

#### Rebels against the Confederacy

In this groundbreaking study, Barton A. Myers analyzes the secret world of hundreds of white and black Southern Unionists as they struggled for survival in a new Confederate world, resisted the imposition of Confederate military and civil authority, began a diffuse underground movement to destroy the Confederacy, joined the United States Army as soldiers, and waged a series of violent guerrilla battles at the local level against other Southerners. Myers also details the work of Confederates as they struggled to build a new nation at the local level and maintain control over manpower, labor, agricultural, and financial resources, which Southern Unionists possessed. The story is not solely one of triumph over adversity but also one of persecution and, ultimately, erasure of these dissidents by the postwar South's Lost Cause mythologizers.

Barton A. Myers is Assistant Professor of Civil War History at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia. His book on American Civil War guerrilla warfare, *Executing Daniel Bright: Race, Loyalty, and Guerrilla Violence in a Coastal Carolina Community, 1861–1865*, won the 2009 Jules and Frances Landry Award for the best book in Southern studies published by Louisiana State University Press. He is the recipient of a grant from the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, a Russell Weigley grant, and a Mellon research fellowship.





#### CAMBRIDGE STUDIES ON THE AMERICAN SOUTH

Series Editors

Mark M. Smith, University of South Carolina, Columbia

David Moltke-Hansen, Center for the Study of the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Interdisciplinary in its scope and intent, this series builds upon and extends Cambridge University Press's long-standing commitment to studies on the American South. The series not only will offer the best new work on the South's distinctive institutional, social, economic, and cultural history but will also feature works in national, comparative, and transnational perspectives.

Titles in the Series

Robert E. Bonner, Mastering America: Southern Slaveholders and the Crisis of American Nationhood

Ras Michael Brown, African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Lowcountry Christopher Michael Curtis, Jefferson's Freeholders and the Politics of Ownership in the Old Dominion

Louis A. Ferleger and John D. Metz, Cultivating Success in the South: Farm Households in Postbellum Georgia

Luke E. Harlow, Religion, Race, and the Making of Confederate Kentucky, 1830–1880 Ari Helo, Thomas Jefferson's Ethics and the Politics of Human Progress: The Morality of a Slaveholder

Susanna Michele Lee, Claiming the Union: Citizenship in the Post–Civil War South Scott P. Marler, The Merchants' Capital: New Orleans and the Political Economy of the Nineteenth-Century South

Peter McCandless, Slavery, Disease, and Suffering in the Southern Lowcountry
Barton A. Myers, Rebels against the Confederacy: North Carolina's Unionists
Johanna Nicol Shields, Freedom in a Slave Society: Stories from the Antebellum South
Brian Steele, Thomas Jefferson and American Nationhood

Jonathan Daniel Wells, Women Writers and Journalists in the Nineteenth-Century South





# Rebels against the Confederacy

North Carolina's Unionists

**BARTON A. MYERS** 

Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia





#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107075245

© Barton A. Myers 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Myers, Barton A., 1980-

Rebels against the Confederacy: North Carolina's unionists / Barton A. Myers, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

pages cm. – (Cambridge studies on the American south)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-07524-5 (hardback)

1. Unionists (United States Civil War) – North Carolina. 2. North Carolina – History – Civil War, 1861–1865. I. Title.

E458.7.M94 2014

975.6'03-dc23 2014015320

ISBN 978-1-107-07524-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Molly and Warner

And for my mentors:

Dr. John Morgan Gates, Dr. Jeff C. Roche, and Dr. John C. Inscoe





### Contents

List of Tables	page x
Preface: The Murder of Thomas Ray	
Acknowledgements	xiii
Introduction	I
1. Secession: "It Was Perfect Madness"	16
2. Confederate Control: "Such a Monarchical or Tyrannical Government"	54
3. Resistance: "I Never Wanted Any Other Flag to Wave over My Head"	79
4. Irregular Wars: "A State of Insurrection against the Laws"	121
5. Unionists under Reconstruction (and in Repose): "I Don't Feel Safe Now"	162
6. Epilogue: "All Classes in the South United as by Magic"	197
Appendix A. Tables 1–6	211
Appendix B. Methodology: Evaluating the North Carolina Claims of the Southern Claims Commission	216
Appendix C. Southern Claims Commission Standing Interrogatories	233
Appendix D. North Carolina Confederate Congressional Districts	242
Appendix E. North Carolina Counties Where Irregular	
Wars Erupted by 1864	244
Bibliography	
Index	

ix



### **Tables**

I.	Occupations of Unionists in 1860	page 211
2.	Unionists' Slave Ownership in 1860	212
3.	Unionists' Real Estate Value in 1860	213
4.	Unionists' Personal Property Value in 1860	213
5.	Unionists' Real Estate Value in 1870	214
6.	Unionists' Personal Property Value in 1870	215



Preface: The Murder of Thomas Ray

Sometime in 1862, a company of Confederate cavalry arrived at the home of Wake County, North Carolina, resident Thomas Ray to enforce the recently approved Confederate Conscription Act. Ray, twenty-two in 1860, was a member of a large extended family. He had four brothers: Wiley, David, Caswell, and Bryant, all of whom fell within the age range liable for military service. Thomas's uncle, William Perry, was a well-known Unionist "tory" who was arrested in 1862 on the fear that he would warn Confederate deserters of the state's conscript battalion as it searched for them, and on at least one occasion William Perry's young daughter was assaulted by these same Confederates while they searched their home. The conscript battalion shot his son, William D. Perry, during his own attempt to avoid Confederate service, and his four nephews were also eventually conscripted. It was Thomas's murder, however, that was perhaps most indicative of this family's loyalties during the war; Perry described in only one line what must have been a difficult experience for the entire Perry-Ray clan: "My nephew Tommy Ray was tied to a tree and killed because he refused to go in the army." 1

Thomas Ray left behind nothing in his own words; not a single scrap of writing about his political beliefs or his view of the world has been uncovered. Perhaps he was not even able to write his own name. He did leave behind his bold actions, however. Ray was not ambivalent about the American Civil War

xi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> William Perry (Wake, Claim No. 13,200), Southern Claims Commission Case Files, 1877–1883, Records of the Government Accounting Office, Records of the Third Auditor's Office, RG 217, National Archives, College Park, MD (hereafter cited as Southern Claims); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedule of the Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860. Wake County, North Carolina; High's Cavalry, which was responsible for the murder of Thomas Ray, is mentioned in three other Wake County Claims and may have been John S. Hine's Company B of the McRae Conscript Cavalry Battalion. This unit worked closely with Peter Mallet's battalion. Mallet was commandant of conscripts for the entire state of North Carolina. There are several Thomas Rays found in the 1860 census, but only one entry includes a Bryant Ray.



xii

or his own political position in the national crisis. Ray, a white man born in the upper South state of North Carolina, was a Unionist like his uncle William Perry, and his opposition to the Confederacy extended even to resisting the policy of conscription, which threatened to take him away from his home and family. Whether Thomas was committed to Unionism because of a political party affiliation or admiration for an antebellum leader like Kentucky Whig Henry Clay, or he was simply following his family's political loyalty to the Union, we will probably never know for sure, but his refusal to join the Confederate army points to the complex nature of Civil War loyalty and loyalty stories. Not all Civil War Unionists were willing to make the final sacrifice in the face of violence; many waited weeks or even months in the Confederate service before fleeing to safety, many of those men joining the Union Army after their successful escape. Thomas Ray's story forces a reckoning with the difficult conditions Unionists faced when resisting the Confederate government during the four years of Civil War and the complex realities of life as a political dissident within a Confederate state. The stories of Thomas Ray, William Perry, and hundreds of others open up a Southern Unionist angle for examining the American Civil War, a world of covert and violent resistance to the Confederacy but also a world of fear and silence. Understanding the experience and the lives of these rebels against a rebellion is the purpose of this book.

Preface: The Murder of Thomas Ray



## Acknowledgements

This book is the culmination of nearly a decade of research rebuilding the world of Unionists and guerrillas in North Carolina during the American Civil War. It is a book about how peaceful political dissidents became violent and about how violent resistance diverged into different forms of rebellion against the Confederacy. Without the work of many pioneering scholars of Southern dissent and guerrilla warfare during the nineteenth century, the book could not have been written. I lack the space to thank them all here.

I am deeply indebted to David Moltke-Hansen and Mark M. Smith, the gifted series editors for "Cambridge Studies on the American South," and Lew Bateman, editor extraordinaire at Cambridge University Press, who guided me through the shoals of academic publishing. David's patience with me as I revised the book manuscript and moved across the country three times did not go unnoticed. I am grateful to him for his incisive reading of the manuscript and gentlemanly criticism, which pushed me to think deeply and in myriad, new directions about my arguments.

My debts in the University of Georgia's History Department are unrepayable. But, they are debts I'm pleased to carry. James C. Cobb, Stephen Berry, Stephen Mihm, Claudio Saunt, Robert Pratt, Paul Sutter, and John C. Inscoe all contributed to this project and made it possible. John C. Inscoe, in particular, has a reputation for his collegiality, and his mentorship over the years has been an enduring guide to me in my career.

At Cornell, where I spent a wonderful year as the first Jack Miller Center postdoctoral Fellow in military history, I'm indebted to my friend Barry Strauss. Barry is a renowned military historian, and his broad interest in the field gave a young scholar the opportunity of a lifetime to live and teach in beautiful Ithaca, New York, as well as begin a number of new writing projects.

I'm also grateful to my colleagues and graduate students at Texas Tech who listened to me for several years as I rattled on about this *Unionist* and that

xiii



xiv

Acknowledgements

guerrilla. Zachary Brittsan, Gretchen Adams, Ron Milam, Karlos Hill, Patricia Pelley, Abigail Swingen, and Alan Barenberg were wonderful colleagues and supportive of the project. James Sandy and Scott Thompson, two of my TTU students, have grown into fine historians in their own right as I worked on this book

In the final stages of writing, I was fortunate to accept the Civil War professorship at Washington and Lee University. Beautiful Lexington, Virginia, with its deep connection to the Civil War, is a special place for those of us who study the period. I look forward to spending my career teaching and writing in lovely Rockbridge. I would like to thank W&L Dean Suzanne Keen for her consistent support of my scholarly endeavors. My new colleagues Theodore DeLaney, Holt Merchant, David Peterson, and the rest of the History department and students have made me feel welcome at one of the America's most revered and historic institutions of higher education.

Many scholars have been generous with commentary over the period that I worked on this book. Peter Carmichael, LeeAnn Whites, Victoria Bynum, Paul Escott, Michael Parrish, Robert McKenzie, Brian McKnight, Brian Wills, Lesley Gordon, Daniel Sutherland, David Moltke-Hansen, Paul Anderson, John C. Inscoe, James C. Cobb, Stephen Berry, Michael Fellman, and Kenneth Noe commented on parts of this book as it progressed (or regressed) in conference papers and draft chapters. In bourbon bars and at Southern Historical Association meetings, these scholars have been an extended group of supportive friends and councilors in a collegial field.

I would also like to thank the many archivists and librarians at the Southern Historical Collection and North Carolina Collections in the Wilson Library at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the University of Georgia Departments of Special Collections and Interlibrary Loan; the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, and Washington, DC; the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond; and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History in Raleigh, who helped me piece together the lost story of Southern Unionists.

I'm pleased to acknowledge and thank the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, the Jack Miller Center for Teaching America's Founding Principles and History, the North Caroliniana Society's Archie K. Davis Fellowship, the Virginia Historical Society's Mellon Research Fellowship, Texas Tech University, The University of Georgia's Graduate School, and Washington and Lee University's Lenfest endowment for supporting the research and writing at the base of this book. Without the funding provided by these groups and institutions, the project would not have been possible.

Finally, I would offer a brief word on the dedication. My wife and son have contributed so much to my quest to understand America's greatest conflict. Molly has provided the ballast to my scholarly life, and without her, none of my work would be possible. Warner was born as I completed the revisions to this book, and I look forward to the day when he can accompany me to the



Acknowledgements

xv

many battlefields of this war. I am so grateful to have Molly and Warner in my life. My three mentors John Morgan Gates and Jeff C. Roche of the College of Wooster and John C. Inscoe of the University of Georgia taught me the skills of being a historian. For that, and for their friendship, I also dedicate this book to them.

Barton A. Myers Lexington, Virginia May 2014