a substitute.[211] Instead of engaging a poor, middle-aged Southerner as a substitute, R. W. Thompson procured the eldest son of James and Mary Hillard, respectable middle-class farmers from Lowden County.[212] The vast majority of Mississippi militiamen were essential community members and family men between the ages of thirty and fifty. Nonetheless, most all militia companies contained a few young, unmarried men who served as substitutes.[213]

Hired substitutes were not always available, therefore some draftees turned to family members to fulfill military obligations.[214] Instead of placing a newspaper advertisement or paying a stranger to serve in his stead, Eugene Terry looked within his household to locate his substitute. His eldest son John, though only seventeen years old,

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[210] Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860.

[211] Lewis did not own real estate or slaves in 1860. Muster Rolls, 1st Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860.

[212] R. W. Thompson was admitted to the hospital in Columbus, Mississippi in May 1863. He had a combined net worth of $10,500 and did not own slaves. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States Bureau of the Census, 1850; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[213] Out of the 102 men in the sample population, one member of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men had a militia substitute under eighteen years of age. 1860 census data for three substitutes, however, cannot be determined. Thus, a few more men may have been under 18. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[214] H. Simeon Oliver, Sr., Herndon, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, March 21, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

agreed to serve for his forty-three-year-old father.[215] After a routine examination by the regimental surgeon, John Terry was formally declared fit and marched off to the militia camp with other Madison County militiamen.[216] A similar situation transpired in Carroll County where John Harvey, a well-off farmer, and slaveholder, sent his fifteen-year-old son, William Harvey, to take his place in the 3rd Regiment Mississippi Minute Men. Despite his youth, William willingly abided by his father's wishes and served as a militia private.[217] Family relations, unlike wealth, provided men from all socioeconomic backgrounds the means to circumvent militia draft regulations. Some citizen-soldiers, with their localized conception of military service, used substitution to bypass active duty militia service and remain in their communities.

Hiring a substitute did not usually damage Southerners' reputations within their towns or rural villages.[218] Jason Niles, a well-respected lawyer from Kosciusko searched for a militia substitute within his hometown.[219] A personal acquaintance soon offered his

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[215] Eugene Terry was head of his household and held $6,800 in real estate and $18,500 in property wealth, including several slaves. Eugene Terry, May 12, 1863, 1st Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; John Terry, May 12, 1863, 1st Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860.

[216] A. G. Anderson, May 12, 1863, 1st Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[217] John T. Harvey, May 6, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; William Harvey, May 6, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; W. D. Dunlap, May 8, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* Sergeant O. W. Shipp also had his son serve as a substitute in the 3rd Regiment Minute Men. For additional information see, O. W. Shipp, May 1, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; Robert S. Shipp, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; W. D. Dunlap, May 5, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH.

[218] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[219] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

seventeen-year-old son, William Busby, to serve in Niles's stead.[220] This arrangement did not illicit hard feelings between Niles and Busby. The two men maintained a close friendship and, on several instances during the war, Busby left the nearby militia camp to visit Niles at his personal residence.[221] Niles never considered substitution shameful. Maintaining an active interest in Mississippi's militia, he tracked militia call-up times, followed state-level drafts, remained informed on Confederate conscription laws, and discussed the activities of the local militia company.[222] Voters, aware of Niles's status, approved of his wartime political campaign, electing him Mayor in May 1864.[223] Southerners supported both Niles's political efforts and, it appears, his militia substitution.

Militia substitutes, like William Busby, were less likely to abandon their unit than the average militiamen. Busby faithfully served as a substitute in the 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men and later voluntarily enlisted in Company B, 3rd Mississippi

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[220] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Jason Niles, Diary of Jason Niles (1814-1894): June 22, 1861-December 31, 1864, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Documenting the American South, Digital Collection, 41, 86 (hereafter cited as UNC, Documenting the American South, Digital Collection). It is likely that Niles paid William Busby or Seabren Busby. The precise details of the arrangement, however, are unknown. William "Buzz" Busby was seventeen years old and, therefore, eligible to serve as a substitute.

[221] Niles, Diary of Jason Niles, UNC, Documenting the American South, Digital Collection, 86, 41.

[222] Niles, Diary of Jason Niles, UNC, Documenting the American South, Digital Collection, 46, 51-52, 75, 111, 219, 240, 242. Most Mississippi diarists did not mention the militia at all during the war. For select examples see, Mary Ann Webster Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg, With Letters of Trial and Travel* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1864); Gordon A. Cotton, ed.,*Mrs. Balfour's Civil War Diary: A Personal Account of the Siege of Vicksburg* (Vicksburg, MS: Print Shop, 2004); William A. Drennan, *Diary of the Defense of Vicksburg* (Vicksburg, MS: 1863); Horace Smith Fulkerson, *A Civilian's Recollection of the War Between the States* (Baton Rouge: O'Claitor, 1939); James Monroe Gibson, *Memoirs of J.M. Gibson; Terrors of the Civil War and Reconstruction Days* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press,1966).

[223] *Kosciusko - Attala History.*

Cavalry Regiment, State Troops. He served until the Confederacy's surrender in April 1865.[224] Substitutes in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men were also loyal to their unit and, out of the ten-percent sample population, not a single substitute deserted.[225] Twenty-nine percent of hired Southerners obtained official exemptions from the state, thus legally terminating their militia obligations.[226] Most substitutes, approximately fifty-seven percent, served until the battalion surrendered at Vicksburg in July 1863.[227] Hired in the early fall of 1862, seventeen-year-old William Hilliard fought with Company D, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men during the siege of Vicksburg. He never once deserted or illegally abandoned the battalion. Left in a city hospital, Hilliard became a prisoner of war after federal forces captured Vicksburg.[228] Militia substitutes demonstrated their dependability and faithfulness by remaining in the ranks, even during extended combat operations.

Unlike regular militiamen, substitutes often did not have extensive community ties, making it more likely that they would remain in the militia until their terms of service expired. Most substitutes were substantially younger or older than the average

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[224] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster roll, July 2, 1863, 1st Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; undated descriptive list, Company E, 3rd Regiment Cavalry, Mississippi State Troops (McGuirk's), Undated; and 1863-1865, MDAH; muster roll, May 1, 1865, Company E, 3rd Regiment Cavalry, Mississippi State Troops (McGuirk's), Undated; and 1863-1865, MDAH.

[225] Zero out of seven substitutes in the sample population deserted. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[226] Two out of seven substitutes in the ten percent sample deserted. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[227] Four out of seven substitutes in the ten percent sample deserted. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[228] Muster Rolls, Company D, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

Mississippi militiaman. Approximately twenty-nine percent of hired soldiers were under sixteen years of age in 1860.[229] Likewise, men between forty-six and fifty years of age also commonly served as substitutes.[230] Notably absent are Southerners in their thirties and early forties, who were most likely encumbered with family burden and community responsibilities. In contrast, substitutes were not usually community leaders or farmers. Instead, students, semi-skilled, and unskilled laborers most often accepted positions as substitutes.[231] As a fisherman without any personal wealth, Elisha Knox served as a substitute and never deserted his unit.[232] Lacking the strong ties that bound most militiamen to their communities, the vast majority of substitutes faithfully remained with their units.

If unable to obtain a discharge, furlough, or hire a substitute, established community members and household heads deserted. In the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, at least fifteen percent of men abandoned their post.[233] The 1st Battalion

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[229] Two out of seven substitutes in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men were sixteen years of age or younger in 1860. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[230] Two out of seven substitutes in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men were between forty six-and fifty years of age in 1860. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[231] Out of the seven substitutes in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, two were students, one was a skilled carpenter, and one was an unskilled fisherman in 1860. Three men could not be located in the 1860 Census and their occupations remain unknown. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[232] In 1860, Elisha Knox was fifty years of age and had no land and no personal wealth. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[233] Fifteen out of one-hundred-and-two militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men deserted or never reported to camp. Similarly, fifteen out of ninety-five militiamen in the 1st Regiment abandoned their unit without leave. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH;

Mississippi Minute Men experienced an even higher rate of desertion, where a minimum of twenty-nine percent went missing during the war.[234] Desertion rates were exceptionally high among all state militia units and persistent absenteeism troubled both militia and Confederate officers. Addressing the Confederate officer overseeing the militiamen within his district, Mississippi Brigadier General James Z. George reported 488 militiamen available for active duty service, but noted: "thirty-three desertions in the last forty-eight hours."[235] Likewise, the 2nd and 3rd Cavalry Regiments (State Troops) contained fewer than "250 effective men, though on paper these regiments number over 1,000 men" after a raid.[236] On the morning of April 15, 1863, the 2nd Regiment, 4th Battalion Mississippi State Troops reported seventeen men as sick, two men on "extra duty," twenty-nine militiamen absent with leave, and five hundred and thirty-four members absent without leave. The regiment contained only twenty-eight effective soldiers.[237] After failing to reorganize the unit, an officer in the 2nd Battalion Mississippi reported:

> Only two Captains have reported but with a small squad of men not sufficient to accomplish any end. In fact, the officers, as well as the men, are of the opinion that the twelve-month for which they were drafted has expired, and are no longer liable to perform military duty under the law. I once was of the opinion the Regt could have been reorganised [sic.] easily but was mistaken, and I am now satisfied that if the Regt is ever reorganized I will have to have a cavalry force to araest [sic] the men and cause them to come and join the Regt.[238]

United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* Muster Rolls, 1st Regiment Minute Men, MDAH.

[234] Muster Rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[235] *OR*, ser. I, pt. XXIV, vol. III, 667.

[236] *OR*, ser. I, pt. XXX, vol. IV, 567.

[237] Morning Report, April 15, 1863, 2nd Regiment, 4th Battalion Mississippi State Troops, 5th Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[238] James Conerly, Summit, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 24, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

Officers frequently failed to prevent absenteeism among the militiamen, who used illegal means to return to their communities.

Most militiamen who abandoned their unit did so when stationed in camp or right before combat.[239] Forty percent of deserters abandoned the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men when stationed aimlessly in camp during the fall of 1862.[240] In August 1861, John Hickinbottom, an indigent day laborer in his early thirties, became a private in Company B, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men. After spending a month drilling in an undersupplied militia camp, he deserted, presumably returning to his wife and three children.[241] Combat, camp monotony, and family crises triggered men to leave their units.[242] The intensification of combat at Vicksburg induced forty percent of deserters to leave the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men in April and May 1863.[243] After eight months of dedicated service, militia Private S. Horn was ready to leave and, en route to

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[239] Offering the first extensive study on Civil War-era desertion, Ella Lonn argues that desertion rates peaked during the last eight months of the war. This was not the case with militiamen. Ella Lonn, *Desertion During The Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

[240] Out of fifteen deserters in the sample population, two members never reported for duty, two militiamen deserted in September 1862, and two men left in October 1862. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[241] Working as a day laborer, John Hickinbottom owned no real estate and only $100 in personal wealth. Muster Rolls, Company B, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

[242] Weitz contends that southern soldiers' loyalty to their communities and families exceeded their commitment to the Confederate nation. Mark A. Weitz, *More Damning than Slaughter: Desertion in the Confederate Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

[243] Out of fifteen deserters in the sample population, two militiamen deserted in March 1863 and four left in May 1863. These men do not appear in Vicksburg parole records. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* combined rolls of the 5th Regiment and 3rd Battalion Minute Men, April 19, 1863, 5th Regiment Minute Men, MDAH.

Vicksburg, he deserted from the railroad station in Tibbee.[244] Faced with extended camp stays or combat, many militiamen up and left their units, never to return.

Not all absentee militiamen, however, permanently deserted their regiments. Possessing a localized conception of service, militiamen took "French leave," temporarily abandoning their unit before returning on their own accord. At least twelve percent of men briefly departed the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, while twenty-seven percent of the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men took French leave.[245] While a familiar occurrence in militia camps, French leave vexed militia commanders. Reporting to the governor in January of 1863, an exasperated brigadier general admitted, the "demoralization of the militia [was] complete" and "men will desert at any time" if denied furlough.[246] Rank-and-file citizen-soldiers also noted the scarcity of men within their companies. Responding to his colleagues' absenteeism, a militiaman lightheartedly remarked on the "general scatterlophistication [sic.] of 'milish'" at the Vaiden militia camp.[247] Lacking formally sanctioned discharges or official furloughs, French leave allowed men to visit home, resolve family emergencies, or harvest crops before returning to their units.

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[244] S. Horn could not be located in the 1860 Census. Muster Rolls, Company E, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860.

[245] Twelve out of one hundred and two men in the ten percent sample took French leave in the 3rd Battalion Minute Men. In the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, fourteen men from the fifty-two men sample took French leave. Not all commanders reported temporary absences, thus the number may have been far higher. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; Muster Rolls, 1st Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[246] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 12, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[247] Niles, Diary of Jason Niles, UNC, Documenting the American South, Digital Collection, 86.

Personal concerns and ill health compelled many men to illegally vacate militia camps, risking disciplinary action. Approximately sixteen percent of militiamen took French leave to attend to family matters.[248] Although residing in a militia camp far from home and family, militia private Randal McLeod's brother, John McLeod, loomed large on Randal's mind. McLeod rushed home from the militia camp, without receiving permission from his commanding officer, when his extended family fell ill. Upon returning to camp, McLeod was pardoned for taking French leave and eventually discharged due to disability.[249] Unable to obtain official medical discharges, around thirty-three percent of militiamen abandoned their unit due to personal illness.[250] Henry C. Nichols, a thirty-four-year-old planter from Chickasaw County, reported to the militia camp at Okolona. First in October 1862, and again in November, Nichols had absconded without authorization. He succumbed to illness before the year's conclusion. After the death of her husband, Manerva Nichols consulted a local county judge and, claiming her husband was home sick during his illegal absence, petitioned the state to claim his salary.[251] At times, family obligations and personal infirmity superseded Southerners' duty to the militia and Confederacy.

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[248] Two of the twelve men in the ten percent sample took French leave because of family matters. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[249] Randal McLeod lived with his brother in 1860. His brother, John McLeod was a doctor and planter, owning eighty slaves. As household head, John McLoed was married with two young children in 1860. United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860.

[250] Four out of twelve men in the ten-percent sample took French leave because of ill-health. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[251] Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860.

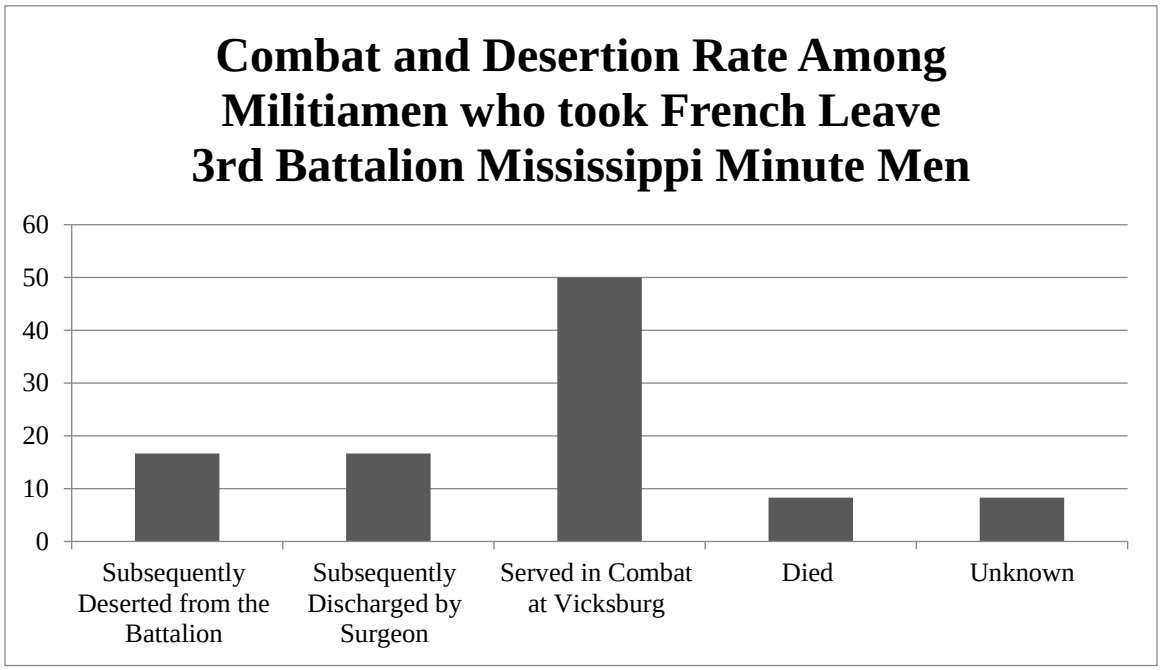

Figure 9. Combat and Desertion Rate Among Militia men who took French Leave 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men.

Men who took French leave did not typically abandon the militia at times of military crisis. For example, less than seventeen percent of militiamen deserted prior to the siege of Vicksburg.[252] Over fifty percent of privates in the 3rd Battalion Minute Men who had absconded earlier in their militia service later returned to their companies in order to fight at Vicksburg.[253] Stationed in an overcrowded and undersupplied militia camp in Okolona thirty-seven-year-old militia Private John Martin went absent without leave. For three months, militia commanders questioned his whereabouts. Then, on October 1, 1862, Martin came back to camp on his own accord and served in combat

[252] Two out of twelve men in the ten-percent sample that took French leave later deserted the unit. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[253] Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

until the enemy captured him on July 4, 1863.[254] These men, many of whom had not been paid in months, could have remained at home, far away from combat. Instead, many of these absent militiamen, presumably out of sense of devotion to the Confederate cause, returned to fight during the siege of Vicksburg.

French leave was unofficially tolerated in most units and few militiamen were punished for their absenteeism.[255] Occasionally, militiamen received Court Martials for their escapades.[256] Punishment for French leave, however, was generally lenient.[257] After leaving his unit in the winter of 1862-1863, militia Private Robert Craig faced a court martial upon his return to camp. Convicted, he simply lost pay for fifteen days as a result of his absenteeism.[258] Likewise, private B. P. Fullilove was court-martialed because of his illegal absence. Escaping without any punishment at all, Fullilove was pardoned for his offenses.[259] In addition to actually courts martial, some militia commander temporally jailed men for absenteeism. After "considerably troubled in

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[254] Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[255] Less than one percent of Mississippi militiamen received a court martial. One out of ninety-five men in the 1st Regiment Minute Men faced punishment. Out of fifty-two men, one received trial for French leave. Out of one-hundred-and-two men in the sample size, only one had a court martial on record. Muster rolls, 1st Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[256] For examples of court martials, see Roberts, A. — Captain, Mississippi Militia, Record Group 9, National Archives and Record Administration, Washington D.C.; statement of charges, Corporal L. F. Hickman, Z. P. Stubb's Company of Unattached Cavalry, Mississippi State Troops, 1864, MDAH.

[257] Punishment for French leave was mild in the Army of Northern Virginia as well. Soldiers lost a month or two of their pay or received extra work duty, see Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army,* 409.

[258] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.* Loss of pay was a common punishment; see, Private W. R. Moore, muster rolls, 1st Battalion Minute Men, MDAH.

[259] Muster Rolls, 1st Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

collecting the men as there was some who were Determined on staying at home," a captain in the 2nd Regiment, 3rd Battalion Mississippi State Troops "succeed in catching and jailing five of them and but two now remains to be taken I have turned out those I put in Jail and put them on duty the Jail is a medium that acts on them Like A charm and it affords me pleasure to be able to report to you that our Discipline now is good and contentment Pervails [sic.] throughout the Company."[260] Yet, absenteeism continued to plague the unit. Without the threat of severe punishment, many Mississippi militiamen took French leave or deserted at will.

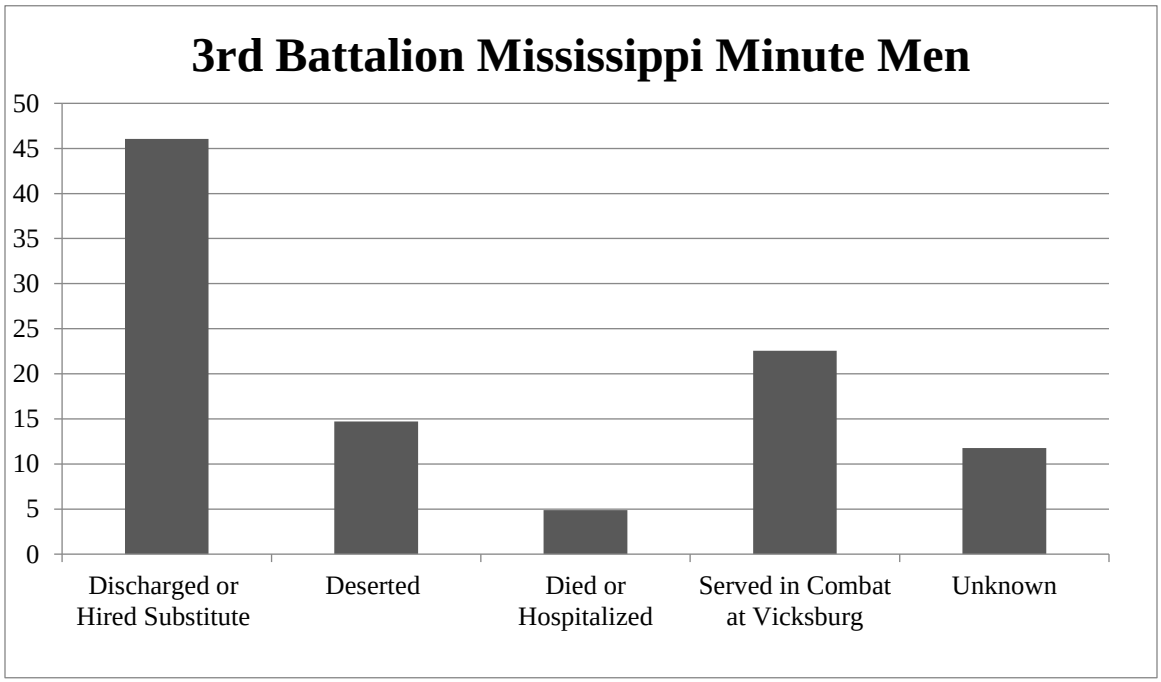

Figure 10. 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men

Discharges, exemptions, substitution, and absenteeism significantly reduced the size of Mississippi's militias. Over seventy-five percent of the 3rd Battalion Minute Men

[260] John S. Neal, Lawrence County, Mississippi, to John J. Pettus, June 23 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

legally or illegally left the unit before its surrender at Vicksburg.[261] By July 4, 1863, only twenty-two percent of the unit remained in the field.[262] Once mobilized and placed in camp, units dwindled as members received discharges or went absent without leave. The regiments and battalions of the Mississippi State Troops contained few members, which limited their effectiveness and demonstrated citizen-soldiers' desire to return home. Although continually supported by the Mississippi state government and state political leaders, these exceptionally high absentee rates indicate civilians and regular Confederate soldiers widespread disdain of the militia. Militiamen did not believe it was their duty to remain outside their home communities serving in a centralized militia. Instead, these men's primary wartime duty was to their families, farms or business, and communities. Mississippians, likewise, recognized that it was the duty of some young, single men to serve in the national Confederate army while older, married men's primary duty remained on the home front. Presumably, nineteenth-century southerners recognized the futility and impracticability of a militia defense system. Americans of the Revolutionary War generation had opposed large standing, professional armies and advocated for a decentralized, militia system composed of citizen-soldiers.[263] Less than one-hundred years later, however, nineteenth-century southerners revised that position. By the Civil War, Southerners recognized importance of a regular army, such as Robert E. Lee's

[261] Out of the one-hundred-and-two men sample size, forty-three received discharges, four hired substitutes, and fifteen deserted. Twelve members of the unit have incomplete records and their information remains unknown. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[262] Twenty-three members of one-hundred-and-two sample population served until parole at Vicksburg. Muster Rolls, 3rd Battalion Minute Men, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[263] Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War*, 36-37, 322-325.

Army of Northern Virginia. A militia defense system comprised of older, untrained men no longer served the needs of southern communities.

The threat of conscription into the regular Confederate army encouraged some militiamen to remain with their regiments. Micajah Wilkinson, a private in Company C, Quinn's 2nd Regiment State Troops, wanted to leave the monotonous militia camp and obtained a petition requesting his release. He told his wife:

> I was surprised to receive such a petition from such a source & I fell under all obligation to the Dear petitioners wether [sic] I am qualifed [sic] or not. . . . Capt Gray . . . says he will approve off [sic] my petition & carry it & do the best for me that he can . . . but you must not look for me until you see me a coming, you must kiss all of the petitioners for me.[264]

Under the impression that militia service sheltered him from Confederate conscription, Wilkinson had second thoughts, "I have not tried to get off on my petition yet for it would be doubtful wether [sic] I would get off on it or not & if I was to get off I would bee [sic] conscripted & I had rather stay with the militia."[265] Intensively loyal to his family and community, militia duty represented the least objectionable branch of service for Wilkinson.

Although remaining in the militia, Wilkinson's focused on his family and community. Remembering his wedding anniversary and happier times at home; Wilkinson penned long, loving letters to his wife, Mary, and their sons.[266] "We have

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[264] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, March 20, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[265] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 21, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 12, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[266] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, March 20, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to

spent sixteen years of our life together . . . & happily as husband & wife. . . . You made a kind & loving and affectionate wife & my darling sons a loving & affectionate mother. . . I live for thee & thee alone," he reminisced.[267] Even campfire cooking paled in comparison to Mary's delicacies, "I would be glad to have some greens & milk for dinner."[268] Community gossip flowed between Mary and her husband, as they discussed mundane matters, friends, and local events.[269] Moreover, he regularly visited his older brother, John Cain Wilkinson, who was stationed in a nearby Confederate camp with the 33rd Regiment Mississippi Infantry.[270] In most cases, militia service did not create a divide between citizen-soldiers and southern families.[271] Wilkinson remained in the militia in order to avoid regular Confederate service, which would have sent him even farther away from his home and family.

In addition to requesting discharges, furloughs, or illegally leaving their company, some militiamen demonstrated their localized conception of service by questioning their

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Mary Wilkinson, October 21, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[267] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 29, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 30, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[268] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 21, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[269] Mary Wilkinson, Amite County, Mississippi to Micajah Wilkinson, May 3, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah. Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; Mary Wilkinson, Amite County, Mississippi to Micajah Wilkinson, October 12, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 29, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 30, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU

[270] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, March 20, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[271] Gerald Linderman's contends that combat fundamentally changed Civil War soldiers, which, in turn, created estrangement between the men in the ranks and the civilians on the home front. This is not the case with Mississippi militiamen. Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1987).

commanders' authority. Privates and company-level officers frequently scrutinized high-ranking militia commander's qualifications. Expecting reproach from their men or superior commanders, Militia Brigadier General James Z. Jones stated in 1862 that "militia officers are afraid to assume any responsibility—it is almost impossible to get an order carried out."[272] Members of the 3rd Regiment Minute Men even questioned the competency of General George. Just a few months before, George had reformed the board of regimental surgeons, which severely limited medical discharges and restricted furloughs. Unable to return home using medical exemptions or obtain official leave, militiamen challenged their commander's military authority. Questioning his fitness for command, company captains and enlisted men petitioned the governor, requesting that their former commander, Richard Winter, be restored. Unable to directly choose their commanders, these disillusioned militiamen protested George's authority. The militiamen, however, soon rescinded their charges of negligence and George retained his command.[273] Objections such as these, indicate citizen-soldiers' willingness to protest what they perceived as unjust state authority and desire to return to their communities regardless of militia policy.

Regular Confederate army commanders, waging a war that was national in scope, often experienced overwhelming frustration when supervising Mississippi militiamen.

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[272] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 3, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[273] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 27, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 12, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to James Z. George, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH. For another instance of a militiaman questioning his commanding officer, see newspaper clipping, September 12, 1864, Peyton's/Cooper's Battalion Cavalry, Mississippi State Troops, Undated; 1864, MDAH.

Directly disobeying orders that clashed with their localized conception of service, militiamen frequently refused to leave their communities for extended periods. Perceiving their contractual terms of service to have been violated, militiamen, after receiving orders to leave their communities, protested official orders or simply abandoned their units.[274] After being removed from their home county, citizen-soldiers in Lexington expressed their outrage by collectively petitioning the governor.[275] In response, Confederate Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee complained, "State troops are not reliable, being in poor discipline and over one-half the number on the rolls being at home."[276] Aware of the militias many shortcomings, Lee remained hopeful, proposing that "the condition of this command can be improved by proper attention on the part of the officers, its inefficacy being brought about by the command operating near their homes under relaxed discipline."[277] After a few militia officers refused to obey orders, Confederate Brigadier General James R. Chalmers declared, "I must, however, say that my experience is that men will not make good soldiers near home, and I am trying as far

[274] Massachusetts provincial soldiers in the Seven Year's War exhibited a similarity behaviors. Historian Fred Anderson argues that provincial soldiers developed a unique conception of military service based on their understanding of contracts and their positions within New England society. Colonial New Englanders considered themselves free men who could willingly enter voluntary contracts—in this case, a contract for military duty. British policies of control and professionalism clashed with provincial soldiers' preconceived notions of military service. As a result, provincial soldiers, under the leadership of their colonial officers, often mutinied or deserted if British regulars abused their authority or failed to provide needed supplies. In these cases, provincial soldiers considered their terms of service violated, making nonviolent mutinies or mass desertions acceptable courses of action. Civil War militiamen were familiar with contractual labor and land agreements and may have based their military service on a similar understanding of contacts. Anderson, *A People's Army,* 178, 165-195.

[275] Petition, Lexington, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, October 18,1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[276] *OR,* Ser. I, vol. XXX, pt. IV, 576.

[277] *OR,* Ser. I, vol. XXX, pt. IV, 576.

as possible to remove companies from the neighborhoods in which they are raised."[278] Unlike Confederate officers and regular troops, militiamen expected to remain in their communities, coming and going from militia camps at will. Yet, Confederate commanders and Mississippi officials sought to remove militiamen from their counties of residence and enforce professional military discipline.

Burdened by home front obligations, most Mississippi militiamen wanted to remain near their communities. Therefore, they resisted Confederate conscription and opposed their transfer into Confederate armies. Attempting to conscript or transfer members of Mississippi State Troops caused desertion rates to spike. "Threats were made to seize the conscripts with the State regiments, causing many men to desert. Many of these troops have been demoralized, more from the fact of their position not being well defined and understood," concluded General Stephen D. Lee.[279] Some militia commanders, however, indicated an awareness of militiamen's discontentment. Seeking to pacify militiamen who were drafted into the Confederate army, Militia Brigadier General James Z. George requested that draftees select their Confederate regiment. Drafted militiamen, therefore, could choose to serve in regular Confederate units with friends, family, or fellow community members. Drafted militiamen, therefore, could choose to serve in regular Confederate units with friends, family, or fellow community members.[280] Even with these terms, militiamen still protested Confederate conscription

[278] *OR*, Ser. I, vol. XXIV, pt. III, 980-981.
[279] *OR*, Ser. I, vol. XXX, pt. IV, 576.
[280] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 2, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH;

policies and sought to remain in their local communities.[281] Entering Confederate armies removed men from their families, farms, and businesses, which directly clashed with citizen-soldiers' localized conception of militia service.

Despite their sometimes seemingly disloyal and obstinate behavior, Unionist sentiment did not flourish among the ranks of the Mississippi State Troops. Around half of the militiamen had a direct connection to slavery in 1860, thus these men did not favor abolition.[282] Given the extent of Unionist sentiment in Mississippi, however, the Mississippi State Troops, no doubt, contained some Unionist leaning members.[283] In the late 1880s, a resident of Tupelo reflected upon Unionist sentiment in the militia: "our [Unionists] counsels were somewhat divided. We did not coincide in opinion upon the question whether we should attend militia musters. Some advocating as a matter of policy the propriety of attending them; others myself among the number, opposing it for conscience's sake, and for the purpose of avoiding every appearance of evil," John H. Aughey recalled.[284] Rural isolationism occurred within insulated regions of the state and

[281] For examples of militiamen protesting their transfer to Confederate service, see petition, 1st Mississippi Minute Men, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 18, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Henry Caire, Hancock County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 23, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[282] For an analysis of slave ownership, see "Number of Slaves Owned by Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men" and "Number of Slaves Owned by Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi Men (1864)," 62. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[283] Smith, Mississippi in the Civil War, 127-141; Michael Shannon Mallard, "Faithful Found Among the Faithless': Popular Opposition to the Confederacy in Civil War Mississippi," M.A. thesis (Mississippi State University, 2002); Rebecca M. Dresser, "The Minor Family of Natchez: A Case of Southern Unionism," *Journal of Mississippi History* 64, no. 3 (Fall 2002). For an outstanding study of Unionism in Alabama, see Margaret M. Storey, *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004).

[284] John H. Aughey, *Tupelo* (Lincoln, NE: State Journal Company, 1888), 77-78.

some of these militiamen may have resented both Union and Confederate interference into their lives.[285] Nonetheless, the militiamen's localized conception of militia service does not directly indicate that Unionism or an opposition to the Confederate cause was present.

As vital community members with extended families to support and farms to manage, the vast majority of militiamen just wanted to remain at home, or as close to home as possible, for the duration of the war. These men, many of whom voluntarily enlisted in the militia, expected to serve as a last line of defense if Union soldiers invaded their neighborhoods. Few militiamen anticipated lengthy terms of service or extended periods of absence from their farms and families. The Mississippi government, however, developed a centralized military defense system that tore many of these men away from their communities. The Mississippi government's wartime militia organization directly contrasted with most Southerners' localized interpretation of militia service. Large numbers of citizen-soldiers, therefore, applied for discharges and exemptions, requested leave, took French leave, deserted, or hired a substitute. Despite their seemingly unsoldierly behavior, these citizen-soldiers were not inherently disloyal or secret Unionists. Instead, Mississippi citizen-soldiers were upholding a localized conception of militia service based squarely on their antebellum experiences and occupations.

[285] For a discussion of rural isolationism in Mississippi, see Victoria E. Bynum, *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

CHAPTER III - A GRAND STANDING ARMY OR THE MILITIA?: MISSISSIPPI'S CENTRALIZED STATE TROOPS

On October 13, 1862, James Z. George offered his resignation to Confederate President Jefferson Davis, "I hereby resign my office as Captain of Company C, 20th Mississippi Regt. to take effect this day when I report to Gov. Pettus for duty."[286] Instead of serving in the Confederate army for the duration of the war, George decided to enter state militia service. Before the Civil War erupted, George had been a well-known Carroll County lawyer and held a prominent role in state politics. Mississippi Governor John J. Pettus, perhaps seeking a strong administer and well-known Mississippian, appointed George as brigadier general in the Mississippi State Troops.[287]

George accepted this new state-level position and immediately threw himself into his duties. In October and November 1862, George reorganized the Mississippi State Troops, issued numerous discharge papers, and granted furlough requests. Then, after completing his administrative tasks, George traveled about the state surveying the forces under his command.[288] The abysmal condition of the Mississippi's active duty militia appalled the newly appointed state official. Reporting to Pettus, George admitted, "the

[286] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Timothy B. Smith, *James Z. George: Mississippi's Great Commoner* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 58. Born in 1826, James Z. George became a leading Mississippian during the nineteenth century. A Carroll County lawyer and well-known figure in the Mississippi capital, he served in both Confederate and state service during the Civil War. After the war, George was a Reconstruction redeemer, Chief Justice of the Mississippi Supreme Court, and Mississippi's longest-serving United States Senator.

[287] Smith, *James Z. George,* 58.

[288] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 3, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Smith, *James Z. George,* 58.

practical lesson I learned from all this is that the enrolled militia called out suddenly to meet the enemy will do but inefficient service."[289]

The Union siege of Vicksburg in the summer of 1863 further destabilized Mississippi's centralized militia system.[290] George saw little action during the campaign, as Confederate General Earl Van Dorn kept many of the unpredictable militia units far from combat at isolated camps scattered about the state.[291] Far from their homes and experiencing camp monotony, many citizen-soldiers, who George described as completely demoralized, requested surgeon's discharges and furloughs. Lacking a qualified medical director, an unskilled board of regimental militia doctors indiscriminately approved men's discharge requests. George implored Pettus to provide a new doctor that was loyal to the state. Before state officials could act, however, a controversy surrounding the regimental surgeon erupted, resulting in widespread hostility between George, his subordinate officers, and many militia privates.[292] George, meanwhile, lacked orders and begged for directions from his superior commander, Militia Major General Tullius C. Tupper. Yet, Tupper, overwhelmed by with his own matters, never replied to George's urgent messages. Becoming increasingly frustrated with the system's inefficiency, George complained to Pettus, "I am mortified and

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[289] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[290] For a comprehensive discussion on the Vicksburg Campaign and the 1863 siege of the city, see Michael B. Ballard, *Vicksburg: The Campaign that Opened the Mississippi* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

[291] Smith, *James Z. George*, 72.

[292] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 27, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 12, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. Petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to James Z. George, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH.

disgusted at the present state of affairs in the militia. . . . I feel almost certain that my self-respect will compel me to abandon all connection with an organization which produces such fruits, but I'll struggle a while longer."[293] George remained in militia service for a few more months but ultimately reentered Confederate service on November 1, 1863.[294]

George was one of the many Mississippians who briefly served in the militia. Most, including George, soon became utterly frustrated with the organization's bureaucracy and resigned their militia commissions or transferred to regular Confederate service. Mississippi, after seceding from the Union in January 1861, created a centrally controlled military system, which the state maintained until the fall of the Confederacy in 1865. Fearful of military invasion, state officials, including Governors John J. Pettus and Charles Clark, genuinely believed that a centralized militia system best served the people of the Magnolia State. Therefore, Mississippi ordered its citizen-soldiers to leave home, assemble at centralized locations across the state, and organize into regiments and battalions. Mississippi did not develop a traditional militia system. Militiamen did not live at home and simply respond to local emergencies. Instead, these citizen-soldiers formed a standing military organization that the state government paid, housed, supplied, and commanded.

Unaccustomed to managing a large military force, Mississippi lacked the personnel, armaments, and bureaucratic structure to effectively control a standing wartime militia. The state legislature, Mississippi governors, and Confederate officials developed ever-changing and often contradictory militia policies. Meanwhile,

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[293] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.
[294] Smith, *James Z. George*, 72.

overworked and understaffed government officials in Jackson attempted to pay, arm, and deploy their militiamen. Wartime shortages, inflation, and property destruction created by an invading enemy further hindered the state's administrative capabilities. Mississippi's over-burdened militia system hindered the organization's efficiency, encouraging militiamen and their commanders to abandon their posts.

Although based on colonial and early nineteenth-century militias, Mississippi's Civil War militia system differed sharply from antebellum militia laws and policies. Mississippi's first state constitution, created in 1817, outlined the state's militia system, declaring:

> Section 1. The General Assembly shall provide by law for organizing and disciplining the militia of this State, in such manner as they shall deem expedient, not incompatible with the Constitution and laws of the United States, in relation thereto.
>
> Section 2. Officers of the militia shall be elected or appointed in such manner as the Legislature shall, from time to time, direct, and shall be commissioned by the Governor.
>
> Section 3. Those persons who conscientiously scruple to bear arms shall not be compelled to do so, but shall pay equivalent for personal service.
>
> Section 4. The Governor shall have power to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the State, to suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.[295]

These vague provisions embedded within the first state constitution formed the foundation of the Mississippi militia system.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the President of the United States, United States Congress, and the Secretary of War attempted to established

[295] John K. Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1983), 83; Mississippi Constitution of 1817.

uniform policies to regulate militia systems within each state.[296] Yet, few of these Federal regulatory laws were meticulously followed and state militias remained unstandardized, community-based organizations. In 1845, Yazoo residents claimed, "the most superficial observer cannot fail to have noticed the neglect which has attended this subject in our State . . . the mass of people seem to have lost sight of the great importance of proper and efficient military discipline.[297] Some communities, however, had locally organized militia companies that regularly assembled for military instruction.[298] In pre-war Canton, Captain J. T. Collins ordered all members of the "Canton Beat Company" to report with arms and equipment for military drill and instruction.[299] Even state officials recognized the inconsistent nature of the militia. After the war with Mexico, the Mississippi governor described the militia system as a "nuisance."[300] Local militias existed in some Mississippi communities, but militia organization was neither consistent nor uniform across the state during the early antebellum period. Perhaps effective in

[296] For examples of United States militia policies, see *Southern Argus* (Columbus, Mississippi), May 19, 1840; *The Yazoo Whig and Political Register* (Yazoo City, Mississippi), October 16, 1840; *Flag of the Union* (Jackson, Mississippi), March 14, 1851; *The Ripley Advertiser*. (Ripley, Mississippi), January 24, 1846; *The Panola Lynx* (Panola, Mississippi) January 10, 1846; *Liberty Advocate (*Liberty, Mississippi), July 2, 1840.

[297] *The Yazoo Democrat* (Yazoo City, Mississippi), December 31, 1845. For a similar sentiment, see *The Pearl River Banner* (Monticello, Mississippi), March 16, 1839.

[298] For examples of articles discussing militia drills, reviews, or elections, see *Canton Herald* (Canton, Mississippi), January 02, 1839; *Lexington Union* (Lexington, Mississippi), September 18, 1841; *Southern Telegraph* (Rodney, Mississippi), August 29, 1837; *The Guard* (Holly Springs, Mississippi), October 30, 1844; *Holly Springs Gazette* (Holly Springs, Mississippi), May, 12 1843; *Piney Woods Planter and Amite Union Literary Reflector* (Liberty, Mississippi), October 13, 1838.

[299] *Madison Whig Advocate* (Canton, Mississippi), May 16, 1840.

[300] Dunbar Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi, 1803-1898* (Jackson: Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1908; reprint: Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company, 1978), 34.

peacetime, Mississippi antebellum militia traditions proved incompatible with wartime demands.

Increasing sectional tension reshaped Mississippi's military defense policy, prompting the state to centralize and standardize their state forces in the late 1850s.[301] In 1858 the state created, paid, and supplied four volunteer companies: the Quitman Light Infantry, Quitman Guards, Covington Guards, and Light Guard.[302] For the first time in state history, Mississippi developed a state-controlled and equipped militia. Although occurring a thousand miles away in the hills of western Virginia, John Brown's infamous attack on Harper's Ferry in the fall of 1859 once again spurred Mississippi into action. The state legislature appropriated $150,000 to arm and supply additional volunteer companies and created a "Volunteer Military Board," comprised of captains from each volunteer company. Responding to Mississippi's call, men slowly began to organize and enlist in state volunteer companies.[303] Although increasing state control over the militia, antebellum laws still did not permit the commissioning of state generals, colonels, or majors. In the years leading up to the Civil War, Mississippi gradually began to centralize their militia system.

In January 1861, Mississippi seceded from the Union. Now, in open defiance of the United States government, the Magnolia State rapidly moved to re-organize its localized military defense system. The Mississippi Secession Convention formed the Committee on Military and Naval Affairs to coordinate the state's military preparations,

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[301] Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi,* 34; Jerry Causey, "Selected Correspondences of the Adjutant General of Confederate Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History* XLII, No. 1 (February, 1981), 33.

[302] Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi,* 34-35.

[303] Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi,* 34.

which, in turn, authorized the formation of new brigades and divisions.[304] After brief discussion, on the eighth day of the convention, Mississippi passed "An Ordinance to regulate the Military System of the State of Mississippi," creating eight new regiments, separate from the militia, and developing a Military Board, composed of the governor, a major general, and four brigadier generals. This extremely influential Board, tasked with coordinating the state's regular army units as well as the militia forces, "shall have power and authority: To make all needful rules and regulations not contrary to law, for the government and discipline of the Volunteers, including articles of war, subject to the approval of the Convention, or of the State Legislature, after this Convention shall have finally adjourned."[305] Departing from their antebellum tradition of a decentralized militia, Mississippi's Military Board created a centralized military apparatus. Instead, a community-based organization with popularly-elected, local commanders, this new militia system created a state-based militia system with commanders appointed by the state government. Thus, the state-controlled Military Board prevent local community members from determining militia policy or electing influential locals to militia posts.

During Secession Convention debates, several government officials criticized the consolidated Military Board. Instead of a centralized military system, James C. Chambers, a member of both the Committee on Military and Naval Affairs and the

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[304] A native of DeSoto County, James C. Chambers chaired the Committee on Military and Naval Affairs, served as a militia captain, and sat on the militia's governing board. Timothy B. Smith, *The Mississippi Secession Convention: Delegates and Deliberations in Politics and War, 1861-1865* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2014), 84-86.

[305] J. L. Power, *Proceedings of the Mississippi State Convention, Held January 7th to 26th, A. D. 1861. Including the Ordinances, as Finally Adopted, Important Speeches, and a List of Members, Showing the Post office, Profession, Nativity, Politics, Age, Religious Preference, and Social Relations of Each* (Jackson: Power and Cadwallader, Books and Jobs Printer, 1861), 54.

militia's governing board, argued for a traditional militia system where "some good men . . . [could] be left at their respective homes until the necessity arises of calling them into active serve."[306] Displeased with the state's handling of the military system, most militia board members wanted to curtail the convention's authority over Military Board membership. In a moment of cooperation, select members of the militia board and Committee on Military and Naval Affairs held a joint meeting, but unable to reach a compromise, the militia board members promptly walked out.[307] Still dissatisfied, militia board members adopted the Military Board with only a "bare majority" and filed a scathing minority report.[308] Complaints went unheeded and the state of Mississippi committed to the centralized Military Board.

Members of the influential Military Board, appointed by the Secession Convention, directly shaped Mississippi's militia policy. As governor, Pettus was the leading figure on the Board and served as Commander-in-Chief of the state's military force. An ardent secessionist, prominent lawyer, and slaveholder, Pettus was extremely loyal to his state and the Confederacy, but he was a mediocre administrator.[309] Other Military Board members included Jefferson Davis as major general as well as Earl Van Dorn, Charles Clark, James L. Alcorn, and Christopher H. Mott as brigadier generals.[310] Aside from Alcorn, all Board members had prior military experience in the Mexican War

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[306] *Vicksburg Whig* (Vicksburg, Mississippi), January 23, 1861.

[307] Natchez Daily Currier (Natchez, Mississippi), January 16, 1861; Smith, *The Mississippi Secession Convention*, 101.

[308] Smith, *The Mississippi Secession Convention*, 133.

[309] Timothy B. Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War: The Home Front* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 12-13; Smith, *The Mississippi Secession Convention*, 183.

[310] Smith, *The Mississippi Secession Convention*, 152; Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War*, 22.

or in Western Indian wars. As knowledgeable military men, most Mississippians strongly supported the election of Davis as major general and concluded that other Board members were "generally well known."[311] Initially, qualified and respected individuals—most with extensive political and military experience—served on the Military Board.

Soon after the Military Board's creation, however, a rapid change in membership occurred, creating administrative upheaval. Jefferson Davis, appointed President of the Confederate States of America, moved to Montgomery, Alabama and then on to Richmond, Virginia. Not long after, Mott and Van Dorn left for Confederate military service. After three experienced Board members vacated their positions, Pettus appointed Richard Griffith, Absalom M. West, and William Barksdale as brigadier generals. Clark, after serving an exceptionally brief period, also rushed off for Confederate service and Pettus once again needed to fill a vacant seat on the Military Board.[312] By the end of 1861, several new faces sat on the Military Board: Reuben Davis served as major general, and John O'Ferrall, Absalom M. West, Charles Dahlgren, and James Alcorn held positions as brigadier generals.[313] Alcorn was the only original member still on the Board. Unavoidable personnel changes caused managerial inefficiency and hindered the Board's administrative capabilities.

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[311] *Vicksburg Whig* (Vicksburg, Mississippi), January 30, 1861.

[312] After Clark left, Pettus should have promoted Alcorn, the longest serving brigadier general on the Board, to major general. Political conflict, however, overrode seniority and Pettus appointed former congressman Reuben Davis as major general. Miffed at the Governor's selection, Alcorn threatened to resign but quickly relented. Remaining as brigadier general, Alcorn allowed Davis to assume the major generalship. Smith, *The Mississippi Secession Convention*, 152. For Reuben Davis's perspective of the Military Board and the controversy with Alcorn, see Reuben Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians*, 404-407.

[313] Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi,* 38.

In conjunction with the Military Board, the Mississippi adjutant general helped manage militia forces. In the antebellum period, the adjutant general's office had been relatively unimportant. The war, however, made its role paramount. Six different men staffed this critical office during the course of the war, and all but one served less than a year. When Mississippi seceded in January 1861, Walter L. Skyes manned the adjutant office. Before the end of winter in 1861, Richard Griffith and Beverly Matthews entered and exited the office. In February 1861, William H. Brown became Mississippi's adjutant general, but, after serving less than a year, he left in March 1862. Jones S. Hamilton filled the office from March 1862 until June 1863, when William H. McCardle, a well-known planter and former sergeant in the 12th Mississippi, assumed the role.[314] Remarkably, McCardle served until the end of the war.[315] Similar to the Military Board, the rapid turnover in adjutant general's office created administrative difficulties and prevented the state from properly managing their militia forces.

In addition to the rapid personnel turnover, the adjutant general's office lacked an adequate administrative staff. Although sufficient for peacetime management, Mississippi's administrative structure could not sustain the demands of wartime. "The

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[314] Most of these men enlisted in Confederate service: Richard Griffith entered the 12th Mississippi, Beverly Matthews volunteered for the 4th Mississippi Cavalry. William H. Brown joined the 13th Mississippi, and Jones S. Hamilton joined the 16th Mississippi. Causey, "Selected Correspondences of the Adjutant General of Confederate Mississippi," 35; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860); United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[315] After the war, William H. McCardle became a famous newspaper journalist. During Reconstruction, he was arrested for printing seditious material about the United States Congress and a Union military commander, was jailed, and denied habeas corpus. His case rose to the United States Supreme Court, but justices refused to hear the case, see *Ex parte McCardle*, 74 U.S. 506 (1869). United States Bureau of the Census, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860); United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860); United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

law is evidently better adapted to times of peace than the present immergency [sic.] and would meet every necessity of simple organization and drill. But in organizing troops for active service in the field it is so extremely deficient, as to render efficient organization impossible," reported Adjutant General Jones S. Hamilton.[316] Correspondences from militiamen and commanders, 161 letters in 1861 alone, piled atop the adjutant general's desk in Jackson.[317] Even if a tireless and dedicated worker, one man could simply not manage the burdensome duties and excessive paperwork required of Mississippi's wartime adjutant general. Moreover, the state only authorized one clerk to this critical department, and, with wartime inflation, that assistant's fixed salary became inadequate. Reporting to the governor, the Mississippi adjutant general reminded Pettus that "the duties of this Department are frequently very laborious and such as to require additional assistance."[318] In desperation, one adjutant general paid for additional administrative assistants from his own pocket.[319] Mississippi lacked the infrastructure and administration framework to command, feed, and equip a centralized militia.

While the Military Board, adjutant general, and governor oversaw militia enrollments and supplied state forces, none of these organizations had the administrative

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[316] *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson and Columbus, November and December 1862, and November 1863* (Jackson: Cooper & Kimball, State Printers, 1864), 150.

[317] For the Mississippi adjutant general's letters and correspondences see, Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH. Unfortunately, the adjutant general's outgoing mail has not survived. Causey, "Selected Correspondences of the Adjutant General of Confederate Mississippi," 36.

[318] *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson and Columbus, November and December 1862, and November 1863,* 150. For other reports regarding the excessive workload, see *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson and Columbus, November and December 1862, and November 1863,* 181-182.

[319] *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson and Columbus, November and December 1862, and November 1863,* 150.

capabilities nor consistent personnel needed to command an independent defense system. Thousands of enthusiastic men responded to Pettus's initial call for state troops in 1861 and, although promising to fully equip state and militia units, Mississippi lacked arms and supplies.[320] Unaware of what the state actually issued to new militia companies, commanders and captains requested clarification. D. L. Fletcher, Captain of the Minute Men of Attala, wrote the adjutant general with a slew of inquiries. "You will discover from the many questions asked herein that we are in a Military darkness up this way and desire more light," Fletcher remarked.[321] Others requested tents, uniforms, armaments, and militia uniform buttons.[322] In March 1861, A. Q. Withers requested rifles for a militia company being raised in Byhalia.[323] Militiamen expected officials to quickly and efficiently prepare the state for war.

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[320] Minutes of the Military Board, 1861, MDAH. According to General Order 1, issued on March 12, 1861, the state asked commanders to request material when their company formed, but the state waited until companies mustered into service to provide these precious supplies. *OR*, ser.I, vol. LII, pt. II, 25-26.

[321] Captain D. L. Fletcher, Kosciusko, to William H. Brown, February 11,1861 Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH.

[322] The Military Board proscribed special uniform buttons to militia units. Early in the war the adjutant general received numerous letters regarding these buttons. For examples, see George P. Foote, Mississippi to William H. Brown, May 15, 1861, Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH; James L. Alcorn, Jackson, Mississippi to William H. Brown, February 11,1861 Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH.

[323]A. Q. Withers, Byhalia, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, March 30, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. For additional examples of men requesting tents, uniforms, and armaments, see, Isaac M. Partridge, Vicksburg, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 13, 1860, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; D. McCallum Dekalb, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 21, 1860, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; William S. Berry, Columbus, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 28, 1860, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; to John J. Pettus, November 21, 1860, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; A. E. Lewis, Pascagoula, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, April 27, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; James Z. George, Carrollton, Mississippi to Col Brown, May 14, 1861, Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH; B. H. Collins, Water Valley, Mississippi to W. H Brown, May 14, 1861 Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH; R.B Brown, Olive Branch, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, May 8, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; D. S. Pattison, Gibson, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 18, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. A Peterson, Oxford, Mississippi to John J.

Lacking necessary infrastructure, officials struggled to pay, arm, organize and equip men for war. Militia organizations across the state mustered into service without paymasters, quartermasters, commissaries, or transportation agents.[324] State arsenals were poorly stocked. Unable to issue weaponry to early-war volunteers and militia companies, Pettus admitted to the legislature, "this deficiency of arms has been a source of much regret to the people, and none more so than myself."[325] In an act of desperation, the Military Board asked citizens to surrender their shotguns and hunting rifles to the state.[326] Hearing of the Governor's proclamation, R.D. Lanier of Marion County offered "one a Double barrel shotgun & the other a Single, which are at your Service ~~at~~ as a free gift."[327] Yet, few citizens complied with this request and those who did proffered outdated weaponry.[328] Years later Samuel G. French, the Chief of Ordnance, recalled civilians' worthless but well-meaning donations:

> Alas! when these guns began to arrive the gods of war never beheld such an wonderful collection of antique weapons as came in for the Governor. There were guns with only a vent, to be fired with a live coal, guns without ramrods, barrels without stocks, and stocks without barrels, guns without cocks, cocks without pans. One gun, I remember, consisted of a barrel that flared out at the muzzle like a bell nailed on a crooked cypress rail, without a cock, having only a

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Pettus, September 13, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. Some of these militia companies voluntarily entered Confederate service later in the war.

[324] For other reports regarding the excessive workload, see *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson and Columbus, November and December 1862, and November 1863*, 181-182.

[325] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi, Called Session therefore, Held in the City of Jackson, July and August*, 1861 (Jackson: E. Barksbale, State Printers, 1861), 9.

[326] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi, Called Session therefore, Held in the City of Jackson, July and August*, 1861, 9-10.

[327] R.D. Lanier, Marion County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 12, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[328] Minutes of the Military Board, 1861, MDAH.

> vent and pan, requiring one man to hold it and another to "touch it off." It was a valuable collection for an antiquarian, but useless in war.[329]

Mississippi, without a reliable supplier or other source of Enfield rifles, issued outdated weaponry to both newly recruited Confederate soldiers and militiamen.[330] Eventually, all who entered Confederate service and, at Pettus's insistence, some militiamen received modern weaponry from Richmond.[331] Armament shortages, however, plagued Mississippi for the remainder of the war and militiamen frequently found themselves totally unarmed or inadequately supplied with antiques.[332] Lacking weaponry and equipment, Mississippi could not adequately support a centralized state-level military system.

Nonetheless, most Mississippi officials genuinely believed the state needed a large military force to combat wartime threats. Countless young men left home and entered regular Confederate service in 1861 and those remaining on the home front

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[329] Samuel G. French, *Two Wars: an Autobiography of General Samuel G. French: An Officer in the Armies of the United States and the Confederate States, A Graduate from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, 1843* (Nashville: Confederate Veteran, 1901), 137.

[330] French was not the only Mississippian to complain about the weaponry issued to the militia and State Troops, see H. G. Blackman, New Vernon, Mississippi to Richard Griffith, January 22, 1861, Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH; J. J. Shannon, Paulding, Mississippi to William H. Brown, May 21, 1861, Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH; T. J. Hardy, Paulding, Mississippi to William H. Brown, May 21, 1861, Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH; W. H Garland, Pike County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 11, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Thomas P. Shields, Columbus Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 23, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Reuben Davis, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 24, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Samuel French, Jackson, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 25, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[331] At Pettus's request, Confederate officials attempted to supply guns to unarmed Mississippi militiamen, see United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederacy Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), sr. I, vol. XXIV, pt. III, 847, 1010 (hereafter cited at *OR* followed by series, volume, part, and page number); *OR*, sr. I, vol. XXXIX, pt. II, 782, 823; *OR*, sr. I, vol. XLV, pt. I, 1241.

[332] Throughout the war Confederate commanders bemoaned the militia's lack of arms, see *OR*, sr. 1, vol. XXIV, pt. 3, 847

feared Union invasion.[333] Calling "upon the patriotic men of Mississippi, who may be able to come with arms in their hands" the Military Board requested ten thousand men for "such time as emergencies may require," provided their term of service did not exceed sixty days.[334] After appropriating $500,000 for the "Army of Ten Thousand," state legislators ordered these newly recruited citizen-soldiers to gather under Major Generals Reuben Davis and James L. Alcorn at Corinth and Granada.[335] Government officials, aware of the pressing supply problems, instructed recruits to bring their own arms, blankets, cooking utensils, and clothing.[336] Before men could fully organize and perfect the art of military drill, Mississippi moved the raw volunteers into Kentucky to serve under Confederate Commander Albert Sidney Johnson. Unusually cold and bitter weather soon befell the unprepared Mississippians, causing disease to severally thin their ranks. Little could be done for the ill-fated Army of Ten Thousand. After enduring several months of hardship, the soldiers' terms of enlistment expired in February 1862, allowing them to return home.[337] The Army of Ten Thousand demonstrated the utter failure of the Military Board and the state's centralized military system.

The Military Board was a fatally flawed and highly criticized system. Even Alcorn, one of the Board's original members, recognized its managerial difficulties and

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[333] The eight regiments created by the secession convention had been turned over to the Confederate War Department by the fall of 1861. Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War*, 57-59.

[334] *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson, November and December 1861, and January 1862*, 48.

[335] *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson, November and December 1861, and January 1862*, 48-49.

[336] Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War*, 60.

[337] Many members of the ill-fated Army of Ten Thousand enlisted in regular Confederate service. A few men served in other state units later in the war. Minutes of the Military Board, 1861, MDAH; Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War*, 60; Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians*, 422-425.

suggested the "continuance of some military organization upon a more economical plan."[338] State legislators finally abolished the inefficient Military Board on December 20, 1861, but Mississippi's management of their militia system did not significantly improve.[339] Despite its relatively short period of existence, the actions of the Military Board set the standard for the state's military defense system. The Board's administrative failures and inadequacies of the Army of Ten Thousand did not sway state policy and Mississippi continued to place unorganized and poorly supplied troops in camps of instruction. Although Mississippi insisted on a centralized military system, the state lacked the managerial and bureaucratic structure to support this type of militia force.

After the demise of the Military Board, the state ordered local militiamen to fill the ranks of the Mississippi State Troops. Although based on the state's peacetime militia system, this new policy differed sharply from the decentralized and unregulated militia of the antebellum era. Directly controlled by the governor, militiamen were placed in regiments and battalions based on their county of residence. As was the case under the Military Board, the state governor, one major general, and four brigadier generals developed militia policy and commanded these citizen-soldiers. On March 10, citizens elected Tullius C. Tupper as major general of the State Troops.[340] Mississippians also selected Micajah F. Berry, Charles M. Smedes, Richard M. Winter, and Benjamin

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[338] Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi*, 369; *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson, November and December 1861, and January 1862* (Jackson: Cooper & Kimball, State Printers, 1862), 142-143; Minutes of the Military Board, 1861, MDAH.

[339] *Laws of the State of Mississippi, November and December 1861, and January 1862*, 142-143.

[340] Originally from Vermont, Tupper was in his late forties and worked as a lawyer at the time of his election. *American Citizen.* (Canton, Mississippi), February 22, 1862; *The Eastern Clarion.* (Paulding, Mississippi), March 28, 1862; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860.

M. Bradford as brigadier generals.[341] Although state citizens now popularly elected commissioned officers, the militia system still remained highly centralized and tightly controlled by Pettus.

In May 1862, Pettus activated the newly reorganized Mississippi Minute Men. Responding to the Governor's call, local militiamen formed into infantry, cavalry, and mounted infantry regiments and battalions.[342] Structured by county and region, most militiamen served in companies with their neighbors and family members. Responding to Pettus's call for troops, Elijah Creel, a forty-two-year-old farmer, and his neighbors joined the Leake County Rovers. After relocating to Camp Tupper in August 1862, citizen-soldiers from Leake, Scott, and Simpson County were organized into the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men. Despite leaving for war with their kin and neighbors, the Mississippi Minute Men did not remain in their local communities for long. Instead, militia commanders ordered these men south to Jackson, where they performed guard duty in the state capital.[343] The state gathered citizen-soldiers in centralized camps of

[341] Under the Military Board, the governor appointed and the legislature approved militia commanders. Now, civilians of voting age elected these high-ranking officers. *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson, November and December 1861, and January 1862*, 34; *Jackson Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), January 14, 1862; Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War*, 61.

[342] These regiments and battalions were irregularly sized. Many organized militia units contained around a thousand men. Many men, however, were soon discharged. High rates of absenteeism also impacted the size of these units. Most militia regiments and battalions contained around 300-500 soldiers at any given time. In the spring of 1862, cavalrymen initially organized into one battalion. These mounted military units, however, reorganized several times during their term of service. Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi*, 369.

[343] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster rolls, 1st Battalion Minute Men, MDAH.

instruction and then required militiamen to serve outside their home county, which caused many demoralized citizen-soldiers to apply for discharges or desert.[344]

Despite mobilizing thousands of militiamen in 1862, the state lacked the capacity to manage every single regiment and battalion of the Mississippi Minute Men. As one of the better-managed militia companies, the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men regularly received orders, guarded military supplies, and policed Jackson. The state, however, completely mismanaged several militia units. Citizen-soldiers in the 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, often referred to as Colonel Benjamin King's State Troops suffered from gross mismanagement. In October 1862, the unit encamped at Granada where company captains noted the extreme supply limitations. Pettus eventually furloughed the grateful militiamen for forty days on October 4, 1862. These men rushed home to their families and crops, but thirteen days later officials in Jackson inexplicably revoked the men's furloughs.[345] Reassembling at Granada, the citizen-soldier still lacked basic provisions. Captain George W. Ellis of Company A claimed, "no member of this company has received any clothing since mustering in."[346] Meanwhile, Captain James H. Evans of Company F lacked orders or official communications. Without basic supplies and aimlessly waiting in camp for orders, privates requested surgeon's discharges or

[344] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster rolls, 1st Battalion Minute Men, MDAH.

[345] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi;* muster rolls, 1st Battalion Minute Men, MDAH.

[346] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; muster rolls, 1st Regiment Minute Men, 1862-1863, MDAH.

simply deserted the regiment.[347] The state's overstretched bureaucracy failed to support the active duty militia companies.

Militiamen, including the men of the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, spent their time in poorly managed camps of instruction or serving in auxiliary roles. According to Pettus, these "less actively engaged" troops guarded "important depots of public stores, and other important points along the line of the different railroads, and have thus relieved the regular troops of that duty and to that extent strengthened the Confederate army in the field."[348] Few militiamen, however, actually performed vital guard duty or replaced regular Confederate troops. Colonel D. H. Quinn's 2nd Regiment Mississippi Minute Men spent most of their service waiting and drilling at Camp Tupper and Camp Milldale. The state never deployed the unit in prolonged combat.[349] Despite creating a small army from the militiamen, Mississippi lacked experienced military commanders, infrastructure, and the weaponry necessary to employ citizen-soldiers as an effective defense force.[350] During times of Union invasions, militia commanders and government officials failed to mobilize their state militia. Most Mississippi Minute Men,

[347] No records exist for this company after February 1863. It is unclear when the unit mustered out of service. Presumably men retuned home in March or April 1863.

[348] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi, December Session of 1862, and November Session of 1863* (Jackson: Cooper & Kimball, State Printers, *1864)*, 99.

[349] Muster and pay rolls, 2nd Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, Undated, 1862-1863, MDAH; Fragment of morning report, April 21, 1861, 2nd Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, Undated, 1862-1863, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi*, 502. Records for the 2nd Regiment Mississippi Minute Men are incomplete and the unit may have been called out to counter small raids or been involved in skirmishes. Regardless, this unit did not experience prolonged combat or any large-scale engagements.

[350] Most Mississippi Minute Men did not experience combat, although some units spent a portion of their service staffing garrisons, policing cities, or rounding up deserters.

therefore, sat helplessly in centralized militia camps as Union soldiers overran other regions of the state.[351]

The 3rd Battalion and 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, however, were an exception, as both units saw combat during the Vicksburg Campaign.[352] Formed in the summer of 1862, members of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men hailed from northeastern or southeastern Mississippi.[353] Similarly, the 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men recruited white Southerners from Newton, Jasper, Neshoba, Winston, Smith, Jones, Wayne, and Kemper Counties.[354] None of these militiamen had personal connections to Vicksburg, yet the Mississippi government ordered them to defend the Gibraltar of the Confederacy while militiamen from Warren County sat aimlessly at Camp Milldale.[355] Mississippi's centralized militia system removed men from their home communities. In times of Union invasions, the state, without regard to men's backgrounds or personal ties, moved militiamen to counter enemy invaders. Militiaman,

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[351] Mounted infantry or state cavalry units saw combat in the northwestern portion of Mississippi. Records for these units, however, are incomplete and do not provide a detailed account of men's combat service. *OR*, sr. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. II, 503-504

[352] The 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men served under Confederate commanders during the Vicksburg Campaign, but the state retained control of these men. Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi*, 506-507.

[353] The 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men were recruited from Monroe, Noxubee, Lowndes, Oktibbeha, Chickasaw, Green, Perry and Hancock Counties. Muster and pay rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, 1862-1863, MDAH; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

[354] Like the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, most men from the 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men were from the northeast and southeast portions of the state. Muster and pay rolls, 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, 1862-1864, MDAH; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service, Mississippi.*

[355] Men from Warren County served in Company E, 2nd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men. Muster roll and pay roll, August 26, 1862 to September 6, 1862, 2nd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, 1862-1863, MDAH; Muster roll and pay roll, October 7, 1862 to December 1, 1862, 2nd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, 1862-1863, MDAH; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi*, 508.

with their localized conception of military service, expected to defend their own communities, but the state ordered citizen-soldiers to fight and possibly die for the defense of other regions of the state.

Active duty militia companies across the state lacked adequate food and shelter during their terms of service in 1862 and 1863.[356] Suffering from privation, militiamen and their commanders requested explanations and additional supplies from the state government, but Mississippi, unaccustomed to maintaining a centralized military force, failed to provide militia camps with basic provisions.[357] Citizen-soldiers stationed at Camp Tupper in Bolton lacked sustenance.[358] Likewise, Raymond County Minute Men, during their brief furlough home, complained to neighbors about the hardships of living in undersupplied camps.[359] Meanwhile, Brigadier General James Z. George protested the poor quality of beef issued to the State Troops.[360] At Granada, Colonel Benjamin King's

[356] Scholars note the impact of food shortages on the Confederacy. They argue that Union blockades and the disruption of southern agriculture helped cause the Confederacy's collapse, see Andrew F. Smith, *Starving the South: How the North won the Civil War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2011).

[357] Mississippi had promised to supply their militiamen. In January 1863, the state amended the militia law. The law stipulated "that all officers and soldiers of the State troops, while in active service, under the orders of the Governor, shall be entitled to the same rations and clothing, and the same commutations, as are allowed to officers of the same rank and soldiers of the Confederate States army." *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson and Columbus, November and December 1862, and November 1863* (Jackson: Cooper & Kimball, State Printers, 1864), 65; I. Grozer, Mississippi, to John J. Pettus, November 17, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Richard J. Cox, Richmond, Virginia to John J. Pettus, February 3, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; R. G. Keller, Milldale, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 30, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[358] A. O. Cox, Bolton, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 2, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[359] *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), February 5, 1862.

[360] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 19,1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men could not preserve meat for lack of salt.[361] Creative quartermasters attempted to purchase additional supplies for their own men but lacked money to buy necessities in inflated Confederate markets.[362] Some state officials assumed the Confederate government would provide provisions for undersupplied Mississippi militiamen, but Richmond was not a reliable supply source.[363] Removing men from their homes and communities required Mississippi to feed and house citizen-soldiers, but the state government utterly failed to provide for their militiamen.

Medical supplies and qualified surgeons were also in short supply in wartime Mississippi. Infirm militiamen could obtain a medical discharge or indefinite furlough on a surgeon's orders.[364] In addition to the legitimately ill, demoralized militiamen, seeking a way to return home, applied for medical discharges. Qualified surgeons, therefore, needed to carefully examine men to separate the legitimately ill from the shirkers. Mississippi, however, lacked qualified medical personnel at many of the militia camps.[365] A commander stationed at Aberdeen asked Pettus to appoint a full medical staff for each

[361] Benjamin King, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, December 16, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. Southern states, especially Mississippi, lacked salt during the Civil War. For a study about salt in the Confederacy, see Ella Lonn, *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy* (New York: W. Neal Company, 1933).

[362] R. G. Keller, Milldale, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 3, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[363] I. Grozer, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 4, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[364] Militiamen's compiled service records often record medical discharges, see United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

[365] For militiamen and commanders complaining about a lack of surgeons, see C. T Wheadon, Garlandsville, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 20, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; W. F. Moseley, Land Springs, Mississippi to Jones Hamilton, August 4, 1862, Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH; Richard Winter, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 17, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

division of the state militia.[366] Brigadier General James Z. George expressed similar concerns. Stationed at Granada, George lacked medical directors and relied upon an untrustworthy board of regimental surgeons, who indiscriminately furloughed or discharged men during the winter of 1862-1863. "I have no confidence in them they are not responsible to me," George told Pettus in an air of an exasperation.[367] George, in a vain effort to resolve his dilemma, asked Pettus for a trustworthy brigade surgeon, but, prior to receiving a qualified medical professional, unruly militiamen and the existing board of regimental surgeons challenged the authority of the unpopular militia commander. Militiamen, with their localized understanding of service, did not want government appointed surgeons to enforced stringent discharge regulations. Militia commanders, however, begged the government to provide qualified doctors to support the state's centralized militia system.[368]

After spending months away from home in poorly managed militia camps, few citizen-soldiers received payment for their service. In accordance to law, the state was to pay privates nine dollars a month for active duty service.[369] Militia captains, colonels, or

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[366] W. R. Moseley, Aberdeen, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 18, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[367] James Z. George, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 27, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[368] James Z. George, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 27, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; James M. Powell, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 15, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. Petition to John J. Pettus, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 12, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[369] State Auditor's Records, Civil War Militia Payment Vouchers which Include Company Rosters, MDAH; In January 1863, the state amended the militia law. The law stipulated "that all officers and soldiers of the State troops, while in active service, under the orders of the Governor, shall be entitled to the same rations and clothing, and the same commutations, as are allowed to officers of the same rank and soldiers of the Confederate States army." *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson and Columbus, November and December 1862, and November 1863* (Jackson: Cooper & Kimball, State Printers, 1864), 65.

majors from every corner of the state wrote to Jackson requesting payment.[370] On August 1861, Captain B. G. Johns requested $684 for the Amite Rifles, an early war militia unit from the state of Mississippi. Upon the approval of Adjutant General D. P. Porter, the seventy-six men of the Amite Rifles received nine dollars each.[371] Although some payments were delayed, most members of the Mississippi State Troops received payment in 1861 and early 1862.[372]

Nonetheless, the state government could not pay thousands of active duty militiamen from 1862-1865. By the winter of 1862-1863 militia payments became irregular; some men received payment for their services, while other units waited and got nothing from the state government.[373] In February 1862, D. S. Welch, in the 3rd

[370] Militiamen could also request back payment from Mississippi, prior to transferring to the Confederate army. *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson, July 1861* (Jackson: E. Barksbale, State Printers, 1861), 73.

[371] Amite Rifles, Civil War Militia Payment Vouchers Which include Company Rosters, State Auditor's Records, MDAH.

[372] For records regarding militia payment, see Civil War Militia Payment Vouchers Which Include Company Rosters, State Auditor's Records, MDAH. This file is not fully comprehensive, but numerous militia companies received payment in the early war period. Thus, it can be inferred that most militiamen were paid in 1861-1862.

[373] Most militia payment records stop in late 1862. Archival records are incomplete and some men may have received payment from 1863-1865. The governor's office, however, received numerous complaints from unpaid militia commanders and privates. Therefore, it can be inferred that many militiamen were not paid during the late war period. See, Civil War Militia Payment Vouchers Which Include Company Rosters, State Auditor's Records, MDAH; D.S. Welch, Flower's Place, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 22, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Ruben Davis, Aberdeen, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 19, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Benjamin King, Milldale, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 17, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; M. R. Jones, Columbus, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, October 29, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Officers of the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 20, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Absalom M. West, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 5, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; J. L. Foote, Port Gibson, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 5, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. See also the State Treasury's Report in *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State Mississippi, Called Session therefore, Held in the City of Jackson, July and August, 1861*, 86-99, 122-126.

Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, wrote Pettus about militiamen's salaries.[374] Likewise, officers of the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men petitioned the Governor regarding their men's back payments.[375] Without pay, members of an independent cavalry company simply disbanded, claiming, "they are at Present at Home, and will not go back unless Some provisions are made to pay Them. They are Poor men who have left destitute families and without they are paid their families will Suffer. They have been inactive Services all the while. Our Superiors have been very negligent about getting pay."[376] State government offices, including the treasury department, were disrupted in the spring of 1863 as government employees fled the capital and other Union-occupied territories.[377] As war destroyed the state's infrastructure and government expenses mounted, the Mississippi government failed to pay their home defenders.

Most Mississippians were not paid for their active duty militia service in 1862-1863, but citizen-soldiers who fought and surrendered at Vicksburg were a notable exception. The state legislature recognized these men's exceptional service and dedication to the state's defense. In a special act of the legislature, Mississippi promised to pay the 3rd Battalion and 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men the same amount as regular Confederate soldiers.[378] Mississippi specifically paid the men who served in

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[374] D.S. Welch, Flower's Place, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 22, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. See also, 3rd Regiment commanders, petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 8. 1863, 3rd Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, 1862-1863, MDAH.

[375] Officers of the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 20, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[376] L. J. Morgan, Aberdeen, Mississippi to A. J. Gillisppie, June 28, 1863, Superintendent of Army Records, MDAH. The original spelling, capitalization, and sentence structure has been preserved for historical context.

[377] Michael B. Ballard, *The Civil War in Mississippi: Major Campaigns and* Battles (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 158-159.

[378] *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called and Regular Session of the*

active duty combat at Vicksburg, but the state lacked a standardized pay schedule for militiamen who served in garrison or auxiliary functions.

The militiamen at Vicksburg rallied with Confederate commanders and soldiers to defend the city on the bluffs. Although officially perusing a policy of cooperation, Mississippi officials often struggled to communicate with Confederate army commanders, which hindered coordination and created unnecessary tensions. Unaccustomed to managing military units and lacking an extensive administrative system, Mississippi officials could not obtain an accurate troop count. Unaware of troop strength and positions, vexed Confederate commanders could not rely on the state for information nor effectively employ militiamen in active combat. Attempting to gather state militiamen to bolster Confederate regulars, a Confederate army lieutenant colonel complained about the "unsettled militia organizations."[379] Likewise, Confederate Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk ordered an inspection of the State Troops. The militia major general serving under Polk could not gather his men and regretfully replied, "at this time my command is so scattered under orders that it cannot be collected without special orders from the Governor."[380] Confederate Colonel T. P. August, a conscript enrolling officer, determined that state and Confederate coordination was impossible because the adjutant generals files were "so very meager that I could not ascertain the number of regiments . . . furnished by the state."[381] In most instances, Mississippi state

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Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson and Columbus, November and December 1862, and November 1863 (Jackson: Cooper & Kimball, State Printers, 1864), 151-152; *OR*, sr. II, vol. IV, 224, 229.

[379] *OR*, ser. I, Vol. , pt. III, 973.

[380] *OR*, ser. I, Vol. XXXII , pt. III, 784.

[381] *OR*, ser. IV, Vol. III, 707, 762.

officials wanted to cooperate with Confederate commanders and politicians in Richmond. Practically, however, Mississippians could not transform their mismanaged militiamen into an effective fighting force.

Conscription into the Confederate army created an additional level of conflict and confusion between militia commanders in the field, Jackson politicians, and national Confederate leaders. Prior to the passage of the conscription law in April 1862, Mississippians of all ages could enlist in the State Troops. Confederate conscription initially encompassed men between eighteen and thirty-five and those exempted from national service were subject to mandatory state militia duty. As the war progressed and the need for manpower increased, the Confederate Congress curtailed exemptions and expanded the scope of conscription to include all men between seventeen and fifty, drastically limiting the pool of men legally available for militia duty.[382]

Pettus's personal views shaped Confederate conscription laws within the state's borders. Confederate President Jefferson Davis, a Mississippian, was personally acquainted with Pettus, which allowed the two men to develop a strong working relationship. Unlike Governor Joseph Brown of Georgia, questions of states' rights did not consume debates over the Mississippi State Troops.[383] Pettus never attempted to

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[382] James M. Matthews, *The Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Fourth Session of the First Congress; 1863-4. Carefully Collated with the Originals at Richmond, Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Fourth Session of the First Congress; 1863-4. Private Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Fourth Session of the First Congress; 1863-4* (Richmond, VA: R. M. Smith Printers, 1864), 172.

[383] Governor Joseph E Brown of Georgia notorious used states' rights to withhold the Georgia militia, known as "Joe Brown's Pets," from Confederate service. Historians, such as Frank Owsley, Albert Burton Moore, and William Harris Bragg, often use Georgia to demonstrate the destructive nature of states' rights and the internal division within the Confederacy. For studies on the Georgia militia or Governor Joseph Brown, see Frank L.

withhold Mississippi militiamen from Confederate service using states' rights rhetoric.[384] Nonetheless, Pettus inserted his own opinions into any conversation and, at times, hesitated to turn his militiamen over to the Confederacy. Mississippi politicians readily placed militiamen under Confederate commanders, but, even then, the men officially remained in state service. Pettus did not want the Mississippi State Troops drafted into national Confederate service during state emergencies. When facing an attack, state official mobilized militiamen and place them under the leadership of Confederate army commanders. During these volatile times, Pettus feared that Confederate conscription would disrupt already organized militia companies and leave the state even more vulnerable to Union invasion.[385] The Confederate Secretary of War concurred with Pettus and permitted the state to temporarily retain control of all its militiamen, even those of conscription age. Once the Union threat passed, however, Mississippi needed to turn younger militiamen over to Confederate enrollment officers for national military duty.[386] The views of the Confederate Secretary of War and state governor, however, did not solely define Mississippi's militia policy.

Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925); Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1924; reprint, New York: Hillary House, 1963); William Harris Bragg, *Joe Brown's Army: The Georgia State Line, 1862-1865* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987); William Harris Bragg and William R. Scaife, *Joe Brown's Pets: The Georgia Militia, 1861-1865* (Mercer: Mercer University Press, 2004); Joseph H. Parks, *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* (Baton Rouge*:* Louisiana State University Press, 1977).

[384] Some Mississippians were aware of Joseph Brown's opinions on conscription. Several of Brown's letters regarding conscription and the Georgia State Troops reached Mississippi newspapers, see *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), August 27, 1862.

[385] John J. Pettus, Jackson, Mississippi to George Randolph, November 15, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[386] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863; OR, ser. I, vol. XXIV, pt. III, 621.

The state's Attorney General and the Mississippi Supreme Court also shaped state militia and national Confederate conscription laws. The Confederacy lacked a national Supreme Court. State courts and justices, therefore, interpreted national law in their judicial rulings and were the final arbitrators of all constitutional questions.[387] No one in the state precisely understood Confederate conscription laws, national exemption policies, and state militia regulations. Pettus admitted that he was "so frequently interrogated . . . that I desire your opinion for publication" and requested clarity from Mississippi's Attorney General.[388] As the chief legal officer of the state, Attorney General T. J. Wharton maintained that Confederate exemptions laws did not apply to militiamen. Confederate law did not dictate state militia laws. Regardless of Confederate laws, Mississippians needed to serve in the state militia unless exempted by the Mississippi governor, adjutant general, or special act of the Mississippi state legislature. Nonetheless, the attorney general conceded, "a contrary opinion has almost universally [been] obtained."[389] Officials within state government could not reach a

[387] The Confederacy did not have a national Supreme Court. Article III, Section I of the Constitution of the Confederate States of America provided legal framework to establish a Supreme Court, but wartime demands prevented the Confederacy from actually creating this court. The southern state courts, therefore, arbitrated most of the pressing constitutional disputes, such as the cases arising over the Confederate Conscription Acts. For additional information on the Confederate constitution and legal system, see T. Bradley Johnson, John V. Wright, A. J. Orr, and L. Q. Washington, "Why the Confederate States of America had no Supreme Court," 4 *Publications of the Southern Historical Association* (March 1900): 81-98; David P. Currie, "Through the Looking Glass: The Confederate Constitution in Congress, 1861-1865," 90 *Virginia Law Review* (September 2004): 1257-1399. William L. Shaw, "The Confederate Conscription and Exemption Acts," 6 *The American Journal of Legal History* (October 1962): 368-405; G. Edward White, "Recovering the Legal History of the Confederacy," 68 *Washington and Lee Law Review* (Spring 2012): 468-550.

[388] *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee), October 22, 1862; *Weekly Panola Star* (Panola, Mississippi), October 29, 1862. Although printed in Tennessee, the *Memphis Daily Appeal* had extensive readership in Mississippi and frequently contained Mississippi news.

[389] *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee), October 22, 1862.

uniform judgment. In an effort to establish a standard legal policy, Alexander H. Handy, Chief Justice of the Mississippi Supreme Court, finally offered a definitive ruling. The court ruled that Confederate laws remained supreme and enrolling officers could legally enroll Mississippi militiamen into Confederate armies. Militia service did not exempt men from their national duty. Unfortunately, Judge Handy handed down his decision in the October Term of 1864 and the ruling had little practical impact.[390] Although ordered to serve in the Confederate army, the war ended before the petitioner, Mississippi militiaman David Simmons, ever saw combat.[391] Lack of legal uniformity within Mississippi, as well as in the regionalized Confederate court system, hindered conscription and the efficiency of the militia.

Despite Pettus's opinions and Mississippi Supreme Court rulings, not all militia commanders or Mississippians realized the scope of national Confederate conscription laws. Confused commanders of the Mississippi State Troops requested clarifying information from Jackson.[392] James Z. George, militia commander at Granada, repeatedly asked Pettus for instructions regarding conscription: What is the effect of conscription on state militia? Can militiamen drafted into national service select their

[390] James Z. George, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the High Court of Errors and Appeals* XXXIX (Philadelphia: T. & J. W. Johnson & Company, 1867), 19-28; *Daily Clarion* (Meridian, Mississippi), January 18, 1865. The court ruling did not appear in regularly newspapers until early 1865.

[391] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[392] For a few examples of civilians or militia commanders requesting clarification regarding militia and conscription laws, see A.J. Huntin, Oakland, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, April 21, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; John C. Humphries, Port Gibson, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 2, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; M. R. Clark, McCall's Creek, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 2, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH;

Confederate regiment?[393] Other Mississippians noted the extensive limitations of Confederate conscription. Although falling within conscription age, men in their thirties and forties remained at home or served in the Mississippi State Troops.[394] The state did not intentionally hold conscripts in the State Troops, but poor communication, limited logistics, and an unclear legal statute prevented Confederate enrollment officers from collecting Mississippi militiamen as conscripts.[395]

Perilously caught between Confederate generals under strict orders from Richmond, ill-equipped Mississippi political officials, and unenthused, rank-and-file citizen-soldiers, militia commanders became mired in multi-level bureaucracy. James Z. George, during his brief tenure of as a militia brigadier general, became immersed in the Magnolia State's lackluster administrative network when he attempted to reform the furlough system. Citizen-soldiers requested leave with alarming regularity and, as a result, the majority of George's men were absent from camp at any given time. Mississippi lacked a uniform furlough policy, leaving individual commanders, including George, to manage their militiamen's furlough requests to the best of their abilities. Seeking to resolve the high rates of absenteeism, George implemented a "ten percent system," which permitted ten percent of the unit to be furloughed at any given

[393] James Z. George, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 2, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; James Z. George, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 12, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[394] For letters and articles discussing the limitations of conscription, see Weekly *Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), November 22, 1862;

[395] For examples of Mississippians complaining about the inefficiency of conscription, see J. T. Girault, Jackson, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 18, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH;

moment.[396] Men, longing for the comforts of home, rebelled against this new form of government-imposed control and appealed directly to Pettus for relief. Militia officers claimed their commander did not act in the interests of his men and that "we know nothing of Gen. George's military capacity as he has never drilled this brigade."[397] After publically explaining the rationale behind his controversial Ten Percent policy, George's men rescinded their charges. Although resolved, this incident between George and his subordinate officers demonstrated a disconnect between Mississippi's centralized military system and militiamen's localized conception of service.

In addition to battling subordinates over furloughs, George clashed with Confederate commanders. Officially, Mississippi adopted a policy of cooperation, placing militiamen under Confederate commanders and even transferring some State Troops into Western Theater armies.[398] Nevertheless, individual militia generals experienced tension with the Confederate commanders in their respective departments.[399] In the spring of 1863, George worked under the direct command of Brigadier General

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[396] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 27, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 12, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH. Petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to James Z. George, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH.

[397] Petition, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH; Petition, Mississippi to James Z. George, February 19, 1863, 3rd Regiment Minute Men, MDAH.

[398] Official Confederate military records discuss the transferring of select units into Confederate command, see *OR*, ser. I, vol. XXIV, pt. III, 621; OR, ser. I, vol. XXIX, pt. II, 893; *OR*, ser. I, vol. LII, pt. II, 405, 775-776; *OR*, ser. IV, vol. II, 300; *OR*, ser. IV, vol. IV, 114, . 823-824.

[399] James Z. George was among the many militia officers who experienced conflict with Confederate commanders. Confederate General James R. Chalmers and Militia Major General Samuel J. Gholson frequently squabbled over troops. Chalmers claimed that Gholson issued orders directly to his militiamen and interfered with Confederate commanders, see *OR*, sr. I, vol. XXIV, pt. III, 737-738, 741, 745-746, 748, 758.

Loyd Tilghman to organize the defense of Mississippi, but, instead of collegial coordination, the two men clashed over rank and military protocol. First, Tilghman forced George, a brigadier general in state service, to take orders from a Confederate colonel. "I could not see what right he had to command me his superior in rank," George vented to Pettus.[400] Exacerbating an already tenuous situation, the Confederate general, once again disregarding rank, placed George under the authority of a Confederate quartermaster. Directing harsh insults at Tilghman, the disgusted militia commander determined, "by the same logic he can easily arrive at the conclusion that he is invested with all the powers of the President of the Confederate States or even the Almighty himself."[401] Refusing to back down, Tilghman then ordered Mississippi militiamen to perform guard duty for a steamboat along the bank of the Mississippi River. Citing the advanced age and poor physical condition of his troops, George refused to move the militiamen. Despite this reasoning, Tilghman, irritated with the militia commander, arrested George for disobeying orders. The state formally acquitted George from any wrongdoing but frustrated with Confederate commanders, Mississippi bureaucracy, and inaction, George resigned from the militia and reentered Confederate service.[402]

While George sparred with Confederate commanders, Mississippi Major General Tullius C. Tupper clashed with Pettus over the state's poorly managed militia system.[403]

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[400] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, March 4, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[401] James Z. George, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, March 4, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[402] Smith, *James Z. George*, 72.

[403] Tupper and other Mississippi militia commanders begged Pettus for a revised militia system. Prior to resigning from state service, Rueben Davis requested Pettus to reform Mississippi's military system. Rueben Davis, Aberdeen, Mississippi to John C. Pettus, November 26, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

Citizens described Tupper "as a man possessing those sterling qualities which are requisite to make up the efficient and successful commander."[404] Sharing the perspective of disillusioned civilians, Tupper questioned Mississippi's centralized militia system and asked Governor Pettus to disband the State Troops so citizen-soldiers could return to their farms and communities. [405] The state militia commander wanted his citizen-soldiers, after their brief period of training, to be ordered home with their tents, arms, and equipment. If Union soldiers invaded the state, minutemen could be called out to defend their home and communities.[406] Tupper advocated for a traditional, decentralized militia system, which appealed to citizen-soldiers' localized conception of service.

Challenging Mississippi's centralized military system cost Tupper his position as a militia major general. Coming before his men, Tupper thanked them for their loyal service and explained his forthcoming resignation:

> Why has it become necessary for me to retire from the service, it is perhaps sufficient to say, that an honest difference of opinion has arisen between the Commander-in-Chief and myself as to the true policy to be pursued in reference to our Militia organization. When a portion of the Militia were first called into active service, it was my purpose to make them in reality what they were in name. MINUTE MEN—to place them in camps of instruction for a short time—to ensure them to the discipline of the camp and field; and when the emergency was no longer pressing, to return them to their homes with their arms and equipment, ready to take to the field again at a moment's warning. Thus they would continue an efficient reserve for our defense, on an emergency, and at the same time materially contribute to our supplies as part of our producing population [407]

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[404] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 22, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), April 12, 1862; see also, *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863.

[405] See T.C. Tupper's letter that was published in the local newspapers, *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863.

[406] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), April 17, 1863.

[407] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), April 17, 1863. Emphasis in the original.

Tupper's vision for the Mississippi Minute Men clashed with the ideas of Pettus and the state legislature, who supported a centralized system. Finding the official state policy incompatible with his viewpoint, Tupper resigned from state service and offered his services to President Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy. Pettus, meanwhile, appointed Samuel J. Gholson, a judge and staunch supporter of the centralized militia system, as Mississippi's new major general.[408] Reflecting upon Gholson's appointment, Mississippians condemned the new militia commander, "the title of Major General and *six-thousand dollars a year* were too great a temptation even for Judge Gholson's self-denial! He has accepted the office to continue a militia system that has met with almost universal condemnation."[409] A few militia commanders, such as Tupper, recognized the conflict between the state's centralized bureaucracy and militiamen's desire to remain in their communities. Individual commanders, however, could not reform Mississippi's militia system. Thus, disillusioned generals, including Tupper, continued to resign from militia service.

Noticing the sudden influx of commanders' resignations and the mounting complaints from civilians, Mississippi government officials gradually confronted the problems associated with the inefficient militia system. Instead of eliminating the centralized militia system, however, state officials strengthened and increased Mississippi's control of the State Troops. Addressing the Mississippi House of Representatives, Pettus noted "the many defects in the practical operation of the militia

[408] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), April 17, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), April 3, 1863.

[409] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), April 3, 1863. Emphasis in the original.

laws of this state."[410] Confederate commanders, Pettus realized, failed to prevent Union invasion and demoralized militiamen provided did little to aid in the state's defense. Although Pettus created and managed the Mississippi Minute Men, he refused to assume responsibility for the system's many failures. Instead, he contended that Mississippians unjustly criticized the state's faultless militia system, which, in turn, encouraged men to desert or avoid militia service altogether.[411] Blaming Mississippi civilians, Petttus claimed:

> My efforts to place the number of troops in the field, which I deem necessary to guard the state against destructive raids, have been much embarrassed by the opposition of a part of the press of the State oppressing the enforcement of the militia law passed at the last session of the Legislature. The great confidence of the people in the ability of the Confederate government to protect the state from invasion, induced large numbers of them to regard the effort being made to organize and bring into the field the militia of the State as unnecessary, and the law itself as impracticable and oppressive. Had the efforts which have been made to organize the State troops received that support, which in view of the great danger threatening us, I had a right to expect, there is much reason to believe that the condition of Mississippi would now be much better than it is.[412]

Pettus, an oblivious but well-meaning governor, failed to notice the system's administrative problems or the state's lack of resources. The governor fully believed in his militia system and, rather than permanently disband it, proposed to strengthen Mississippi's militia laws and expand the system's bureaucracy. As the war wore on, he pushed for more State Troops and requested that all white males, citizens as well as

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[410] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State Mississippi, December Session of 1862, and November Session of 1863,* 98.

[411] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State Mississippi, December Session of 1862, and November Session of 1863,* 99.

[412] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State Mississippi, December Session of 1862, and November Session of 1863,* 99.

temporary foreign residents, between eighteen and sixty join the militia.[413] Despite his grandiose plans, Pettus's term as governor expired before he made extensive changes and the Mississippi militia remained a centralized organization that conflicted with the militiamen's localized conception of military service.

Elected to the governor's mansion in the midst of Civil War, Charles Clark, a lawyer, and Mississippi planter, faced the epic task of reforming the state's maligned militia system. Almost immediately after assuming office on November 16, 1863, Clark addressed the militia, declaring, "the day of militia play has passed—such troops as I may be entrusted to command, must expect to yield to the stern necessities which are forced upon us, and do the duty of soldiers."[414] Following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Clark determined to support the Confederate armies while maintaining a large standing militia in state service. Like Pettus, the new governor assumed armed citizen-soldiers could protect vulnerable areas of Mississippi, which had been left defenseless by the overwhelmed Confederate armies. Fully endorsing the militia and committing to a strong, centralized military defense system, Clark concluded, "a large force of this character is necessary to our defense."[415] He proposed to reorganization state forces and add an additional three thousand cavalrymen and artillerists to the State Troops. Under Clark's tenure, the state transferred some militiamen into Confederate armies and, once

[413] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State Mississippi, December Session of 1862, and November Session of 1863,* 99.

[414] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State Mississippi, December Session of 1862, and November Session of 1863,* 159.

[415] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State Mississippi, December Session of 1862, and November Session of 1863,* 203.

again in 1864, called the State Troops into active service.[416] Although a new governor, Clark did not break from previous policy and maintained Pettus's centralized militia system for the remainder of the war.

In August 1864, Mississippi officials, at the request of Governor Clark, mobilized citizen-soldiers from across the state to repel approaching Union armies. Calling for all able-bodied men between sixteen and sixty, Mississippi formed several new infantry regiments and battalions for thirty days active duty militia service. With little advance warning, white southerners kissed their wives and children goodbye, vacated their homes, and assembled at camps in Granada, Okolona, and Brandon, Mississippi. In a vain effort to secure popular support for the militia mobilization, Clark placed former-governor Pettus, now a militia colonel, in command at Granada.[417] As in 1862-1863, the Mississippi government, further destabilized by war, struggled to pay, arm, and command their militiamen. Most never saw combat, remaining idle in camp for the duration of their service.[418] Instead of defending the Magnolia State in her time of great need, Clark's 1864 militia mobilization caused additional upheaval within a state already immersed in the chaos of war. Southern communities—decimated by food shortages, facing financial ruin, and confronting enemy invasion—felt the loss of productive, middle-aged southern men to mandatory militia service.

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[416] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State Mississippi, December Session of 1862, and November Session of 1863*, 203-204.

[417] The remaining mounted militiamen and state cavalry units, many of which had been serving the northwestern sections of the state since 1862, assembled at various locations to combat Union raids. Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi*, 540; Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War*, 61.

[418] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

Cooperating with the national government, Mississippi readily transferred state militiamen over to the Confederate army. A few militiamen individually volunteered for Confederate service during the early years of the war. Perhaps anticipating conscription before the war's end, William Arnold, a thirty-eight-year-old private in the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, received official permission to join the Partisan Rangers in July 1862.[419] Some southerners, such as militiaman William Kellis, resigned from their positions with the militia or petitioned the governor to enter regular Confederate service.[420] Nonetheless, relatively few Mississippi militiamen volunteered for national Confederate service in 1861 or 1862. In fact, most citizen-soldiers resisted joining the Confederate army and openly protested transfer attempts. Fearful of being torn from their homes and forced against their will into Confederate armies, militiamen of the 1st Mississippi Minute Men petitioned the governor, seeking to prevent the unit's transfer.[421] The mounting demand for manpower in 1864 and 1865, however, necessitated additional trained soldiers and Mississippi frequently transferred battalions and regiments of militiamen directly into national Confederate service.[422] The state, after reorganization men into mounted units, turned several infantry and cavalry units over to the Confederacy. Meanwhile, Mississippi officials, realizing the limited abilities of the State Troops, completely disbanded some of the remaining infantry units. Other units, many of which were completely disorganized beyond use, officially remained on active duty

[419] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[420] William Kellis, Kellis Store, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 23, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[421] Petition from Soldiers of the 1st Mississippi Minute Men, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 23, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[422] *OR*, ser. I, vol. XXIX, pt. II, 616.

service but did little for Mississippi's defense.[423] Despite enrolling many late-war citizen-soldiers in Confederate armies, a minority of Mississippians remained in the militias until the war's end.[424]

The transfer of Mississippi's State Troop into Confederate service did not go as planned. Contending with inadequate records and faulty channels of communication, Jackson officials, militia field commanders, Confederate generals, and Richmond politicians created contradictory policies and regulations. Initially, Mississippi officials and Richmond leaders, fearful of disrupting the existing military organization within the state, prevented the transfer of active duty militiamen. Individual Confederate commanders and conscription officers, however, still attempted to forcefully enroll all conscription-aged men, regardless of their militia affiliations, into the Confederate armies.[425] As a result, official conscription and militia policy remained unclear and differed drastically due to local personalities and ground level conditions.

Given the complex militia system, transferring conscription-aged Mississippians into Conference service proved a challenging endeavor, often requiring legislative or gubernatorial approval. Instead of simply enrolling in Confederate service, Mississippians needed official permission to leave the state's centralized militia system, creating an additional layer of bureaucracy. Only after obtaining permission from the governor or state legislation, could members of the Mississippi State Troops enter Confederate service, which delayed men from entering combat situations to aid the

[423] *OR*, ser. I, vol. XXIX, pt. I, 430. Many of these Mississippi militiamen turned Confederate cavalrymen served under Nathan Bedford Forrest for remainder of the war.

[424] Reports of militia units appear in Confederate correspondences until the last days of the war, see *OR*, ser. I, vol. XLIX, pt. II, 1148, 1202, 1213-1214.

[425] *OR*, ser. I, vol. XXIX, pt. II, 616.

defense of the state.[426] According to Mississippi state law, militiamen were prohibited from serving more than thirty days of active duty service in 1864 and 1865. Longer terms of duty required gubernatorial authorization, which took time to obtain. Realizing the need for immediate and decisive action, Mississippi officials attempted to rectify this law and gather men for long-term service in the Confederate armies, but changing Mississippi's centralized militia system was an arduous process.[427] Existing state-level militia regulations hindered the transfer of citizen-soldiers into the Confederate armies.

Faced with abounding contradictions and a multi-level military system—comprised of the state-controlled militiamen and nationally commanded Confederate regulars—Confederate generals and militia field commanders alike became mired in ever-changing policies created by Jackson and Richmond politicians, comfortably seated at their desks far away from the convoluted realities of field command. "With reference to the State troops there exists much misunderstanding between the Confederate States and State officials as to their status, and to such an extent has this misunderstanding existed, that the efficacy of these troops has been almost destroyed," maintained a perplexed Confederate cavalry commander.[428] Lacking a well-ordered bureaucratic structure and necessary personnel, Mississippi failed to enforce Confederate conscription regulations within the state or ensure that able-bodied men did their national duty by serving in the Confederate army. Even civilians realized the limitations of the Mississippi government and the shortcoming of its militia system. Addressing President

[426] *OR*, ser. I, vol. XXXIX, pt. III, 855-856.
[427] *OR*, ser. I, vol. XXXIX, pt. III, 855-856.
[428] *OR*, ser. I, vol. XXX, pt. IV, 577.

Jefferson Davis, a Leak County civilian expounded upon the evils of the multi-level military organization found within the Confederacy:

> There are three military organizations, viz, general Confederate service, State reserves, and State militia. The great evil of this thing is that the general Confederate service is actually weakened; the State reserves is composed mostly of persons liable to and deserters from the general Confederate service, and the State militia is composed mostly of deserters and persons belonging or liable to the other branches of service. This is not only true as to the privates generally, but the officers also. There is a terrible confusion to these things, and it is knowingly and willingly suffered. Men are enlisted in the State reserves under false names and places, who are deserters from the general Confederate service, or are conscripts liable to that service, and in this case, in part, with the State militia. . . . Why is such confusion of service and abuse of pretend service permitted?[429]

Officially, Mississippi pursued a policy of friendship and cooperation with the Confederate high command. Nationalistic state officials wanted young Mississippians to join the ranks of Confederate armies, but the state still needed to protect its civilians from an invading enemy. Mississippi bureaucrats and executors, therefore, maintained a state militia force, staffed primarily by older civilians, for additional protection. Instead of adding another line of defense, however, this multi-level military organization prevented southern men from directly enlisting in Confederate regiments and unintentionally hindered the transfer of troops, especially during the final months of the war.

Overrun by countless Union soldiers, Mississippi gradually began to disintegrated into chaos by mid-1863.[430] Situated on the bluff above the mighty Mississippi River,

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[429] *OR*, ser. I, vol. XLI pt. I, 1247.

[430] Several historians have noted the disintegration of wartime Mississippi and the Confederacy as a whole, see Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2009); Timothy B. Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War: The Home Front* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010).

Vicksburg, an important commerce hub and vital lifeline to the trans-Mississippi, finally surrendered in July 1863. Union soldiers under infamous Union General William T. Sherman marched across Mississippi in February 1864; destroying supplies, telegraph lines, and railroad tracks, as they went. In the heavily forested hills of northeast Mississippi, Union generals crushed the Confederates at Tupelo in July 1864. Encroaching Federal armies set the valuable Southern cotton crop on fire, slaughtered livestock, destroyed civilians' foodstuffs, and emancipated slaves. Faced with invasion and utter destitution, government officials, scrambling before Union soldiers occupied the governor's mansion in Jackson, relocated the state capital to Meridian, Columbus, and, later, Macon, Mississippi. Tired of war, some civilians packed their meager belonging and set off, preferring the unpredictable life of a refugee to hardships of wartime Mississippi.[431] Meanwhile, by the winter of 1864, Union raids penetrated deep into the Magnolia State, permitting Federal cavalrymen to ride unopposed across the state, harassing and tormenting southern civilians from the Gulf Coast to the Piney Woods to the hills of northern Mississippi.[431] From late 1864 until the end of the war in April 1865, Mississippi was largely overrun by Union forces and the state government, thrown into disarray, could not command the state militias.

Local defense companies and militia units roamed the state at will as Mississippi's centralized militia system had mostly collapsed by late 1864. Military discipline disintegrated as unpaid and hungry conscripts, deserters, and renegades abandoned their units and wreaked havoc among local civilians. On more than one

[431] For an operational history of Mississippi military campaigns and battles, see Ballard, *The Civil War in Mississippi.*

occasion, militiamen, under strict orders to protect and defend Mississippi civilians, turned upon the local populous, stealing food and supplies, as well as harassing women and children. While on scouting trip, mounted militiamen under Captain Little demolished a whiskey distillery in Simpson County. Civilians, longing for their now destroyed alcoholic refreshments, vigorously protested the uncontrolled conduct of the Mississippi militiamen.[432] In a fit of sheer exasperation, Clark explicitly ordered the militia "to repel raids, not make them."[433] Yet, armed men, many former or current members of the militia, still roamed about the countryside intimidating civilians and thieving from the state's working population. Long before the Confederate surrender in the spring of 1865, the Union army had systematically destroyed Mississippi's ability control its militiamen.

Mississippi officials developed a centralized militia system to protect the state from Union invasion. The Mississippi State Troops, however, were not the protective bulwark the government had envisioned. Unaccustomed to fielding a large military force for an extended duration, the state adjutant generals, governors, and Military Board personnel struggled to manage the Mississippi militia. Understaffed officers in Jackson failed to pay, arm, equip, and control their state soldiers. Instead of fighting for home and hearth during crises, Magnolia State militiamen spent months in poorly managed camps while officials, militia officers, and Confederate generals scrambled to command

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[432] William P. Dulaney, Georgetown, Mississippi to Charles C. Clark, June 10, 1864, Peyton's/Cooper's Battalion Cavalry, Mississippi State Troops, Undated; 1864, MDAH; Captain Little, Mississisppi to Major Peyton, June 14, 1864, Peyton's/Cooper's Battalion Cavalry, Mississippi State Troops, Undated; 1864, MDAH; testimonies, undated, Peyton's/Cooper's Battalion Cavalry, Mississippi State Troops, Undated; 1864, MDAH.

[433] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State Mississippi, December Session of 1862, and November Session of 1863,* 159.

and equip them. Politicians in the state capital at Jackson and a thousand miles away in Richmond, developed extensive, contradictory, and ever-changing militia, conscription, and exemption laws. Poor administration and extensive bureaucracy caused the militia to be militarily ineffective and a drain on the state's precious resources. Mississippi intentionally created a centralized militia system but lacked the infrastructure, managerial capabilities, strong leadership, and administration to control these citizen-soldiers.

Mississippi's militia system clashed with citizen-soldiers' localized conceptions of military service. Instead of creating a localized militia defense system based on the state's antebellum militia traditions, the government attempted to create a small standing army out of their militiamen. In response, Mississippi civilians verbally attacked governmental policy and welcomed deserters back into their communities. Furthermore, militiamen, who had anticipated serving within their own communities, resented the state's centralized military system. The managerial and administrative failures disillusioned most Mississippians. Departing from antebellum precedent and Southerner's expectations, civilians and militiamen detested the Mississippi government's centralized militia organization.

CHAPTER IV – FARMERS OR SOLDIERS?: CIVILIANS' AND CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS' PERCEPTIONS OF MILITIA

In late February 1863, editors A. N. Kimball, Charles Winkley, and J. J. Denson from the *Mississippian* and S. Kibble from the *Appeals* were drafted into Mississippi's militia. Prior to receiving their draft notice, these men printed news on Robert E. Lee's army, the fall of New Orleans, and Confederate conscription policies. Now, leaving their office jobs and families behind, Kimball, Winkley, Denson, and Kibble joined the Hinds County militia.[434] Fellow newspapermen mocked the fate of their drafted brothers. "We sympathize with our brother typos and hope they may have a more pleasant time of it than usually falls to the lot of mortals in the 'milish,' though we fear they will not get many 'fat takes' while engaged on the 'State Work,'" proclaimed the *American Citizen*.[435] Civilian printers, similar to most Mississippians, preferred southern men to remain at home rather than serve in the centrally organized Mississippi militia.

As Americans with a strong citizen-soldier tradition, Mississippians were not inherently critical of local militia service.[436] Civilians believed that all white male community members should affiliate with local militias and attend regular military drills. Concerned about home defense and military matters, the residents of Natchez urged older men to fill the ranks of local military organizations and prepare for enemy invasion. "It may be the duty of *some* to stay home, instead of going into active service; it is certainly

[434] These men appear to have left their newspaper jobs, but there is no surviving evidence to indicate that they served in any Hinds County units. Militia records for this county, however, are incomplete.

[435] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 27, 1863.

[436] For an extended discussion of the citizen-soldier tradition, see Ricardo A. Herrera, *Liberty and the Republic: The American Citizen as Soldier, 1775-1861* (New York: New York University Press, 2015).

the *duty* of *all* who do stay at home to connect themselves with some company and *drill*," claimed a Natchez reporter.[437] Although supportive of localized militias that served exclusively in their communities, civilians generally opposed the centralized Mississippi State Troops.

Mississippi's highly centralized wartime militia system elicited criticism, as active duty militia service tore vital civilians from their local communities for no clear purpose. According to most civilians, Governor John J. Pettus created the Mississippi State Troops as an attempt to form a standing army out of their militiamen.[438] Extremely critical of the Magnolia State's militia system, "Franklin" complained:

> But what right have our officials to manufacture a grand standing army out of the militia? The word "militia" implies its nature. It means a body of men to be called out occasionally for short periods of time, in case of pressing emergency. But a portion of the militia have been in the field eight months, and God only knows how much longer they are to remain. It is a misnomer, a perversion of terms, to call the present system a *militia*; and the officials who manage the concern seem conscious of the fact, for they dub it by the uphoneous [sic] title of "Mississippi State Troops" which is but another name for a standing army.[439]

Mississippians wanted their citizen-soldiers to remain productive citizens in the community. By placing militiamen in camps of instruction outside their hometowns for extended periods, the Mississippi government destroyed public support for the state's militia system.

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[437] *Natchez Daily Courier* (Natchez, Mississippi), December 6, 1861. Emphasis in the original.

[438] For additional information regard Mississippi's wartime governor, see Robert W. Dubay, *John Jones Pettus: Mississippi Fire-Eater: His Life and Times, 1813-1868* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1975).

[439] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 13, 1863. Emphasis in the original. "Franklin's" letter to the editor was originally published in Jackson's *Mississippian* and reprinted in newspapers across the state. Presumably, Franklin was not the author's true identity, which remains unknown.

Southern civilians and Confederate soldiers abhorred the bureaucracy, organization, and government's handling of the Mississippi State Troops. Instead of joining a militia organization, Mississippians on the home front and in Confederate uniform preferred men to enlist in national Confederate armies or simply remain at home and uninvolved in the war. Young men, unburdened by family obligations and physically fit for military service, were encouraged to enlist in Confederate regiments rather than shirk their national duty by hiding in state militias. Mississippians, however, preferred older men, household heads, married men with children, and farmers to avoid active duty militia service altogether and remain in their communities. Instead of languishing in militia camps, these men could harvest crops to feed civilians and soldiers, prevent slave uprisings, maintain local businesses, and protect women and children. The Mississippi militia, according to civilians and Confederate soldiers, either sheltered able-bodied young men from proper military duty or unnecessarily tore older men and farmers from their communities in times of great crisis. The Mississippi State Troops never became real or symbolic defenders of home and hearth.[440]

At the start of the Civil War, the militia's role in the coming conflict remained undecided and in flux between Mississippi's secession and the formation of the

[440] In his study of northern militias and home guards, John Michael Foster argues that civilians considered northern home guard and militia service as respectable and necessary components of local security. Therefore, militia and home guard units occupied symbolic roles within their northern communities by "bolstering morale on the home front and facilitating civilian participation in the war effort. In contrast, Mississippi's militia never represented a symbol of hope for Mississippi civilians nor achieved respectable status as a fighting unit. Rather, Mississippians considered the maligned militiamen a poor excuse for a fighting force and instead placed their hope with the regular Confederate armies. John Michael Foster, "Defenders of the Home Front: State Militia, Home Guards, Emergency Troops, and Home Protection in the Civil War North." Ph.D. diss. (Purdue University, 2014), 10.

Confederate States of America.[441] From January 9, 1861 to February 4, 1861, heated debates occurred in the state legislature, local newspapers, and private correspondences as state officials and civilians defined the nature of wartime militia service and Confederate loyalty. During this short period, Mississippians praised young men who rushed to join both provisional Army of Mississippi units and militias. It is important to note, however, that most Mississippians could not officially join Confederate regiments at this time. Only after the state officially entered the Confederate States of America would armed Mississippians be placed in national armies under Confederate control. Only by late April 1861 did infrastructure exist to easily enroll troops directly into Confederate service.[442]

President Abraham Lincoln's election and Mississippi's secession in 1861 encouraged southern men to enlist in hastily organized state forces and local militias. In January, Mississippi's Adjutant General, Walter L. Sykes, reported, "These expiring military fires are being rekindled and companies are organized and have been organizing at a rate of . . . seven to eight per week, numbering from fifty to sixty men."[443] Out of the state's 39,623 men eligible for military duty, Sykes estimated that 3,927 citizens had already volunteered for service by the end of January 1861.[444]

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[441] For a study on Mississippi's secession, see, Timothy B. Smith, *The Mississippi Secession Convention: Delegates and Deliberations in Politics and War, 1861-1865* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2014).

[442] Dunbar Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi, 1803-1898*, 34-35.

[443] Dunbar Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi, 1803-1898*, 34-35; Jerry Causey, "Selected Correspondences of the Adjutant General of Confederate Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History* XLII, No. 1 (February, 1981), 33-34.

[444] Michael B. Ballard, *The Civil War in Mississippi: Major Campaigns and Battles (*Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 6.

That spring, letters from across the state inundated the governor's office, as communities requested permission to organize local militia companies. Just before Mississippi's secession convention, W. C. Falkner, a lawyer from Ripley requested arms and uniforms for two local militia companies.[445] A day later, a Vicksburg native begged Mississippi Governor John J. Pettus to sign the official charter of the "Warren Guards."[446] In late January, John A. Bayly penned a letter from Smith's Store in Jones County requesting authorization to raise a military company.[447] Mississippi's exuberant militarism did not abate as the season changed. Enthusiastic letters requesting commissions and arms for newly formed militia companies continued to reach Governor Pettus during the early spring of 1861. In April, a new militia company composed of underage boys and old men formed in Poplar Creek. Likewise, the concerned citizens of Pascagoula requested arms so their militia company could defend the western Gulf Coast.[448] In early 1861, civilians fully supported militias and militiamen.

Relatively few newspaper articles or diary entries mention the militia at all during the war's early days.[449] Rather, news of Abraham Lincoln's election, southern states'

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[445] W.C. Falkner, Ripley, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, December 28, 1860, Correspondence and Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson Mississippi (hereafter citied as MDAH).

[446] M. D. Picard, Vicksburg, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, December 29, 1860, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[447] John A. Bayly, Jones County, Mississippi, John J. Pettus, January 20, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[448] W. H. Simpson, Poplar Creek, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, April 23, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; A. E. Lewis, Pascagoula, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, April 27, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[449] Most diarists did not mention the Mississippi State Troops or their local militia organization. See, Samuel A. Agnew, *Diary of Samuel A. Agnew: September 27, 1863-June 30, 1864*, UNC, Documenting the American South, Digital Collection; Gordon A. Cotton, ed., *From the Pen of a She-Rebel: The Civil War Diary of Emilie Riley McKinley* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); Mary Ann Webster Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg, With Letters of Trial and Travel* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1864); Robert Milton Winter,

secession, and northern calls for troops occupied the thoughts of most Mississippians. Kate S. Carney, a young Mississippian, praised the Confederate capture of Fort Sumter and Tennessee's secession, but the war was far from her Yazoo County residence and her attention remained on her family.[450] Horace Smith Fulkerson recalled that many members of the State Troops transferred into Confederate service by March 1861, but he focused on other aspects of war preparation.[451] Despite the limited attention of civilians, numerous Mississippians volunteered for both state and militia service.[452]

The formation of the Confederate States of America and the subsequent appointment of Jefferson Davis, a Mississippi native, as its president reinforced civilians' loyalties to the national government.[453] In the minds of Mississippi civilians and Confederate soldiers, national loyalty and service to the Confederacy trumped militia

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ed., *Civil War Women: The Diaries of Belle Strickland and Cora Harris Watson: Holly Springs, Mississippi July 25, 1864 – June 22, 1868* (Lafayette, CA: Thomas Berryhill, 2001).

[450] Kate S. Carney, Diary, April 15, 1861-July 31, 1862, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Documenting the American South, Digital Collection.

[451] Horace Smith Fulkerson, *A Civilian's Recollection of the War Between the States* (Baton Rouge: O. Claitor, 1939), 33.

[452] Incomplete records make it impossible to accurately assess the number of men who joined the Army of Mississippi or local militia companies before Fort Sumter.

[453] Historians debate the existence and extent of Confederate nationalism. Gary Gallagher's *The Confederate War* emphasizes southern unity and determinism. He argues that Southerners developed a strong national identity and maintained a sense of commitment throughout the Civil War. Mississippians civilians and militiamen demonstrated a devote sense of patriotism and loyalty to the Confederacy. In contrast, *Why the South Lost the Civil War, When the Yankees Came, A Savage Conflict,* and *Rich Man's War* have underscored the divisions within the South. These authors contend that Southerners never fully developed a national identity. Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr. *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986); Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2009); David William, *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998).

duty and regional ties.[454] An anonymous Mississippian requested that all single men enter national Confederate service.[455] Throughout the spring and fall of 1861, Confederate commanders assumed control of many Mississippi units. Moreover, countless young men resigned from local militias, instead enlisting in newly raised Confederate companies.[456] Charles Clark, future Governor of Mississippi, resigned from a militia company in order to enter the Confederate army in Many 1861.[457] Men seeking "companies who wish to go into immediate service" could easily enter newly formed national regiments, such as General D. W. C. Bonham's company.[458] The departure of regular Confederate units for the front elicited praise across southern communities. Responding to the development of a cavalry company in Oxford, excited civilians clamored for public parade and drill.[459] During this same period, Mississippians began to criticize the state government's Military Board and the organization of the State Troops. By winter of 1861, a drastic shift in opinion occurred and civilians no longer supported the state's disorganized militias. The national Confederate armies had become the clearly preferred form of military service.

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[454] For discussions on state and national service, see *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 29, 1862; *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861; *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), August 30, 1861.

[455] "A Volunteer," Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 17, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[456] Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi,* 38-39. While still under Mississippi's direct authority, Governor Pettus sent the Second and Eleventh Regiments of the state army to Virginia to serve under Confederate commanders in the Eastern Theatre. Meanwhile, First, Third, Fourth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth regiments, termed the "Army of the Ten Thousand," were ordered to Corinth. Other Mississippi state units assembled in Corinth, Mississippi and Pensacola, Florida. Most Mississippi state troops were transferred to Confederate units in 1861 and early 1862. Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi,* 38-39.

[457] Charles Clark, Corinth, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, May 24, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[458] *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), June 7, 1861.

[459] *The Oxford Intelligencer* (Oxford, Mississippi), April 3, 1861.

The state created Military Board, which controlled Mississippi's military defense system, received the bulk of early criticism. Complaints did not center on the militiamen themselves. Rather, civilians critiqued the expense and bureaucracy of Mississippi's military structure. Few outside the state legislature and the governor's office grasped the intricate complexities of the newly implemented military system, which created consternation and additional complaints. Misunderstanding the difference between state troops in the provisional Army of Mississippi and regular Confederate volunteers, concerned citizens protested the formation of "*two distinct armies*."[460] Even those who understood the bureaucratic inner-workings of the Military Board criticized the "extravagant and ruinous six-headed monster."[461]

The Military Board's bureaucracy suggested governmental impropriety and corruption. According to Mississippi law, the Mississippi Secession Convention or the State Legislature needed to approve all Military Board proceedings. The *Weekly Mississippian*, an anti-Pettus newspaper, reported, "the proceedings of the Board have not been made public. It is quite certain that they were not submitted to the Convention, or to the Legislature, for approval."[462] Furthermore, Military Board members were appointed by the Governor rather than popularly elected. Opponents of Pettus feared he would use Military Board membership to reward faithful supporters at the expense of common Mississippians and the legislature. They accused the governor of withholding Military

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[460] *The Oxford Intelligencer* (Oxford, Mississippi), April 17, 1861. Emphasis in the original.

[461] *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861. The Military Board was composed of the Mississippi governor, a major general, and four brigadier generals. Hence, the Military Board was a "six-headed monster." Timothy B. Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War: The Home Front* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 22.

[462] *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), August 20, 1861.

Board nominations from the state Senate to "keep in these high places anybody he chooses."[463] While administratively inefficient, the Military Board was not actually a bastion of corruption.[464] Nonetheless, the Military Board's secretive proceedings elicited harsh commentary from civilians.

Other civilians, including those supportive of the Pettus administration, questioned the extreme costs associated with the Military Board.[465] William B. Trotter, a Clark County candidate running for the Mississippi State Legislature, captured the spirit of his constituents.[466] Although the Military Board was deemed a necessity prior to the Confederacy's formation, he argued that Mississippi should now fully support the Confederate cause and avoid unnecessary and extravagant expenses. According to Trotter, militia major generals received $8,000 per year and brigadier generals received $3,600 each.[467] Trotter blamed Governor Pettus for the out-of-control spending "as he does not even recommend a reduction of the high salaries of our treasury-fed officers who are growing fat every day on the taxes which are wrung from the pockets of the

[463] *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), August 20, 1861. For a similar sentiment, see *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861.

[464] The Military Board's records are available at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. See, Minutes of the Military Board, 1861, MDAH.

[465] Numerous newspapers articles from across Mississippi noted the extreme expense of the Military Board and active State Troops. See, *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861; *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), August 30, 1861; *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), August 20, 1861.

[466] *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861.

[467] *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861. No evidence exists to indicate that members of the Military Board actually received pay at this rate. Rank-and-file soldiers received nine dollars a month when in active state service. When able, the Mississippi legislature paid these militia privates, non-commissioned officers, and commanders. For information regarding militia payment records, see Civil War Militia Payment Vouchers Which Include Company Rosters, State Auditors Records, MDAH.

farmers and laboring classes of our community."[468] Despite clearly inflated campaign rhetoric, Trotter captured Mississippians' disdain for the Military Board.

Citizens of Paulding held a public meeting protesting the Military Board's mobilization of the Mississippi State Troops. Leading locals called for the Board's immediate abolishment and the disbandment of State Troops.[469] Mobilized and organized into camps of instruction, Mississippi's state government paid active members of the State Troops. Taxpaying civilians, however, resented this additional financial burden. Paulding's public meeting concluded that the eight thousand State Troops sitting in camps cost Mississippi twenty thousand dollars a day, which imposed "a grievous and unnecessary tax upon a loyal and self-sacrificing people, and that went against . . . a large majority of the tax-payers of the State."[470] Civilians perceived the Military Board and active State Troops as an extremely expensive burden on Mississippi taxpayers. The Military Board was finally abolished on December 20, 1861. Mississippians stopped protesting the Military Board, but complaints about militia management, expenses, and bureaucracy persisted for the remainder of the war.[471]

Mississippians wanted young men relieved from state duty in order to serve in Confederate armies.[472] Expressing loyalty to the Confederacy, H. Calhoon of Paulding requested "that the State Troops be disbanded at once, that our brave volunteers are at

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[468] *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861.
[469] *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861.
[470] *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861.
[471] *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature Held in Jackson, November and December 1861, and January 1862* (Jackson, MS: Cooper & Kimball, State Printers, 1862), 142-143.
[472] For an example of this sentiment see, *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861.

liberty to render efficient service to our Confederate army."[473] In 1861 and early 1862, civilians supported the mass transfer of young men from state service to Confederate armies.[474] Many young men did, in fact, become Confederate soldiers after temporary service in the Mississippi State Troops or local militia companies.[475] During the late-war period, however, few members of the State Troops voluntarily enlisted in Confederate service. By mid-1862 onward, most members of the State Troops did not willingly volunteer for Confederate service.

Confederate conscription and exemption laws became intertwined with discussions on state militias.[476] Unaware of conscription's scope and exemption policies, citizens, militia commanders, and conscript enrolling officers were unable to determine which men were eligible conscription or the militia.[477] Mississippians could not decide if

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[473] *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861.

[474] *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), August 30, 1861.

[475] Men requested that they be released from militia service to join to the Confederate armies. For examples, see Isaac Partridge, Vicksburg, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 10, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Edward Lea, Holly Springs, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 18, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Charles Clark, Corinth, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 24, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; H. W. Turner, Turnersville, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 23, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; J. F. Thompson, Turnersville, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, September 17, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Charles Dahlgren, Shieldsboro, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 8, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[476] Few historians have studied Confederate conscription policies at length. While outdated, Albert Burton Moore offered the classic book-length study on Confederate conscription. See, Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: Macmillan, 1924). For state-level conscription studies, see, John M. Sacher, "A Very Disagreeable Business": Confederate Conscription in Louisiana," *Civil War History* 53, No. 2 (June 2007): 141-169; John P. Norman, ""Self-Preservation is the Supreme Law": State Rights vs. Military Necessity in Alabama Civil War Conscription Cases," *Alabama Law Review* 60, No. 3 (2009): 727-749; David Carlson, "Remember thy Pledge!": Religious and Reformist Influences on Joseph E. Brown's Opposition to Confederate Conscription," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 89, No. 1/2 (Spring /Summer 2014): 26-49; Walter C. Hilderman III, *They Went into the Fight Cheering! Confederate Conscription in North Carolina*. (Boone, N.C: Parkway Publishers, 2005).

[477] The Confederate Conscription Act of April 16, 1862 drafted southern men between eighteen and thirty-five into the Confederate armies. The act exempted government employees,

Confederate exemption policies excused men from local militia duty or not. Others, meanwhile, questioned if militiamen could be forcefully conscripted into Confederate armies. Perplexed militiamen, civilians, and commanders wrote the governor for clarification.[478] Mississippi courts and Confederate officials eventually explained official policies, but confusion remained among the general public for the duration of the war.[479] Prominent Madison County citizens concluded that Mississippi's militia system "produces great confusion and harassment . . . in this State as to who should be enrolled and held to conscript duty, and who are to be exempt on account of the Militia."[480]

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miners, doctors, teachers, ministers, druggists, and printers. The Twenty-Slave Rule—men who owned twenty or more slaves were exempted from mandatory military service—was the most controversial exemption. James M. Matthews, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Second Session of the First Congress* (Richmond: R. M. Smith, 1862), 77-79.

[478] Numerous civilians, militiamen, and militia commanders wrote Governor Pettus regarding Confederate conscription laws. For examples, see, A.J. Huntin, Oakland, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, April 21, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; John C. Humphries, Port Gibson, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 2, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; M. R. Clark, McCall's Creek, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 2, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; R. Willoughby, Columbia, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 17, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; H. W. Garland, Summit, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 21, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Citizens of Jasper County, Jasper County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 24, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; S. S. Boyd, Smith County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 2, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; V. O. King, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, October 30, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; L. L. Briggs, Kemper, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 28, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; J. Z. George, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 12, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[479] For newspaper articles about conscription and militia policy, see, *Weekly Panola Star* (Panola, Mississippi), July 30, 1862; *Weekly Panola Star* (Panola, Mississippi), October 29, 1862; *Macon Beacon* (Macon, Mississippi), November 9, 1864; *Natchez Daily Courier* (Natchez, Mississippi), November 1, 1862.

[480] Wealthy and upper-middle class planters attended the public meeting held in Madison County. The local newspaper frequently referred to meeting attendees as "prominent planters of Madison County." This article specifically named several men who were present at this meeting. 1860 census data confirms that these men were, in fact, extremely wealthy or upper-middle class planters living in Madison County. *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860); United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860).

Unclear militia and conscript policies created misunderstandings among civilians and hindered the enforcement of militia and conscription laws throughout the state.

Civilians determined that militia service was dishonorable for young, southern men. Nonetheless, they did not all rush to join Confederate regiments. Noticing a plethora of able-bodied men milling about town, residents of Canton declared, "a thousand, aye, ten thousand times more honorable is it to serve as a private in the ranks of the army, than to be able, with a plum and prancing steed, to make some grand display on muster day before the terrible *milish*.[481] Only eleven percent of wartime militiamen were between sixteen and thirty years of age. In fact, the average member of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men was thirty-six-years-old in 1860.[482] Mississippi civilians and Confederate soldiers, however, believed the State Troops sheltered shirking, young, single men from their national duty. Instead of reporting for Confederate service, civilians complained of conscripts hiding in the State Troops.[483] "The present war is national in its character," the *American Citizen* reminded Mississippians, "and it is the highest duty of Mississippi to contribute all in her power to strengthen the Confederate Government."[484] Nationalistic civilians wanted all their able-bodied young men in gray Confederate uniforms.

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[481] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 29, 1862. Emphasis in the original.

[482] For a statistical breakdown of militiamen's ages, "Ages of Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi Men" and "Ages of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men," 45. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, Compiled Service Records, Mississippi; muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; muster rolls, 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[483] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 13, 1863.

[484] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863.

Despite encouraging young, unmarried men into Confederate service, Mississippians expressed hesitancy to send married, household heads into regular military service or even active-duty militia service. [485] "The militia fit to do service ought to be in the army," contended Canton civilians, "and those not fit ought to be allowed to remain at home to care for their own families and the suffering families of the absentees, and provide supplies for the soldiers in the field."[486] It was "humbuggery and foolishness" to hold aging men, fathers, husbands, and farmers in active duty militia service when they could better serve the community at home. [487] Members of the public believed that only young men, without extensive obligations, should partake in active service while family men, unfit for military hardships, should stay home and support their community while family men unfit for military hardships should stay home and support their community.[488]

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[485] Approximately three-fourths of all militiamen supported their families. In the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, fifty-two men were heads of household while fifteen resided within another's domiciliary. Twenty-six men occupied the position of household head and nine did not have their own household in the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops, MDAH.

[486] *Daily Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), April 10, 1863. Newspaper articles wanted young men to fight in Confederate armies and other men to remain at home, instead of serving in active duty militia companies. See, *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), August 15, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 13, 1863.

[487] *Daily Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), April 10, 1863.

[488] Most young men enlisted in the Confederate army during the early months of the war. In his study of Union and Confederate soldiers who enlisted during the early war period, James M. McPherson's *For Cause and Comrades* argues that forty percent of solders were under twenty-one years of age, with the average Confederate soldier being between twenty-six and twenty-seven years of age. He contends that approximately thirty percent of Confederate soldiers were married. In a study on later enlisting Confederates, Kenneth Noe concluded that half were married, fifty-three percent were household heads, and forty-seven percent had dependents. The mean age for later enlisting Confederates, according to Noe, was twenty-five and a half. Mississippi militiamen were even more likely than the average Confederate soldier to be older,

First and foremost, active duty militia service removed men from their families and towns. Militiamen's wives, children, brothers or sisters often resented militia call-up, which tossed the family unit into chaos. Furthermore, a militia company's wartime departure disrupted important community business and food production. Although most men went off to war willingly, a militia company's departure "not only takes away, and for an indefinite period, the prop, support, and head of many a family, but indeed the bone and sinew of the community—the great mass of our most useful and indispensable citizens."[489] Granted brief furloughs after forty days of active duty, the Milldale militiamen rushed home to enjoy the "comforts of home, and the society of 'wife, children, and friends.'"[490] Yet, like most Mississippi militiamen, the respite proved brief as the governor revoked their furlough and recalled members of the State Troops to active duty. Much to civilians' dismay, these citizen-soldiers once again bid farewell to their wives, children, and communities.[491]

In addition to leaving behind families, the Mississippi government forced active duty servicemen to vacate their farms, often during planting or harvest season.[492] Many young Mississippians had enlisted in the Confederate armies in 1861 and 1862, leaving their farms unattended or in the care of another male family member—men who often

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married, household heads with dependents. James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Kenneth W. Noe, *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates who Joined the Army after 1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[489] *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), July 9, 1862.

[490] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 26, 1862. See also, *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), October 8, 1862.

[491] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 26, 1862.

[492] For a study on the importance of agriculture in the Confederacy, see R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and the Confederacy: Policy, Productivity, and Power in the Civil War South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000).

served in the Mississippi State Troops. More than half of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and over eighty-percent of the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men worked the land in 1860.[493] Unanticipated militia callouts pulled these men away from their farms with little, if any, advanced notice. With local men unable to harvest their fields, civilians feared starvation.[494] "If all the men are to be called out and put into the militia, who are to make the crops and raise the bread?" a Madison County man speculated, "the grim monster of Famine, already near the doors of many, will assuredly enter."[495] Frustrated civilians realized that the state government held their local farmers in camps of instruction. These militiamen were not presently fighting nor did the state anticipate an imminent Union attack. Disillusioned civilians concluded, "what good are they doing? Why keep them in camp? . . Now is the very time they should be at home, getting their plantations in order, preparing their lands for seed, and making all the necessary arrangements for a big crop."[496] The Confederacy needed fruitful harvests to feed both

[493] For an occupational breakdown of the Mississippi militia, see "Occupations of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men," 58. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[494] Several newspapers expressed concern about militiamen's inability to plant crops and the impact that a food shortage would have on the population. See, *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), August 15, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 19, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), June 27, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 13, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 27, 1863; *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee), February 28, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), November 7, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 13, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), April 3, 1863; *Tri-weekly Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), December 22, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 3, 1863; *Daily Clarion* (Meridian, Mississippi), April 1, 1864; *Natchez Weekly Currier* (Natchez, Mississippi), June 14, 1862; *Daily Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), April 2, 1863.

[495] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 13, 1863.

[496] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 27, 1863.

civilians and soldiers.[497] Journalists requested Pettus "do all in his power to relieve the agricultural class" from the burden of conscription and active duty militia service.[498] State Troop callouts tore citizen-soldiers away from their farms and communities. Unable to plant and harvest crops when stationed in militia camps, farmers and Mississippi citizens feared agriculture loss and possible food shortages caused by militia call-ups.

Militiamen's wives, fathers, and neighbors recognized the agricultural loss caused by active duty militia service. Elizabeth C. Haley, like many Mississippi wives, did not expect her husband to be pulled away from their home. Nonetheless, he responded to the state's militia call-up and left with his unit for months on end. His wife wrote the governor asking for her husband's release before her family starved to death.[499] Without their husbands, some wives feared food shortages and debilitating poverty. Families also struggled to manage the spring planting and fall harvest without help from their male kinfolk. In late 1862, E. Williams requested that his son, J. C. Williams, be permitted to return home to their Hamburg, Mississippi farm to assist with the fall harvest.[500] Removing men from their farms and plantations unnecessarily disrupted Mississippi's agrarian economy.

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[497] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 27, 1863.

[498] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), June 27, 1862.

[499] Elizabeth C. Haley, Camden, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 15, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[500] E. Williams, Hamburg, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 15, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

Not all militiamen tilled the land, and communities also felt the absence of businessmen, professionals, and skilled laborers.[501] Spending months in camps of instruction, business interests of militiamen suffered in their absence.[502] Some offices and stores closed outright. In Raymond, the House of George W. Gibbs shut its doors in July 1862 after the departure of the local militia company. His employees had joined the 12th and 18th Mississippi Regiments and Gibbs, a forty-seven-year-old merchant, joined the Raymond County Minute Men.[503] Similar to his employees in the Confederate armies, Gibbs left his hometown for military service. Announcing the store's closing, the local newspaper proudly proclaimed, "the largest business house in Raymond closed—everyman hitherto connected to it being now in the field in defense of the county."[504] Although legally exempted from militia duty, teachers, ministers, millers, doctors, and local government officials occasionally found themselves in active duty militia companies.[505] Communities, unable to function without these vital personnel, desperately appealed to the governor for the men's release.[506] Already struggling in

[501] A notable minority of militiamen worked as skilled laborers or professionals before the war. 12.85 percent of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and 11.76 percent of the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men worked as skilled laborers or professions before the war. For an occupational breakdown of the Mississippi militia, see "Occupations of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men," 58. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH; Muster rolls, 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[502] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), August 15, 1862; *Vicksburg Whig* (Vicksburg, Mississippi), reprinted in *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), October 31, 1862.

[503] United States Bureau of the Census, 1860. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860. Digital Image. www.Ancestry.com (accessed September 20, 2016).

[504] *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), July 30, 1862.

[505] *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson and Columbus, November and December 1862, and November* 1863 (Jackson: Cooper & Kimball, State Printers, 1864), 67, 107.

[506] Men or other community members often petitioned the governor for militia exemptions. For examples, see Wilson Ferral, Granada, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, November 21, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Dr. A. Cox, Columbus, Mississippi to John J.

wartime with Confederate soldiers' absences, towns now lost additional citizens to active militia service.

While most young men were fighting in Virginia with Robert E. Lee or scattered about the Western Theater, women and older men controlled home front plantations and slaves. In 1860, 436,631 slaves inhabited Mississippi and over half of militiamen either owned slaves or worked as overseers.[507] At the start of the war, Mississippians requested that local militias control the slave population.[508] Communities expected these citizen-soldiers to reside at home, attend military drill, and ensure local stability while Confederate soldiers were away with the army.[509] Locals assumed, albeit falsely, that the continued presence of armed militiamen would prevent civil unrest and slaves from escaping. Members of the Mississippi State Troops, however, were ordered into

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Pettus, December 22, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Daniel McWilliams, Lauderdale County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, December 26, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; M. R. Clark, Brookhaven, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 19, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; H. W Curtis, Carroll County Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 20, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; William Delay, Oxford, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 29, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Samuel Gilbert, Jefferson County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 29, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; F. B Paden, Dalton, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 1, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Isaiah Roberts, Scott County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 2, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; S. F. Smurr, Ebenezer, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 2, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; A. Leafstrand, Winchester, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 6, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[507] For an analysis if slave ownership by Mississippi Militiamen see, "Slave Ownership of Militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Men" and" Slave Ownership of Militiamen in the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops," 60-61. United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860; United States War Department, Compiled Service Records, Mississippi; Muster rolls, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, MDAH.

[508] D.D. Ranch, Tippah County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, April 30, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; J. G Randle, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 5, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; J. T. Freeman, Winoma, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, April 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[509] Goodman, Mississippi, to John J. Pettus, October 12, 1861, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

centralized camps outside their region, far away from the slaves, they were expected to control.

With the absence of militiamen and soldiers, fear of wartime slave revolts permeated the South.[510] Long-term militia service kept men from their families and left "whole neighborhoods for miles unprotected by white men and exposed to outrages."[511] Whites southerners assumed that invading Yankees and rebellious slaves threatened the safety of women and children who had been left alone on the home front. After the minutemen of Madison County departed for Vicksburg, only two "quite old and decrepit" white men remained to manage the six local plantations.[512] Enraged county inhabitants demanded that slave masters and overseers be returned to their community, "on every plantation there should remain at least one strong, resolute, courageous white man, capable of controlling the negroes, enforcing obedience to his orders, giving protection to the family, and ensuring the cultivation of the crops."[513]

Aware of the threats posed by slave rebellions, plantation owners and overseers worried about vacating their property and sought military exemption papers. Elite white

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[510] The absence of white men helped caused the breakdown of slavery. Adams County, Mississippi experienced a bloody slave revolt in the summer of 1861, and Southerners remained fearful of rebellion for the duration of the war. For an analysis on demise of slavery and slave rebellions during the Civil War, see Clarence L. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986); Winthrop Jordan, *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek: An Inquiry into Civil War Slave Conspiracy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1995); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[511] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863. Other newspaper articles also expressed fear of slave revolts. See, *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), June 27, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), February 27, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 26, 1862.

[512] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), June 27, 1862.

[513] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 19, 1862.

women requested that their overseers be released from militia duty.[514] Samuel Magurder personally asked Governor Pettus for permission to leave the militia and return to his plantation to manage his slaves.[515] In some cases, whole communities came together to petition the governor for a man's release. With few white men in their town, the residents of Carroll County petitioned for the release of Robert Farish, a local plantation manager.[516] Removing established household heads and overseers from their plantations, even for militia duty, upset the foundation of the South's slave society.

Similar to complaints about the Military Board in 1861, Mississippians continued to protest the extreme cost of keeping men on active duty. Confederate soldier John S. Neal listed the excessive costs of the 2nd Regiment and 3rd Brigade Mississippi State Troops in hopes of "exposing this military farce."[517] Under the impression that the salaries of militia officers would bankrupt the state, a Madison county man claimed that each militia major general received $8,400, regardless of time spent in actual military

[514] Women frequently requested that their overseers be released from the Mississippi State Troops. See, Mrs. Hodges, Mississippi to John Pettus, January 26, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; John Handy, Canton, Mississippi to John Pettus, February 3, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[515] Friends, relatives, or militiamen requested relief from militia serve to manage slaves. See, Samuel Magurder, Madison County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 8, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Thomas W. Harris, Columbus, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 4, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; William J. Brent, Holmesville, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, February 4, 1863, Correspondence and Papers; G.D. Moore, Noxubee County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 19, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Edward C. Eggleston, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 16, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Moses S. Steed, Warren County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, January 7, 1863, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; Arch Brown, Desoto County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, August 15, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH; J. W. Carroll, Lexington, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, June 21, 1862.

[516] Robert Farish, Carroll County, Mississippi to John J. Pettus, July 15, 1862, Correspondence and Papers, MDAH.

[517] *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), March 6 or 7, 1863.

service.[518] Other Mississippians grumbled about the size of the militia staff, each brigadier general, major general, colonel, and county official came fully equipped with a big staff, "all plump, nice, fat young men, the best food in the world for hungry conscript officers or the militia draft."[519] Already exasperated with officers' high salaries, some citizens questioned their skill. "You have a Major General whose *duty*, it would seem, is to *stay* all the *time* in his office at Jackson, . . . and singing to the tune of a salary of eight thousand dollars per annum, with a full staff of officers . . . [and] *never* go into the field except to drink champagne and eat basket dinners," "Zero" contented in an anonymous editorial.[520] The majority of Mississippians were fully disillusioned with their costly militia officers.

Political opponents blamed the governor for the abysmal conditions of the State Troops. Since 1861, Mississippians had called for the disbanding of the militia and many held Pettus responsible for retaining the maligned system.[521] Comparing their governor to the United States President, civilians pondered "whether he can ape the tyrant Lincoln on a small scale" and realized that "we have no more hope now of getting rid of the militia before the expiration of . . . [Pettus's] term of office than we have of getting rid of the war before the expiration of Lincoln's."[522] Others mocked Pettus for his misplaced

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[518] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863.

[519] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863. Also see, *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee), February 28, 1863.

[520] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863. Emphasis in the original.

[521] Several newspapers expressed this sentiment. See, *Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), March 10, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863; *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), September 20, 1861; *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), March 6, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 26, 1862; *Daily Mississippia*n (Jackson, Mississippi), April 8, 1863.

[522] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), April 3, 1863.

firmness, "as he is a *firm* man—often mistaking stubbornness for firmness, we fear," in keeping the militia in the field.[523] Civilians wondered if Pettus sought to draw upon his firmness to fuel future political ambitions—speculating that their governor sought a seat in the Confederate Senate.[524] Despite the political nature of some complaints, however, average Mississippians, regardless of political background, opposed the Mississippi State Troops.

The 1863 gubernatorial election illustrated voters' widespread opposition to Pettus's handing of the Mississippi State Troops and the Military Board. Pettus did not run for office in 1863. Instead, Absalom M. West, Reuben Davis, and Charles Clark campaigned for the governor's office. Both West and Davis had served on the loathed Military Board during the war's opening days while Clark, after brief service in a local militia, entered the Confederate army, getting wounded at Shiloh and Baton Rouge.[525] Clark's supporters emphasized his Confederate military service and denounced Pettus's mishandling of the militia. Capitalizing on Pettus's unpopularity, the *Tri-Weekly Citizen* offered a tacit criticism of Pettus, "for the last twelve months the militia system "*stunk* in the nostrils" of near every thinking man in the state. Gov. Pettus, a clever gentleman and a true patriot, we believe, by his adherence to it, has sunk so deep in public esteem."[526] Then, turning their attention to Clark's merits, the reporter stressed Clark's patriotism, noble nature, and his adherence to republican ideology. Although initially supportive of

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[523] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863. Emphasis in the original. Also see, *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), April 8, 1863.

[524] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863.

[525] Smith, *The Mississippi Secession Convention*, 182-183.

[526] *Tri-weekly Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), December 22, 1863. Emphasis in the original.

Mississippi's militia law, citizens assumed that Clark would heed their petitions and reform the state's dysfunctional militia. Clark's victory demonstrated Mississippians opposition to Pettus and his management of the Mississippi State Troops. Contrary to Mississippians' desires, however, the new governor did not overhaul the militia system.

Instead of blaming the state's executive branch, some held the legislature responsible for the failed militia system. Anger erupted after the state legislature passed a strict militia law in January 1862. Disgruntled voters realized that "our Legislature has adopted a very stringent Militia Law. Very considerately, however, *they exempt themselves* from all participation under its provisions!"[527] Mississippians believed the governor and congressmen appointed friends and relatives, rather than qualified military men, as militia officers.[528] Begging for a reformed militia system, a resident of Raymond expressed his disgust "with the course of action pursued by our high officials at Jackson" and asked that officers be forced into Confederate service while permitting all men over forty-five to return home.[529] Civilians perceived the Mississippi State Troops as an administrative failure of the state government.

Mississippians also opposed state-appointed militia commanders. Civilians considered these men to be directly tied to the state government. Although most high-ranking militia commanders were popularly elected, citizens frequently assumed that the governor appointed officers.[530] After noting militia officers' shortcomings, "Junius"

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[527] *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), January 20, 1862. Emphasis in the original.

[528] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863.

[529] *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), April 2, 1863.

[530] Commissioned officer were elected by "persons liable to perform military duty, and qualified electors within their respected commands." Staff officers and the officers of volunteer companies were appointed. *Laws of the State of Mississippi Passed at a Regular Session of the*

proposed methods to reform the system.[531] "Few of the Generals, Colonels, and Majors, in the militia, have sufficient constitutional stamina and enterprise to make them effective field officers," thus "Junius" proposed to put the current militia officers in the ranks and have regular Confederate soldiers command the Mississippi State Troops.[532] Likewise, planters of Madison County concluded: "militia in camps are under uniformly under the command of officers for the most part unskilled in tactics."[533] Journalists and civilians did not hesitate to personally attack militia officers.

Although disdainful of the Mississippi State Troops and high-ranking commanders, few civilians dared to publically criticize militia privates or company-level officers. Rather, civilians praised local men's bravery and dedication, despite the bureaucratic flaws of the Mississippi State Troops. In the antebellum period, militiamen had occupied a respectable and integral place in their local communities. Furthermore, men from all socioeconomic backgrounds joined the militia, thus many Mississippians personally knew members of their local militia company. As a result, civilians, while content with criticizing distant bureaucracy and even high-ranking militia commanders, hesitated to rebuke their local militiamen with whom they had a personal relationship. Instead, newspapers from across the state praised citizen-soldiers.[534] The Minutemen of

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Mississippi Legislature, Held in Jackson, November and December 1861, and January 1862 (Jackson: Cooper & Kimball, State Printers, 1862), 34.

[531] The original "Junius" letters appeared in an eighteenth-century London newspaper. The unknown author emphasized the rights of Englishmen and argued that the British King had trampled on English rights and abused royal prerogative. In this instance, the author is arguing that Mississippi's Governor, John J. Pettus, abused his power in regards to the Mississippi State Troops.

[532] *Daily Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), April 2, 1863.

[533] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 6, 1863.

[534] For examples of newspapers praising local militiamen, see *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), September 26, 1862; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), November 7, 1863;

Madison County departed for the front with laudatory praise from the local newspaper, "their will be a glorious privilege of participating in the heroic defense of Vicksburg, the noblest city of them all."[535] Likewise, the residents of Macon admired the appearance of Noxubee County militiamen "as they filed along our streets we would deem them capable of discharging any duty imposed upon them."[536] The *Hinds County Gazette* devoted a column to the militia, regularly publishing letters from a local militiaman stationed at Camp Tupper.[537] Despite their opposition to Mississippi's militia system, civilians never publically criticized local militiamen's capabilities or loyalty to the Confederacy.

Privately, however, civilians remarked upon the undisciplined and uncouth nature of the wartime militiamen. Nathan L. Watts of Covington County enlisted in Captain A. J. Leggett's company, eventually becoming a regular Confederate soldier the 7th Mississippi Infantry. Prior to leaving town with the national Confederate army, Leggett's company gathered for drill alongside the local home guard and militia companies, where the churchgoing members of Leggett's company received a rude awaking. Instead of an orderly gathering complete with professionalism and military drill, the militia meeting devolved into a drunken celebration. Complaining to her brother, Watts remarked "doggon my sole if they everyone didn't get drunk, little and big old and young and them that was in the church and all. I will be cut if they didn't drink every drop of liquor,

Natchez Daily Courier (Natchez, Mississippi), June 14, 1862; *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), July 30, 1862; *Daily Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), April 8, 1863; *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), July 9, 1862; *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), January 29, 1862; *Daily Mississippian* (Jackson, Mississippi), April 11, 1863.

[535] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), June 27, 1863.

[536] *Macon Beacon* (Macon, Mississippi), July 30, 1862.

[537] *Hinds County Gazette* (Raymond, Mississippi), July 23, 1862.

brandy and all that Colter had."[538] The unsoldierly militia gathering did little to inspire public confidence, causing community members to question the character and conduct of the maligned Mississippi militiamen.

In early 1861, most Mississippians enthusiastically embraced secession and the formation of local militia companies. Civilians expected young Southerners to volunteer for Confederate service, leaving their farms or businesses in the hands of older men Mississippians. During wartime, they wanted older, married men to maintain community order, control the slave population, and farm the land. Civilians supported militias as long as duty did not remove men from their hometowns. The state government, however, developed a centralized militia system and opted to mobilize militiamen, placing them in camps of instruction for lengthy periods of active duty. Seeing their militiamen sitting in camps doing little for the state's protection, communities began to despise the Mississippi militia system. Active duty service unexpectedly tore citizen-soldiers from their families, farms, businesses, and slaves. Citing the flawed bureaucracy, limited organizational structure, and the government's handling of the Military Board and the State Troops, civilians considered the militia a costly, administrative failure as well as an unjust interference of the state government. Mississippi civilians preferred that older men, household heads, married men with children, and farmers avoid active duty militia service altogether and remain in their communities.

Both civilians and citizen-soldiers held a localized understanding of militia duty. Mississippians anticipated the presence of the local militia company in their communities

[538] Nathan L. Watts, Williamsburg, Mississippi, to James Aultman Pickering Watts, April 20, 1862, Marion County Museum & Archives, Columbia, Mississippi.

for the duration of the war. Moreover, militiamen expected to spend their time farming or working on the home front, fighting only when their very homes were threatened by Union invasion. The state government's centralized militia system conflicted with civilians' localized perception of militia service.

CHAPTER V – FROM MALIGNED TO REVERED: POST-WAR REMEMBRANCE

Ever since joining the Mississippi militia in July 1862, Private Micajah Wilkinson sought a means to return to his family, farm, and community. Longing for his affectionate wife and young sons, Wilkinson, a thirty-seven-year-old, middle-class farmer and slaveholder from Liberty, spent months of his militia service at home on furlough caring for his ill wife and the remainder of his time dreaming of a discharge.[539] Wanting to leave the monotonous militia camp behind contemplated release, but realized that it "would be doubtful wether [sic] I would get off on it or not & if I was to get off I would bee [sic] conscripted & I had rather stay with the militia."[540] He never officially applied for a discharge and remained with his militia unit for the duration of its service. Still, Wilkinson never displayed pride in his service; it was a burdensome imposition that tore him from his family.[541] Despite serving for at least seven months, Wilkinson never experienced combat. Instead, he, like other Mississippi militiamen, endured months of

[539] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 29, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 30, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; United States Bureau of the Census, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860); United States Federal Census—Slave Schedules, 1860 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1860); United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[540] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 21, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 12, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

[541] Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 21, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 12, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 29, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU. See also, Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, October 30, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; Micajah Wilkinson, Camp Milldale, Mississippi to Mary Wilkinson, March 20, 1862, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU.

monotony and boredom in the Milldale camp.[542] Finally, in the spring of 1863, Micajah Wilkinson's term of service in the 2nd Regiment Mississippi Minute Men expired and he returned home to his wife, Mary, their four sons, and his plantation in Liberty, Mississippi.[543]

As the Confederacy struggled onward in 1864 and early 1865, Wilkinson remained on the home front and never again served in the Mississippi militia or Confederate army.[544] Wilkinson lost his younger brother, Jefferson Washington Wilkinson, who was only twenty-seven years old, at the Battle of Shiloh in 1862. He was buried alongside other Confederate dead in a mass grave in the rolling hills of western Tennessee. Tragedy continued to strike the family and, unrelated to the war, Mary's brother, Thomas R. Short, died in 1864. Despite death, wartime devastation, and encroaching Union armies, Mary and Micajah Wilkinson welcomed another child into their home with the birth of William Young Wilkinson in 1864. Micajah Wilkinson's older brother, John Cain Wilkinson, was severely wounded in Georgia during the Battle of New Hope Church in May 1864. Spending the remainder of the war in a Georgia hospital, John Cain Wilkinson returned to Mississippi after the Confederacy's capitulation.[545] The Civil War officially ended with the surrender of Confederate General

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[542] Wilkinson listed as present on the February 1863 muster rolls. Letters from Mary indicate that Wilkinson is still absent from home on March 20, 1863. The company demobilized at an unknown time in the spring of 1863. Mary Wilkinson, Oak Grove, Amite County, Mississippi to Micajah Wilkinson, March 20, 1863, Wilkinson, Micajah Papers, 1853-1935, LSU; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[543] Census United States Bureau of the Census, 1870 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1870).

[544] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[545] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*; Census United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; Census United States Bureau of the Census, 1870; Find a Grave, gravestone for Jefferson Washington Wilkinson, Confederate Trench (Shiloh,

Robert E. Lee on April 9, 1865, in Appomattox, Virginia and Confederate General Joseph E. Johnson's surrender on April 26, 1865, at Bennett Place, North Carolina. Although officially over, the war had lasting effects on the whole Wilkinson family.

Figure 11. An undated photograph of Micajah Wilkinson in his later years[546]

In the postbellum period, Micajah and Mary Wilkinson remained on their farm in Amite County, Mississippi. As southern slaveholders, they lost significant wealth as a result of the Thirteenth Amendment, which officially ended slavery. Before the war, Wilkinson possessed $1,500 in real estate, held $2,000 in personal wealth, and owned seventeen slaves. Although still far from poverty, he had only $1,000 in real estate and

Tennessee), http://www.findagrave.com (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017); Find a Grave, gravestone for Thomas R. Short, Butler-Short Cemetary (Amite County, Mississippi), http://www.findagrave.com (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[546] *Find a Grave*, photo by Mike and Kay, March 14, 2013. http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=21912752&PIpi=76583018 (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

$800 in personal wealth by 1870.547 The couple and their adult children remained on the farm through the 1880s where they struggled to make a living.548 Wilkinson used a thirty-year-old plow and, in 1889, his horse died of distemper, which was a "serious loss to him."549 On May 16, 1899, Mary died leaving behind a "sorrowing husband." Micajah Wilkinson had "lost the companion with whom he has spent more than fifty years of life."550 A few years later, in January 1907, Micajah Wilkinson died of unknown causes.[551]

Figure 12. Grave Plaque of Micajah Wilkinson, January 1, 1823-January 7,1907[552]

[547] Census United States Bureau of the Census, 1860; Census United States Bureau of the Census, 1870.

[548] Census United States Bureau of the Census, 1880 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880).

[549] *The Southern Herald* (Liberty, Mississippi), February 2, 1889.

[550] Wartime letters between Micajah Wilkinson to Mary Wilkinson indicate an exceptionally trusting and close relationship. *The Southern Herald* (Liberty, Mississippi), May 19, 1899.

[551] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for Micajah Wilkinson (January 10, 1823- January 7, 1907), Rowland Wilkinson Cemetery (Amite County, Mississippi), http://www.findagrave.com (Last Accessed: August 3, 2016).

[552] *Find a Grave*, photo by Mike and Kay, April 12, 2014, http://www.findagrave.com /cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=21912752&PIpi=98825563 (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

A lifelong resident of Liberty, Wilkinson was interred in the Rowland Wilkinson Cemetery alongside his wife. Wilkinson did not identify with his militia unit during the war, never fought in combat, had an inglorious military record in the militia, and never served in any of the Confederate armies.[553] Nonetheless, a grave plaque from the early twentieth century identifies him as a Confederate veteran. In glimmering, gold lettering, Wilkinson's marker proudly proclaims "Micajah Wilkinson, Co C 2nd Regt, Miss State Trp, Confederate States Army."[554] Wilkinson, like other Mississippi citizen-soldiers, transformed from maligned a militiaman into a revered Confederate veteran and highly respected feature of the Lost Cause.

In the postwar decades, militia service became nationalized in Southerners' collective memory, prompting militiamen and their families to connect wartime state duty with national Confederate service. Militia privates and their commanders equated time in the Mississippi State Troops with Confederate service more broadly. Citizen-soldiers, similar to their neighbors who had enlisted as regular Confederate soldiers, joined local chapters of Confederate veteran organizations and subscribed to veteran's magazines. High-ranking militia commanders drew upon their wartime service records to advance their postbellum political careers. Families and descendants proclaimed militiamen's Confederate service on tombstones in cemeteries across the state. Militia commanders and privates alike sought to claim the status of "Confederate veterans."[555]

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[553] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi*.

[554] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for Micajah Wilkinson (January 10, 1823- January 7, 1907), Rowland Wilkinson Cemetery (Amite County, Mississippi), http://www.findagrave.com (Last Accessed: August 3, 2016).

[555] Some regions of the South, while never officially part of the Confederate States of America, embraced the Confederacy and the Lost Cause in the decade after the war, see Anne E.

Instead of mocking the motley militiamen or ignoring their, albeit limited, service altogether, post-war writers and Civil War veteran's publications denote citizen-soldiers' contributions to the Confederate cause.[556] Studying the Confederate forces at Chickasaw Bluffs, an editorial from *Battles and Leaders* noted the involvement of the 28th Louisiana, 10th Tennessee, and 30th Mississippi. In addition to these regular Confederate regiments, the article mentioned the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men.[557] Likewise, *Confederate Veteran* columnists offered favorable portrayals of citizen-soldiers who fought under Lieutenant General Nathan Bedford Forrest in late 1864 and early 1865.[558] Post-war literature made little distinction between the Mississippi State Troops and regular Confederate units.

Post-war publications regarded high-ranking militia commanders as Confederate veterans. Numerous Confederate and militia officers assumed positions as state governors after the war. Demonstrating "how freely the gubernatorial compliment has, in the past, been extended to those who jeopardized their lives in defense of home and right, and whose intellect have impacted special luster to Confederate annals," the *Confederate*

Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[556] These magazines were founded during the late nineteenth-century. Magazine circulation and readership varied greatly, as Southerners across the economic spectrum read and subscribed to these publications. For additional information see, Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: New York University Press, 1987).

[557] George W. Morgan, "The Assault on Chickasaw Bluffs," *Battles and Leaders* 3 (New York: Century Press, 1884): 471. Similarly, an article regarding the cemetery at Vicksburg mentioned the deceased militiamen alongside regular Confederate soldiers, see William T. Rigby, "The Confederate Dead Buried in the Vicksburg Cemetery," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 35 (January-December 1907): 53-54.

[558] Several editorials offer a positive portrayal of the militia under Forrest, see J. M. Brown, "Forrest's Last Exploit," *Confederate Veteran* 18 (1910): 491-492; V. Y. Cook, "Forrest's Effort to Save Selma," *Confederate Veteran* 26 (1918): 151-152; A. W. Love, "Confederate Disasters," *Confederate Veteran* 33 (1925): 292.

Veteran listed Alexander Stephens, former Confederate Vice President and post-war Governor of Georgia, alongside Mississippians such as Robert Lowry, a Confederate Brigadier General and post-war Mississippi Governor, as well as James L. Alcorn, a Mississippi State Troops Brigadier General and post-war Mississippi Governor.[559] In contrast to his positive post-war reputation, wartime Mississippians considered Alcorn, a member of the abhorred Military Board, part of the "extravagant and ruinous six-headed monster."[560] In the early 1860s, civilians regarded high-ranking militia officers with open scorn and contempt. These militia officers, according to civilians and Confederate soldiers, were militarily incompetent and represented the state's expansive bureaucracy.[561] In the post-war decades, however, high-ranking militia officers evolved into integral and respected members of the Confederate command structure.

Company officers and rank and file citizen-soldiers also received their due in post-war publications. Brief biographies of militia officers and privates regularly appeared in the *Confederate Veteran*. In an 1898 biography, Lieutenant Colonel Richard P. Lake, a youthful militia officer, received praise for his wartime service. After the war, Lake married Stella Knight Hoffa, pursued a career at a life insurance company, and

[559] "Gubernational Confederates," *Confederate Veteran* 2 (1894): 258. James L. Alcon was also included on a list of Confederate officers, see "Brigadier-Generals of Confederate States Army, Alphabetically Arranged," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 1 (January-June 1876): 26-27.

[560] *The Eastern Clarion* (Paulding, Mississippi), September 6, 1861. The Military Board was composed of the Mississippi governor, a major general, and four brigadier generals. Hence, the Military Board was a "six-headed monster." Timothy B. Smith, *Mississippi in the Civil War: The Home Front* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 22.

[561] *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863; *American Citizen* (Canton, Mississippi), March 20, 1863; *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee), February 28, 1863.

joined the Confederate Historical Association in Memphis, Tennessee.[562] In his autobiography, General P. M. Lowary mentioned his sixty-day state militia service with pride.[563] Likewise, militiaman W. S. Quinn was "a model citizen" who "was worthily honored, a patriotic citizen and constant Christian," according to an obituary printed in the *Confederate Veteran*.[564] After his death in June 1918, William Lawrence DeWoody's obituary recalled that "he enlisted at the age of sixteen in John J. Aker's Company, Simonton's Regiment, Mississippi State Militia. . . . There was no man more loyal in his citizenship, more worthy of regard of his personal friends, or more deserving of the high esteem of his fellow citizens at large than William Lawrence DeWoody."[565] In the late nineteenth century, magazines catering to Confederate veterans made little distinction between militiamen and regular soldiers.

Militiamen, their wives, and children read and purchased publications intended for Confederate veterans. Expressing his gratitude to the *Confederate Veteran* and women of the South, D. W. Russell of Edinburg, Mississippi, recalled "I am now nearly seventy years old, and one of seven boys that my mother furnished for the War Between the States. She gave her husband also, who was killed by lightening [sic] while drilling in the militia." In addition to verbally expressing their appreciation to southern magazines promoting the Lost Cause, former militiamen joined local chapters of veterans'

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[562] "Sketches of Confederate Veterans," *Confederate Veteran* 6 (1898): 532. Other articles also mentioned men's militia service, see "Captain Thomas J. Booth," *Confederate Veteran* 22 (1914): 568; Nina Lee Gill, "Golden Years," *Confederate Veteran* 33 (1925): 329.

[563] P. M. Lowary, "P. M. Lowary: An Autobiography," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 16 (January-December 1888): 367-368. (365-376).

[564] "W. S. Quinn," *Confederate Veteran* 11 (1903): 36. For additional obituaries mentioning men's militia service see "Capt R. C. Pace," *Confederate Veteran* 15 (1907): 129; "W. H. Stevens," *Confederate Veteran* 38 (1930): 313.

[565] "William Lawrence DeWoody," *Confederate Veteran* 27 (1919): 106.

organizations. Announcing recent deaths among members of the John M. Brady Camp of the United Confederate Veterans in Louisville, Mississippi, T. P. M. King, of the Mississippi State Troops, appeared alongside regular Confederate soldiers, such as James M. Davis of the 34th Mississippi Infantry Regiment and Sanford Rain of the 35th Mississippi Infantry Regiment.[566] Similarly, the Vicksburg chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy honored local militiaman Andrew J. Conklin by gifting a purple silk umbrella and, after his death, offered a moving eulogy, proclaiming him a "beloved veteran, who is so loyal to the U.D.C. and the Confederate Cause."[567]

Confederate veterans recognized the legitimacy of militia service during the post-war decades. Mississippian Frank Alexander Montgomery enlisted as a Lieutenant Colonel in the 1st Mississippi Cavalry and, leaving home, "entrusted my family and all my affairs" to his brother-in-law and close friend, Joseph Sillers. Instead of volunteering for national Confederate service, Sillers remained in Mississippi and joined a local militia or home guard unit. Sillers died after being captured by Federal soldiers during the war. After the war, Montgomery remembered his deceased brother-in-law fondly and did not mock men who joined the militia, Mississippi State Troops, or home guard. "This company of home guard [and militia] did a great deal, for it oversaw the lawless elements in the county," Montgomery remarked.[568] In addition to his brother-in-law, Montgomery's neighbor, William E. Montgomery, served as a major in the Mississippi

[566] "John M. Brady Camp, Louisville, Miss.," *Confederate Veteran* 26 (1918): 452.
[567] "Andrew J. Conklin," *Confederate Veteran* 35 (1927): 68.
[568] Montgomery makes no distinction between militia and home guard. Frank Alexander Montgomery, *Reminiscences of a Mississippian in Peace and War* (Cincinnati, OH: Robert Clark Company Press, 1901), 117.

State Troops.[569] Falsely assumed to be guerrillas by Union troops in the vicinity, Confederate soldiers referred to Major William E. Montgomery's militiamen as "'featherbedders' because they always scattered at night and slept in their own or other people's houses, and were usually safe in doing so, as raids were seldom made at night."[570] Montgomery, when relating the experiences of his neighbor and other "featherbedders," portrayed militiamen as a positive and influential component of southern communities.[571]

The Magnolia State also recognized the wartime service of militiamen. Beginning in 1862, Mississippi issued pensions to indigent or disabled Confederate soldiers, veterans, or their families.[572] The program expanded during the post-war period and those seeking relief filed a form with the state government. Questions varied by year, but claimants often listed Civil War unit, officer names, and noted current or past residences.[573] In 1888 Mississippi law limited relief payment to:

> Every soldier or sailor, and to the servants of the officers, soldiers and sailors of the late Confederate States of America, who enlisted from the State of Mississippi, and who lost a leg, or an arm, in the service of said Confederate States. To every such soldier or sailor, or servant of the officers, soldiers and sailors of the late Confederacy who is now, or may hereafter be, otherwise incapacitated for manual labor by reason of a wound received in said service; and

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[569] Although bearing the same last name, the two men were not related.

[570] Montgomery, *Reminiscences of a Mississippian in Peace and War,* 116.

[571] Montgomery, *Reminiscences of a Mississippian in Peace and War,* 116-117.

[572] *Laws of the state of Mississippi: passed at a called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, held in Jackson and Columbus, December 1862 and November 1863* (Selma, AL: Cooper and Kimble, State Printers, 1864), 113-114.

[573] To view the Mississippi Confederate Pension Records see, Mississippi Office of the State Auditor, Series 1201: Confederate Pension Applications, 1889-1932, MDAH, digital resources http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital_archives/pensions/ (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

> to the widow, remaining unmarried, of any soldier or sailor who lost his life in said service, while a citizen of this State.[574]

The state gradually expanded funding and eligibility requirements for Civil War pensions. The 1890 Mississippi State Constitution promised "pensions for indigent soldiers and sailors who enlisted and honorably served in the Confederate army or navy in the late civil war, who are now resident in this state, and are not able to earn a support by their own labor."[575] Just two years later, in 1892, the legislature altered the act to read:

> All soldiers and sailors who enlisted and honorably served in the Confederate army or navy, who are now resident in this State, and who are indigent and not able to earn a support by their own labor; the indigent widows of such soldiers and sailors, who are unable to earn a livelihood, and indigent colored persons who were servants, in the army or navy, of Confederate soldiers or sailors, and who are now unable to support themselves by their labor.[576]

None of these pension laws or regulations ever mentioned the militia or Mississippi State Troops. Regardless, former citizen-soldiers and their widows, seeking much-needed relief, applied to the state for pensions.

Countless Confederate veterans, Mississippi militiamen, wives, and widows requested assistance from the state government. Although infrequent compared to regular troop pension applications, several claims from militiamen appeared in the over 36,000 pension applications that inundated the state capital during the late nineteenth and

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[574] *Laws of the state of Mississippi: passed at a called and Regular Session of the Mississippi Legislature, held in the City of Jackson, Commencing Jan'y 3, 1888 and ending March 8, 1888* (Jackson: R. H. Henry, State Printers, 1888), 30.

[575] Mississippi Constitution, 1890, Section 272, *Mississippi History Now*, MDAH, http://mshistorynow.mdah.state.ms.us/articles/103/index.php?s=extra&id=270 (Last accessed January 10, 2017).

[576] *The Annotated Code of the General Statute Laws of the state of Mississippi, Reported to and Adopted by the Legislature at a Regular Session in 1892* (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce, 1892), Chapter 80.

early twentieth centuries. In May 1904 and again in July 1916, Martha Acklin, a seventy-eight-year-old woman from Clark County, applied for a pension, because she did "not have enough money to live on" and had no home.[577] During the Civil War, her husband, who died a decade prior in 1890, had served for five months in Company D, 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men. He never fought in the Confederate army, but he did see combat during his brief period of militia service and was captured after the Confederate surrender at Vicksburg. Given her husband's militia record, the state approved Acklin's pension claim.[578] The Mississippi pension system was not always easy for aging women to navigate, who, after all these years, struggled to remember the name of their husband's unit or officers. Seeking assistance, some southern widows turned to the *Confederate Veteran* and begged magazine readers for information regarding their family members' wartime service records. An advertisement, published at the behest of Solomon Buse's widow, requested to hear "from any friend or comrade who remembers his wartime service. He lived near Tupelo, Miss., and must have joined the State troops."[579] Despite her husband's serving in the militia, Buse's widow thought she qualified for a state pension. Although not always simple to obtain, post-war pensions provided support for southern men and their families. Militiamen, viewing themselves as Confederate

[577] Martha Acklin, Mississippi Office of the State Auditor, Series 1201: Confederate Pension Applications, 1889-1932, MDAH.

[578] Martha Acklin, Mississippi Office of the State Auditor, Series 1201: Confederate Pension Applications, 1889-1932, MDAH; United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[579] Untitled Advertisement, *Confederate Veteran* 37 (1929): 162.

veterans and loyal southern soldiers, believed they too were entitled to state benefits. The Mississippi state government agreed and issued pensions to several former militiamen.[580]

Militia veterans could also enter the Beauvoir Home for Confederate Soldiers. Formerly the residence of Confederate President Jefferson Davis and his wife Varina Howell Davis, the Mississippi Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans purchased the Biloxi home in 1904. Seeking to "establish and maintain, at public expense, a soldiers' home, where the indigent old Confederate, if necessary, may spend his few remaining days on earth free from the disturbing annoyances of want and happiness," Beauvoir functioned as a home for Confederate veterans, wives, and widows from 1904 to 1957.[581] The Mississippi state Legislature frequently appropriated financial support for the building's upkeep and inmates.[582] In 1906, an act of the Mississippi state legislature paid for thirty-six hospital beds, winter and summer clothing for each inmate, and building repairs "for the purpose of maintaining, supporting and providing for the comforts of indigent Confederate soldiers, sailors, their wives and widows at Beauvoir."[583] The state never formally mentioned the Civil War State Troops or Minute Men when allocating funding. Nonetheless, Mississippi citizen-soldiers, perceiving

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[580] Mississippi Office of the State Auditor, Series 1201: Confederate Pension Applications, 1889-1932, MDAH.

[581] *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Passed at a Special Session of the Legislature, Held in the City of Jackson, Commencing January 7, 1902, Ending March 5, 1902* (Nashville: Press of Brandon Printing Company, 1902), 227. For additional information of Beauvoir, see Susannah J. Ural, *The Beauvoir Veteran Project*, http://beauvoirveteranproject.org

[582] Residents of the home were referred to as inmates. *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Passed at a Regular Session of the Legislature, Held in the City of Jackson, Commencing January 5, 1904, Ending March 22, 1904* (Nashville: Press of Brandon Printing Company, 1904), 26.

[583] *Laws of the State of Mississippi, Passed at a Special Session of the Legislature, Held in the City of Jackson, Commencing January 2, 1906, Ending April 21, 1906* (Nashville: Press of Brandon Printing Company, 1906), 26.

themselves as honorable Confederate veterans, applied and were granted admission into the home.

Regular Confederate veterans and several former militiamen made Beauvoir their residence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In June 1910, W. L. Griffing of the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops entered Beauvoir. Staying just two years, Griffing was labeled "a good man" and discharged in January 1912. His personal circumstances changed and, once again, Griffing re-entered the home sometime before his death in February 1915.[584] Likewise, E. Robinson, a seventy-four-year-old former member of the 1st Mississippi State Troops, needed additional support and moved to Beauvoir in February 1920. Dropped from the homes' register, Robinson presumably left the in-patient facility prior to his death.[585] After brief stays at Beauvoir, many aging men were discharged and moved in with family, friends, or neighbors.[586] Others, however, remained at the facility until their deaths. A cemetery on the property includes George W. Collier, member of an unspecified militia unit, and Clement C. Cox, a private in the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops. At eighty-one years of age, Cox entered the home in March 1926. Soon thereafter, he died at Beauvoir on April 26, 1926, and was interred

[584] W. L. Griffing, Jefferson Davis Soldiers Home Register, Beauvoir, The Jefferson Davis Presidential Library (Biloxi, Mississippi).

[585] E. Robinson, Jefferson Davis Soldiers Home Register, Beauvoir, The Jefferson Davis Presidential Library (Biloxi, Mississippi).

[586] Several militiamen spent time at Beauvoir, see A. F. Meador, J. W. Jennings, and R. W. David of Blythe's Battalion, Mississippi State Troops, A. J. Goodwin of "State Service, Col. Dennis's Regiment," M W. McSwain of the "State Battalion," C. C. Cox of the 1st Battalion Mississippi State Troops. Additional citizen-soldiers may have entered Beauvoir. These men, however, did not specify their status as militiamen on the home's register. Jefferson Davis Soldiers Home Register, Beauvoir, The Jefferson Davis Presidential Library (Biloxi, Mississippi).

on the grounds.[587] Although never serving in the Confederate armies, former Mississippi militiamen received state benefits and pensions.

After the war, most Mississippi militiamen immersed themselves in civilian society and left no lasting trace of their military records. The majority of those who died during the late nineteenth and early twenty centuries received civilian burials. Ninety-five percent of tombstones ignored men service in the 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men.[588] Private Rankin Bridges of Company B, 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men spent his militia service waiting in camp and policing Yazoo City. Although never receiving a discharge or illegally deserting his unit, Bridges's surviving family members did not memorialize his Civil War militia service after his death.[589] His tombstone simply states, "Rankin Bridges, Born Nov. 28, 1824, Died Nov. 1, 1891."[590] After the Confederacy's surrender at Appomattox Court House in April 1865, the vast majority of militiamen returned to their civilian lives and did not have their Civil War service memorialized on their gravestones.

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[587] George W. Collier, Jefferson Davis Soldiers Home Register, Beauvoir, The Jefferson Davis Presidential Library (Biloxi, Mississippi).Clement C. Cox, Jefferson Davis Soldiers Home Register; "Alphabetical Listing of Beauvoir Cemetery 2016," Beauvoir, 8, http://www.visitbeauvoir.org /veterans-cemetery (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[588] On the tombstones of former members of the 1st Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, none mentioned their militia service without referring to the Confederate armies, twenty-three men ignored their ancestor's role in the Civil War altogether, and on one man's tombstone militia service was tied to the Confederate armies. Given the difficulty locating gravestones, information for seventy-one men remains unknown. *Find a Grave*, http://www.findagrave.com (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[589] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[590] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for Rankin Bridges, Hopwell Cemetery (Copiah County, Mississippi) http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Bridges&GSfn=R&GSbyrel=all&GSdyrel=all&GSst=27&GScnty=1526&GScntry=4&GSob=n&GRid=15936324&df=all& (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

Despite serving in combat under Confederate commanders at Vicksburg in the spring and summer of 1863, eighty percent of gravestones ignored the wartime records of militiamen in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men.[591] After enlisting in February 1863, Private Thomas B. Gartman went to Vicksburg, where he served faithfully under Confederate commanders until the surrender of the city. As a Union prisoner of war, Gartman received a military pardon and was paid $6.25 for his service and $55.83 for clothing by the state of Mississippi.[592] Living in Leavenworth, Kansas at the time of his death in 1899, Gartman was remembered for his earlier Mexican War service instead of his more recent Civil War militia experience. "Thomas B. Gartman, Blacksmith Co E, GA BN MTD VOLS, Mexican Wars, August 23, 1899" was engraved on his simple limestone marker.[593] The vast majority of southern descendant did not identify deceased militiamen with their Civil War experiences.

Many militiamen were remembered for their roles as family men and valued community members. Rather than noting his rank as a militia private, William T. Barry's tombstone reads, "Father."[594] Other tombstones mention the peacetime occupations of

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[591] On the tombstones of former members of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, none mentioned their militia service without referring to the Confederate armies, twenty men ignored their role in the Civil War altogether, and five men tied their militia service to the Confederate armies. Give the difficulty locating gravestones, information for seventy-seven men remains unknown. *Find a Grave*, http://www.findagrave.com (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[592] United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[593] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for Thomas B. Gartman, Leavenworth National Cemetery (Leavenworth, Kansas) http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Gartman &GSfn=T&GSmn=B&GSby=1850&GSbyrel=before&GSdyrel=all&GScntry=4&GSob=n&GRid=18381209&df=all& (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017); United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the Mexican War in Organizations from the State of Mississippi*, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1762–1984, Record Group 94. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

[594] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for William T. Barry, Greenwood Cemetery (West Point, Mississippi) http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Barry &GSfn=W&GSmn

deceased citizen-soldiers. Although a militia private during the Civil War, Madison Kelly was remembered as a doctor.[595] During the war, Mississippians viewed militiamen as productive citizens first and soldiers second. This perception did not change in the post-war period and, even after death, Mississippi citizen-soldiers were more frequently remembered for their roles within their households and communities.

Figure 13. Gravestone of Cyrus L. Ross[596]

=T&GSby=1850&GSbyrel=before&GSdyrel=all&GSst=27&GScntry=4&GSob=n&GRid=112436169&df=all& (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017). See also the gravestone inscription that reads "Farewell dear father." *Find a Grave*, gravestone for James Madison Kelly, Old Walnut Grove Cemetery (Walnut Grove, Mississippi) http://www.findagrave.com/cgibin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Kelly&GSfn=J&GSmn=M&GSby=1850&GSbyrel=before&GSdyrel=all&GSst=27&GScntry=4&GSob=n&GRid=11753307&df=all& (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[595] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for James Madison Kelly, Old Walnut Grove Cemetery (Walnut Grove, Mississippi) http://www.findagrave.com/cgibin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Kelly&GSfn=J&GSmn=M&GSby=1850&GSbyrel=before&GSdyrel=all&GSst=27&GScntry=4&GSob=n&GRid=11753307&df=all& (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017); United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[596] *Find a Grave*, photo by Jean Bailey, November 5, 2013. http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page =pv&GRid=6528304&PIpi=92098585 (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

Nonetheless, a notable minority of militiamen's descendants proclaimed their relatives' Confederate service on tombstones across the state. In almost every instance, militia experience was connected to national Confederate armies. Among former members of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, twenty percent of men had gravestones declaring their Confederate military service.[597] Private Cyrus L. Ross faithfully served with the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men until being captured by Union forces at Vicksburg. After his death in May 1890, a tombstone was erected, stating "C. L. Ross, Co B, 3rd BN MISS INF, CSA."[598] This erroneous inscription implies that Ross enlisted in the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Infantry, a national Confederate force, instead of a state militia unit. Likewise, in the late summer of 1862, John M. Knight enlisted as a private in Company F, 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men. Just a few months later in September 1862, he received a discharge. Despite this extremely short period of militia service, his tombstone declares "John M. Knight, Co C, 1 MISS INF, C.S.A."[599] Ironically these men never actually enlisted in any of the Confederacy's national armies. Instead, militiamen served at the behest of Mississippi in an entirely

[597] On the tombstones of former members of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, none mentioned their militia service without referring to the Confederate armies, twenty men ignored their role in the Civil War altogether, and five men tied their militia service to the Confederate armies. Given the difficulty locating gravestones, information for seventy-seven men remains unknown. *Find a Grave*, http://www.findagrave.com (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[598] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for Cyrus L. Ross, Ross Cemetery (Monroe County, Mississippi) http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Ross&GSfn=Cyrus&GSmn=L.+&GSbyrel=all&GSdyrel=all&GSst=27&GScntry=4&GSob=n&GRid=6528304&df=all& (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017); United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

[599] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for John M. Knight, Cherry Creek Cemetery (Pontotoc County, Mississippi) http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Knight&GSfn=J&GSmn=M&GSby=1850&GSbyrel=before&GSdyrel=all&GSst=27&GScntry=4&GSob=n&GRid=96715415&df=all& (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017); United States War Department, *Compiled Service Records, Mississippi.*

different branch of service. Despite these contradictions, wartime militia experiences became immersed in Lost Cause ideology and, in the post-war decades, Mississippi militia service became synonymous with national Confederate service.

Figure 14. Gravestone of George W. Harper, 1824-1894[600]

On only one grave was a man's militia service mentioned without connecting it to any of the national Confederate forces. George W. Harper, a thirty-five-year-old engineer, enlisted as a private in the 1st Battalion Mississippi Minute Men in the summer of 1862. Serving only a few months, Harper received a discharge from Major General Tullius C. Tupper in July 1862. Despite his brief and inglorious period of service as a militia private, Harper's gravestone, erected in the 1890s by his great-grandsons Willie

[600] *Find a Grave*, photo by Pattie, August 5, 2005, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=11484190 (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

Morris and David Rae Morris, lists a fictitious rank and proclaims, "Major G. W. Harper, Miss Militia, Editor, Hinds County Gazette."[601] Unlike most citizen-soldiers, Harper's relatives remembered their forefather as both a militiaman and newspaper editor.[602]

Figure 15. Left Flank Marker, 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men, National Vicksburg Military Park[603]

[601] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for George W. Harper, Raymond Cemetery (Raymond, Mississippi), http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=11484190 (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[602] *Find a Grave*, gravestone for George W. Harper, Raymond Cemetery (Raymond, Mississippi), http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=11484190 (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[603] Vicksburg National Military Park (Vicksburg, Mississippi), photo by author, December 2013.

Figure 16. Monuments to the 3rd battalion Mississippi Minute Men and the 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men, Vicksburg National Military Park [604]

In addition to their personal gravestones, Vicksburg National Military Park commemorated the wartime service of Mississippi citizen-soldiers.[605] Located on the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River, two plain, small markers show the positions of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and the 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men.[606] Having served under Confederate commanders during the siege of Vicksburg in the summer of 1863, these units received recognition for their combat service. Adorned in red paint, a designation used to signify Confederate service, the left flank marker of the 3rd Battalion Minute Men resembles all other markers at the park. Furthermore, the stone markers for the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and the 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men closely resemble monuments to other Confederate units from Mississippi,

[604] Vicksburg National Military Park (Vicksburg, Mississippi), photo by author, December 2013.

[605] For a study on monuments at Vicksburg, see Michael W. Panhorst, *Memorial Art and Architecture of Vicksburg National Military Park* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2015).

[606] Additional information regarding these markers cannot be obtained because the records could not be accessed at Vicksburg National Military Park.

including the 37th Mississippi Infantry.[607] No distinction is made between militia markers and the regular Confederate units at the Vicksburg National Military Park. Walking or driving by these markers today, few visitors would realize the history of the Mississippi State Troops or the shifting perceptions of Civil War militiamen.

Although formed during the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries at the height of the Lost Cause, the favorable perception of Mississippi militiamen has endured into the twenty-first century. Fraternal organizations for descendants of Confederate soldiers officially recognize militia service. Membership in the Sons of Confederate Veterans "is open to all male descendants of any veteran who served honorably in the Confederate armed forces."[608] Although an organization for direct descendants of Confederate veterans, an ancestor's militia service qualifies male heirs for membership.[609] In time, militia service became nationalized with American's collective memory of the war.

Established in 1894, the United Daughters of the Confederacy is a women's organization devoted to the memorialization of southern soldiers and the Old South.[610] As "one of the most socially and politically effective organizations in the region" the United Daughters of the Confederacy directly influenced the interpretation of the

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[607] "37th Mississippi Infantry," Vicksburg National Military Park, https://www.nps.gov /vick/learn/history/culture/37th-mississippi-infantry.htm (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[608] "Who Can Join," Sons of Confederate Veterans, http://www.scv.org/about/join/ eligibility.php (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017). For additional information regarding the United Confederate Veterans, see Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy.*

[609] Bryan A. Sharp, National Membership Coordinator for the Sons of Confederate Veterans, message to author, May 26, 2016.

[610] For additional information about the United Daughters of the Confederacy, see Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Ben Wynn, *Mississippi's Civil War: A Narrative History* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2006), 189-190.

Confederate States of America and the memorialization of Civil War dead.[611] Although reduced in membership and political clout, the United Daughters of the Confederacy survives into the twenty-first century. Seeking to "honor the memory of those who served and those who fell in the service of the Confederate States," the United Daughters of the Confederacy offers membership to "women at least 16 years of age who are lineal or collateral blood descendants of men and women who served honorably in the Army, Navy, or Civil Service of the Confederate States of America, or who gave Material Aid to the Cause."[612] Citizen-soldiers did not serve in the Confederate armies and many did not experience Civil War combat or give "Material Aid to the Cause."[613] Nonetheless, the descendants of southern militiamen qualify for membership in the United Daughters of the Confederacy. According to a membership consultant and archivist directly affiliated with the United Daughters of the Confederacy, "a woman may join the UDC on a state troops record. . . . The State troops were vital for the stability of the state especially for the civilians."[614] Despite their inglorious service records, militiamen are, in the twenty-first century South, recalled as "vital" military members of the Confederate armed forces.

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[611] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, xii.

[612] Other goals include, "To protect, preserve and mark the places made historic by Confederate valor; To collect and preserve the material for a truthful history of the War Between the States; To record the part taken by Southern women in patient endurance of hardship and patriotic devotion during the struggle and in untiring efforts after the War during the reconstruction of the South; To fulfill the sacred duty of benevolence toward the survivors and toward those dependent upon them; To assist descendants of worthy Confederates in securing proper education; To cherish the ties of friendship among the members of the Organization." "History of the UDC," United Daughters of the Confederacy, http://www.hqudc.org/history-of-the-united-daughters-of-the-confederacy (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017); "Membership," United Daughters of the Confederacy, http://www.hqudc.org/membership (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[613] "Membership," United Daughters of the Confederacy, http://www.hqudc.org/membership (Last Accessed: January 5, 2017).

[614] Teresa Roane, Archivist/Librarian for the United Daughters of the Confederacy, message to author, May 27, 2016.

In the twenty-first century, both the Sons of the Confederacy and the United Daughters of the Confederacy equate Civil War militia duty with national Confederate service.

Long after the war, maligned Mississippi militiamen transformed into patriotic Southerners and glorious Confederate veterans. From 1861-1865, Confederate soldiers and civilians protested the mobilization of the Mississippi Minute Men, criticized high-ranking commanders, and protested government bureaucracy associated with the State Troops. The complaints of wartime were forgotten during the post-war decades. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Southerners' collective memory gradually transformed the disparaged Civil War militiamen into Confederate veterans and respected components of the Lost Cause. Embracing their new and glorified positions, former citizen-soldiers subscribed to veteran's magazines and joined local chapters of Confederate veteran organizations. Family members and descendants, responding to the nationalized memory of militia service, denoted men's Confederate service on tombstones in cemeteries across the state. Moreover, two monuments at Vicksburg memorialize the service of the 3rd Battalion Mississippi Minute Men and the 5th Regiment Mississippi Minute Men. The nationalized recollection of Civil War militiamen has persisted, and even strengthened, in the twenty-first century. Ancestors of Mississippi citizen-soldiers can join the Sons of Confederate Veterans or the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Within Americans' collective memory, the Mississippi militiamen have fully transformed from a wartime nuance into venerated and valued Confederate veterans.

CHAPTER VI - CONCLUSION

Instead of serving in the regular Confederate army during the American Civil War, thousands of southern men enlisted or were drafted into state organized militias. As middle-aged Southerners in their thirties and forties, Mississippi citizen-soldiers occupied vital positions within their local communities as farmers, overseers, and white-collar professionals. Likewise, these men, who were frequently married with several children, were often heads of southern households and essential to their families' personal and financial well-being. Burdened by family, personal, and community obligations, these men could not leave home for extended periods of time. Even in the midst of war, southern communities needed these men to remain on the home front. Therefore, instead of enlisting in the Confederate armies, many married Mississippians in their thirties and forties joined local militia companies. Expecting to remain in their communities and serve as a local defense force, these men held a localized conception of military service based on their positions within southern society.

The Mississippi government, however, implemented a centralized military defense system where militiamen organized into large battalions and regiments, lived in consolidated military camps and served for extended periods of active duty service. Despite the governor's best intentions, the state lacked the infrastructure to manage a standing militia force. Facing an inadequate administrative network, rapid personnel rotation, limited finances, and wartime devastation, Mississippi could not always pay, supply, or command the State Troops. Mired in state and national bureaucracy, some militia commanders, and most rank-and-file citizen-soldiers became disillusioned and frustrated with the Military Board, the Mississippi government, state governors, and high-

ranking militia commanders. The centralized militia system clashed with Southerners' expectations, undermined the organization's efficiency, and encouraged militiamen to abandon their posts.

Confederate soldiers and Mississippi civilians realized the limitations of the state militia system. Opposing the mobilization of indispensable community members, farmers, overseers, married men, fathers, and heads of households, civilians protested militia call-ups. Mississippians, fearing starvation induced by wartime shortages, wanted farmers, many of whom served in the State Troops, to remain on land and produce crops. Other militiamen worked as overseers preventing slave revolts or as white-collar professionals, who provided vital community services as teachers, doctors, or ministers. Instead of languishing in militia camps, these men on the home front could harvest crops to feed civilians and soldiers, prevent slave uprisings, maintain local businesses, and protect women and children. Mississippi civilians and Confederate regulars, therefore, preferred these men, who were burdened with extensive community and family obligations, to simply remain on the home front.

After the war, however, public perception shifted. No longer were militiamen viewed as incompetent soldiers or reminders of government mismanagement. Instead, Mississippi citizen-soldiers transformed into respected Confederate veterans and revered components of the Lost Cause. Pro-Confederate publications printed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries offered positive portrayals of militiamen and, in some instances, considered them a vital subset of the Confederate army. Capitalizing on changing public perception, former Civil War militiamen embraced their status as "Confederate veterans" by reading veterans magazines and joining veteran organizations.

Furthermore, descendants honored militiamen's Civil War service records on tombstones across the state. Instead of denoting a militia unit, gravestones proclaimed militiamen's service in national Confederate armies. Civilians were not the only ones to recognize militiamen as Confederate veterans. Although never mentioning the militia or State Troops in state laws, the Mississippi government issued pensions and allowed militiamen to reside at Beauvoir, the state's home for Confederate veterans. In the post-war decades, Americans' collective memory transformed the maligned Mississippi militiamen men into respected and revered Confederate veterans.

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