

## Author's Note: Sources and Methods

*This* book was inspired by the current cultural, political, and scholastic movement of reassessing historical characters and causes, removing symbols, monuments, and memorials, and renaming buildings and landmarks of those deemed unworthy by current social values. When this book was being written (2018-19) the imperiled monuments were primarily those related to the Confederate States of America. This issue has also spread to historical characters and causes before and after the 1861-65 American Civil War. Many historical personages, from fifteenth century to today (from European explorers to the Founding Fathers) are being reassessed and reinterpreted based upon ever-changing social and cultural standards.

The Confederacy's brief life during the Civil War, although vitally important, was only a chapter in the lives of those who survived the conflict. When the controversy over the modern interpretation and portrayal of the Confederacy erupted in the mid-2010s, I became curious about what former Confederates did after the war and how they lived their professional lives in a country that had been torn apart by such a bloody war. It had been reunified, but had the nation, at least for the most part, truly reconciled?

Biographies of prominent Southern soldiers and politicians typically include something about their prewar lives and of course their wartime service, but in most cases their postwar lives are consigned to footnotes or a short postscript. After

writing this book, it is now clear that the dearth of postwar coverage shortchanges these men, as well as modern Americans who read about them and live in the country they helped to create *after* the guns fell silent.

In late 2016 during the early months of the national controversy over Confederate memorials, I decided to research former Confederates and study, as much as possible, their postwar lives and careers. Before my work began the bulk of my universe of knowledge in the arena of former soldiers who attained postwar prominence consisted of a slim handful of Confederate Army generals like Joseph Wheeler, Fitzhugh Lee, Thomas Rosser, and Matthew Butler (all of whom served as U.S. Army generals during the Spanish-American War), Stephen D. Lee, the former Confederate general who became president of Mississippi State University, and Robert E. Lee, who assumed the presidency of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia.

What I discovered during my research was, in a word, fascinating. Eight—not four—former Confederates became U.S. Army generals during the Spanish-American War. Starting in 1869 with Ulysses S. Grant, a total of ten postwar U.S. presidents appointed dozens of former Confederates to fill high-ranking federal government positions—some at the highest pinnacles of various parts of our government, including chief justice of the Supreme Court. Ex-Confederates also presided over national professional societies and institutions outside of government, including the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association, and the Sierra Club. Former soldiers who had donned the gray founded many colleges and universities and became presidents and chancellors of many more—not just in the Deep South (as one might expect), but in such unlikely locales as California, Colorado, Missouri, Maryland, and West Virginia. These men also taught at universities and colleges in the Union states and territories of California, Colorado, Wisconsin, Vermont, and Massachusetts. Many were elected or appointed to state, territorial, and local political offices in the old Confederacy, but this also took place in Alaska, Colorado, Oklahoma, California, Montana, Wyoming, New Mexico, Minnesota, Utah, Kansas, the Panama Canal Zone, and West Virginia, which had seceded from Virginia in 1863 to fight against the Confederacy.

I did not investigate, analyze, or render opinions on the personal politics, opinions, or values of any of these former Confederate because that was beyond the scope and purpose of this work. Whether a man deserved his position at the time, and/or his subsequent historical notoriety—if any—are better left to other researchers. *Patriots Twice* does not analyze, accuse, condemn, glorify, or criticize any of them. Instead, I identified and chose men based solely on their tangible

professional accomplishments and the fact that (in most cases) they were welcomed into their positions by men who had worn blue uniforms and fought for the Union. If those who had crossed bayonets with these former Confederates and had suffered the most during those four long years could welcome, work with, and share the benefits of the professional contributions of these men, why are people 155 years removed from the war so virulently opposed to even a marble or bronze likeness of a Confederate soldier or a name on a building?

Any history book should be titled or described as “a history of” rather than “the history of” because new information will always be discovered and historians must constantly decide what material to include or exclude. This book is no different. More than a million men served the Confederacy. I limited entries to those whose postwar successes will be readily understood and hopefully respected by present-day Americans.

The sources of information I used for this book deserve some discussion. The bulk of its content is almost exclusively biographical, though finding the information was not always simple or straightforward. Getting reliable biographical information on individuals who lived a century or more ago is often difficult. Administrative records like birth and death listings, places of birth, death, residence, marriages, divorces, children, parents, and military service rank often conflict with public records, memoirs, diaries, obituaries, or engravings on tombstones. For example, General John Bell Hood's tomb in Metairie Cemetery in New Orleans claims his birthplace was Owensville, Kentucky. In fact, there is no such place. There are cities named Owingsville and Owensboro in Kentucky, but no Owensville. Similarly, obituaries and published tributes often contain inaccurate information and, perhaps inevitably, embellished accomplishments, of the deceased. Even the accuracy of military ranks can be problematical. Sometimes, especially late in the war as the Confederate government was unraveling, recommended promotions passed into history unconfirmed by the Confederate government.

Another problem was the nineteenth century custom of bestowing honorary titles to older gentlemen. For example, popular culture offers up “Colonel Sanders” of fried chicken fame, and “Captain” Rhett Butler from *Gone with the Wind*. Other situations involved former officers on both sides who attained one rank during the war but were given higher official ranks later in state militias or National Guard organizations. One example of this was former Los Angeles Mayor Cameron Thom, a staff officer in the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia whose commission as an officer cannot be located. In later life he was acknowledged as a former Confederate captain, but was sometimes called “Major

Thom,” presumably a reference to his service in the postwar California State Militia.

My primary interest during research was to verify whether an individual actually served as a Confederate soldier, sailor, or government official and, as best I could to ascertain his official rank or position. If I found conflicting ranks, I chose the one I believed most likely to have been the case.

Another issue entails determining the military units in which a soldier served. In a vast majority of cases, a soldier enlisted or enrolled in a company and went on to serve in multiple companies, regiments, and brigades as the armies organized and reorganized as the war dragged on. Likewise, officers would be promoted and their commands changed from regimental to brigade, division, corps, and, in rare cases, full army command. For an enlisted man, I typically listed the first unit to which he was assigned, and, in some instances, the unit in which he served the longest. Otherwise, I identify a soldier’s unit with the most readily available credible source. For senior commanders, mostly generals whose historical records are more complete, I assigned their highest rank and the unit with which they are most notably identified. Consolidation of regiments presented another problem. In the Confederate Army, especially later in the war, regiments were combined as the number of effective soldiers diminished. In such events I usually attach only one regiment to a man who may have served in several.

Searching for biographical information can be a tedious exercise. Wikipedia’s reputation is not pristine, but most researchers recognize its basic utility and employ the online encyclopedia more than they care to admit. I often used it as a *starting point* and found it a valuable source for raw first-search information, which I almost always tried to confirm in other sources if I wasn’t already sure of it. Thankfully, Wikipedia does not cloak a man’s Confederate service by identifying him as simply a “Civil War soldier.” This is not true for many college and university websites, whose “history” pages omit a founder’s or past president’s Confederate service altogether, or state only that he was a “Civil War” veteran. In other instances, the word “South,” “Southern,” or “Southerner” is used in lieu of “Confederate” or “Confederacy.” Wikipedia does not do this (at least not yet), which made it a valuable initial search device for identification and basic biographical information. In most instances Wikipedia posts also provide additional links to sources so I could better verify, corroborate, or find additional information about the man in question.

Other primary online sources included the outstanding [www.findagrave.com](http://www.findagrave.com) unpublished database “Confederate Physicians . . . who Served the Confederacy in a Medical Capacity during the American Civil War,” by F. T. Hambrecht and J. L.

Koste. I also relied heavily upon U.S. government web sites for the president, both houses of Congress, and the departments of Justice and State. Official web sites for individual states were also useful. The most helpful print sources included, but were not limited to, *Crimson Confederates*, *Yale's Confederates*, *Generals in Gray*, *Staff Officers in Gray*, and *The Corps Forward*.<sup>1</sup>

I decided to eschew the use of extensive footnotes. This is not a detailed battle or campaign history, or a biographical study comparing particular actions, decisions, ideas, and controversies. Anyone with an interest in a particular man covered here can easily type in their name on the Internet and find more than enough to satisfy his or her curiosity and confirm the basic facts about his postwar accomplishments. Indeed, I urge you to do so. In many cases it will be hard for you to resist researching some of these characters, many of whom led nothing short of extraordinary lives and left real contributions in their wake that have touched and influenced many of us.

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Necessarily subjective criteria governed the selection of Confederate veterans included in this book. In fact, as I discovered increasing numbers of high-achieving veterans, I was forced repeatedly, and regretfully, to raise the bar of qualification for inclusion. As a result, many former Confederates who attained unqualified postwar success could not be included. My perusal of several thousand biographical profiles identified about 850 prominent veterans, which I whittled down to some 220, either in the main narrative or listed in the appendices.

Former Confederates who served in postwar United States government positions often were difficult to locate, but there was no doubt they needed to be included in this book. Other categories, however, were not so simple. In higher education, for example, defining and confirming the founders of colleges and universities frequently required a degree of subjectivity. If an individual provided funding or land or organized and began the operations of a college—as was the case with Clemson University, Texas Christian University, Coker College, and others—I could confidently credit him with the establishment of the school. Other

1 Helen Trimpi, *Crimson Confederates: Harvard Men Who Fought for the South* (U. of Tennessee Press, 2009); Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *Yale's Confederates: A Biographical Dictionary* (UOT Press, 2008); Ezra Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (LSU Press, 2006); Robert E. L. Krick, *Staff Officers in Gray: A Biographical Register of the Staff Officers in the Army of Northern Virginia* (UNC Press, 2003); William Couper, *The Corps Forward: The Battle of New Market* (The Mariner Companies, Inc., 2005).

founders and institutions are not so cut and dried. The creation of public schools often resulted from the efforts of powerful legislators or governors who forcefully advocated the establishment of an institution and produced or signed into law the required legislation. In all cases, I designated a founder or co-founder of a college or university by credible sources, such as records from the school itself or the state's official historical department or bureau.

Presidents or chancellors of a university are also easily identified, with the rare exception of the few schools (the University of Virginia in the nineteenth century had a faculty committee or senate preside over the institution). Members of governing boards were likewise straightforward, although institutions variously name their governing bodies: board of directors, board of trustees, board of governors, or board of visitors. For college and university teachers, I included veterans who instructed at a school and often use the term "professor" as a generic reference to those who taught at a college or university, as opposed to an instructor at a primary or secondary school.

For simplicity and consistency with the numerous military ranks and grades in armies and navies, I most often use the common salutatory form of the ranks: "sergeant," for example, whether the soldier was a sergeant, first sergeant, staff sergeant, master sergeant, color sergeant, etc., and "private" and "corporal" whether a veteran was a private first class or a first or second corporal. For officers I use "lieutenant" instead of designating them by their various levels, and "colonel" for both lieutenant colonel or full colonels. For general officers I usually designate the specific grade—brigadier, major, or lieutenant—but will also refer to them on occasion generically as "general."

For medical personnel I consistently use the rank and title "surgeon" even if the veteran formally served as an "assistant surgeon." Finally, in the diplomatic corps, different nations used the term "minister" or "ambassador" to designate the highest-ranking diplomat. I use the U.S. government's term "ambassador."