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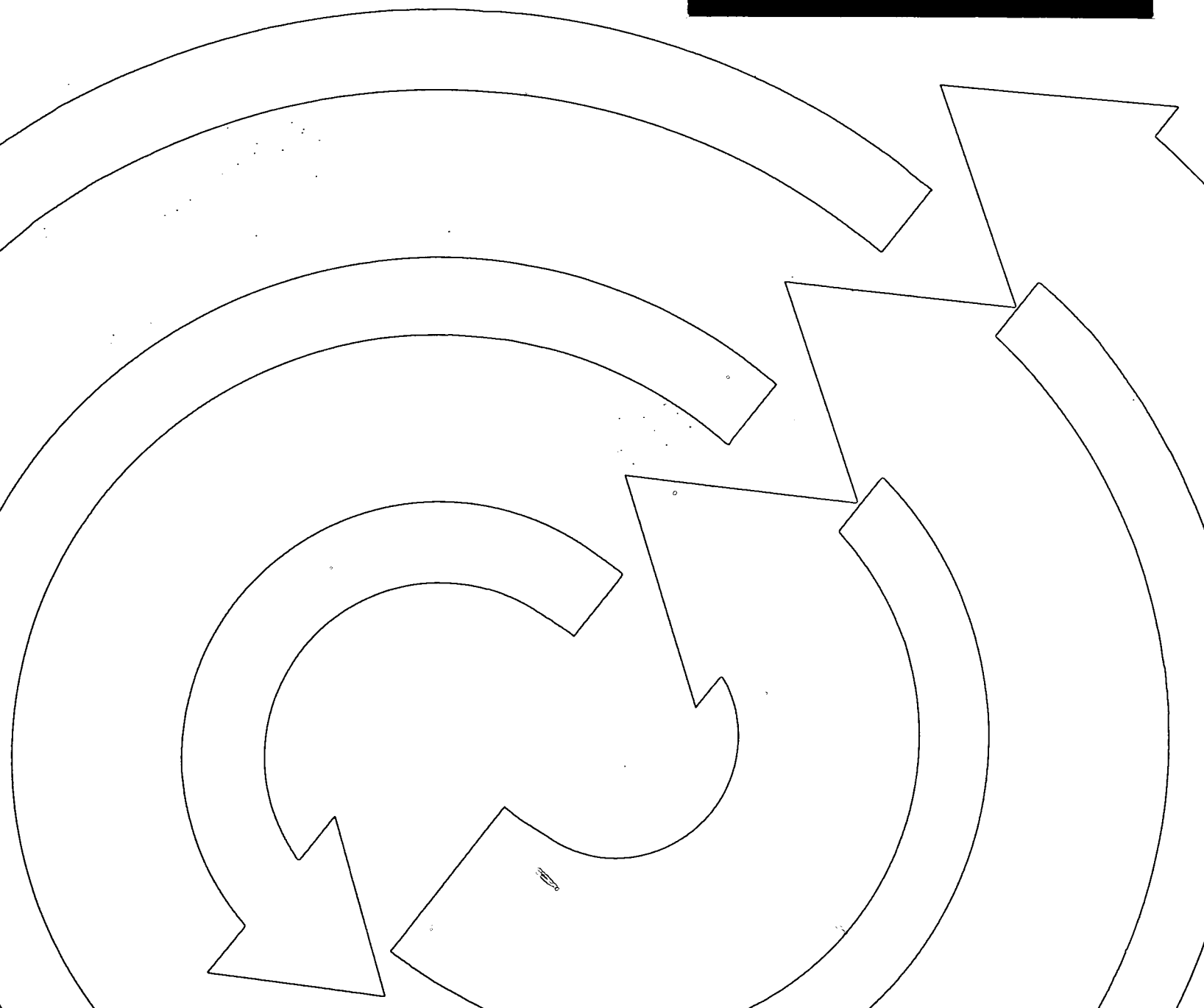

HAVE SOCIAL HISTORIANS LOST THE CIVIL WAR? SOME PRELIMINARY DEMOGRAPHIC SPECULATIONS

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SOME PRELIMINARY DEMOGRAPHIC SPECULATIONS

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Few events in American history have received as much attention as the Civil War. Almost every battle and skirmish has been thoroughly examined and re-examined and several scholarly and popular journals specialize in analyzing that conflict. Over 800 histories of Civil War regiments have been published and more are underway. More than 50,000 books and articles have been published on the Civil War. Indeed, much excellent work has been done on that conflict--especially on the military aspects of the war.1/

Despite this vast outpouring of literature on the Civil War, we do not know much about the effects of the Civil War on everyday life in America. Surprisingly little has been written about the personal experiences of ordinary soldiers or civilians during that struggle. The best studies of the lives of common soldiers are still the two volumes written over thirty years ago by Bell Wiley.2/ Very little has been published on civilian life in the North or South during the war years and almost nothing is available on the life course of Civil War veterans afterwards.3/

If scholars analyzing the Civil War have neglected the lives of common soldiers or civilians, social historians of the nineteenth century appear to have ignored the Civil War altogether. Almost none of the numerous community studies covering the years 1850-1880 discuss or even mention the Civil War. Thernstrom's classic study of Newburyport, Massachusetts and the Griffens's investigation of Poughkeepsie, New York, for example, do not analyze the effects of the Civil War on the lives of the individuals in those communities.4/ Similarly, two of the more recent overviews of demographic and family life in America mention the Civil War only in passing.5/

Several factors have contributed to the neglect of the Civil War by social historians. Scholars working on the nineteenth century generally study either the antebellum period or the post-Civil War years rather than analyze the middle third of the nineteenth century as a whole and thus have failed to deal with the impact of the war. Most historians have neglected the social history aspects of all wars and those who do investigate them focus mainly on military strategy and battles.6/ Finally, interest in nineteenth-century social structure led to studies based upon cross-sectional analyses of population just before and after the Civil War with little attention to the

demographic changes in-between. Thus, although the Civil War continues to be a popular topic among military, intellectual, political, and economic historians, it has failed to generate much interest among social historians.

To begin to assess the possible influence of the Civil War on the lives of nineteenth-century Americans, this article will briefly explore its impact from a demographic perspective. First, we assess just how important the Civil War was in the nineteenth century by looking at the number of Union and Confederate soldiers who died and comparing these results with mortality in other wars. Having established that a very high proportion of military-age white males fought and died in the Civil War, we consider how the particular characteristics of that conflict may have affected the wartime experiences of its participants. Then, based upon preliminary results from an indepth study of Newburyport, Massachusetts during the Civil War, we sketch the social and economic background of those who fought and died in that conflict. While the results from any particular community study are limited, they do provide us with a glimpse of how different groups in the North responded to the Civil War. Finally, we consider the impact of the Civil War on the survivors. Since almost no research exists on the influence of the Civil War on the lives of ordinary Americans in the last third of the nineteenth century, we confine our discussion to a preliminary demographic analysis of the federal pension program using aggregate statistics as only one indication of the type of studies that might be done. The federal pension program provided substantial assistance to Union veterans or their dependents and had a major impact on its beneficiaries. These few examples are examined here only briefly and, of course, do not cover adequately the wide range of topics that should be addressed in future studies; but they do illustrate, at least from a demographic perspective, why we must pay more attention to the social impact of the Civil War on the lives of nineteenth-century Americans.

I. Civil War Casualties Among Union and Confederate Soldiers

There are many different ways of assessing the relative impact of wars on a population. One of the most obvious and simplest is to calculate the number of military casualties--particularly suitable for countries such as the United States where relatively few civilians were killed during wartime. Although it is even difficult to obtain accurate information on military deaths, these data are more readily available and more reliable than estimates of civilian casualties or estimates of the economic costs of the war.

Was the Civil War an important event in our history from the perspective of the number of soldiers killed? The best estimate is that about 618,000 Union and Confederate soldiers and sailors died during the Civil War (see figure 1). The military deaths for the Civil War exceed by more than fifty percent the total number killed in World War II--the second most important American war in terms of service-related deaths. Indeed, before the Vietnam conflict, the number of deaths in the Civil War almost equalled the total number killed in all of our other wars combined.7/

Another perspective on the extent of casualties in the Civil War can be achieved by computing the number of military deaths per 10,000 population (see figure 2). During the Civil War, 182 individuals per 10,000 population died while the comparable estimate for the next highest-ranked war, the American Revolution, is only 118. The United States suffered a large number of deaths during World War II, but a much larger population base at that time meant that the number of deaths per 10,000 population was 30--only about one-sixth of the Civil War ratio. The Vietnam War, which has caused such great emotional and political anguish in our times, recorded only 3 military deaths per 10,000 population. Thus, whether we consider the total number of military deaths or the ratio of deaths to the total population, the American Civil War is by far the bloodiest event in our history.

Figure 1

NUMBER OF MILITARY DEATHS IN U.S. WARS, 1775-1973

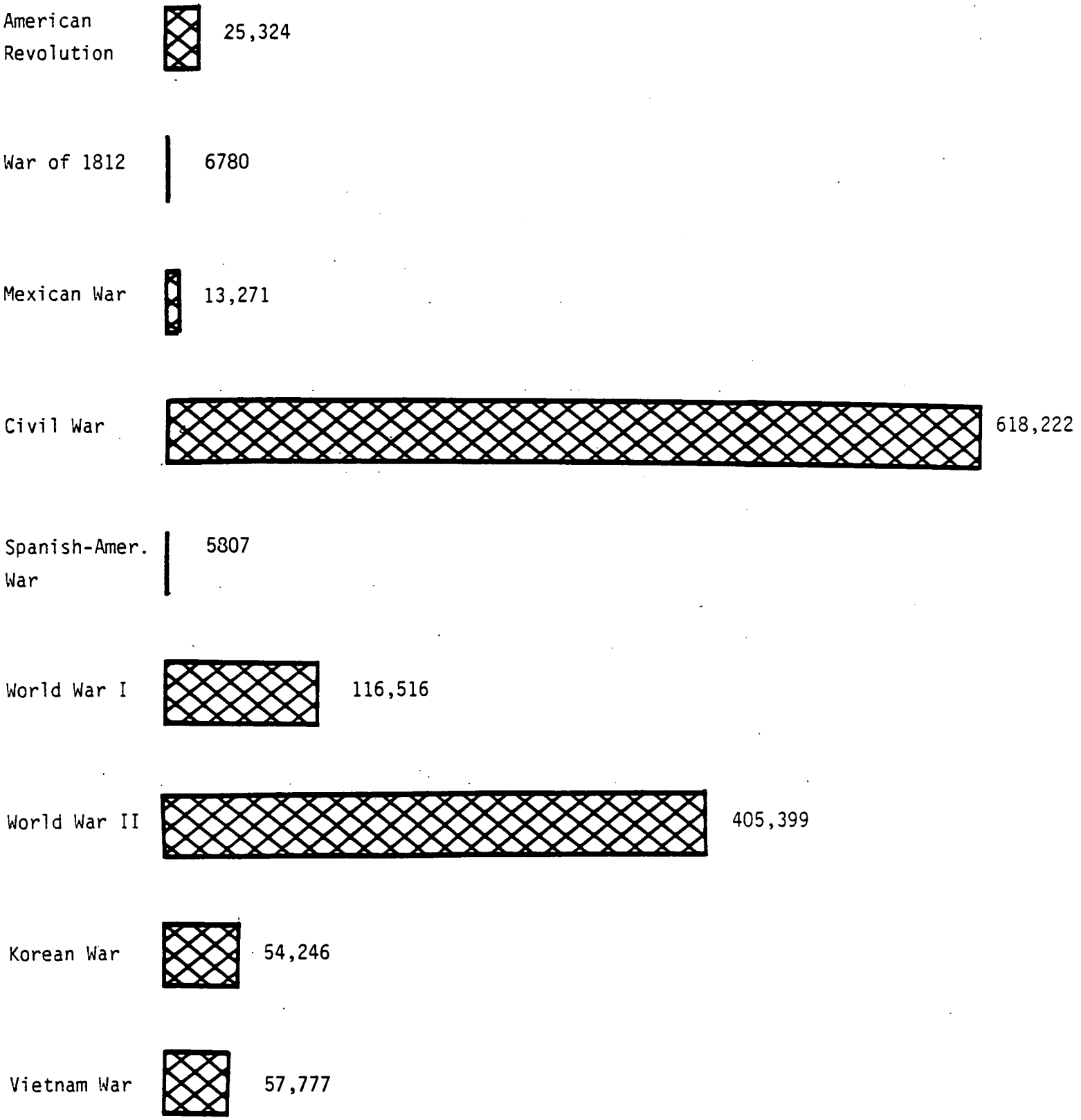
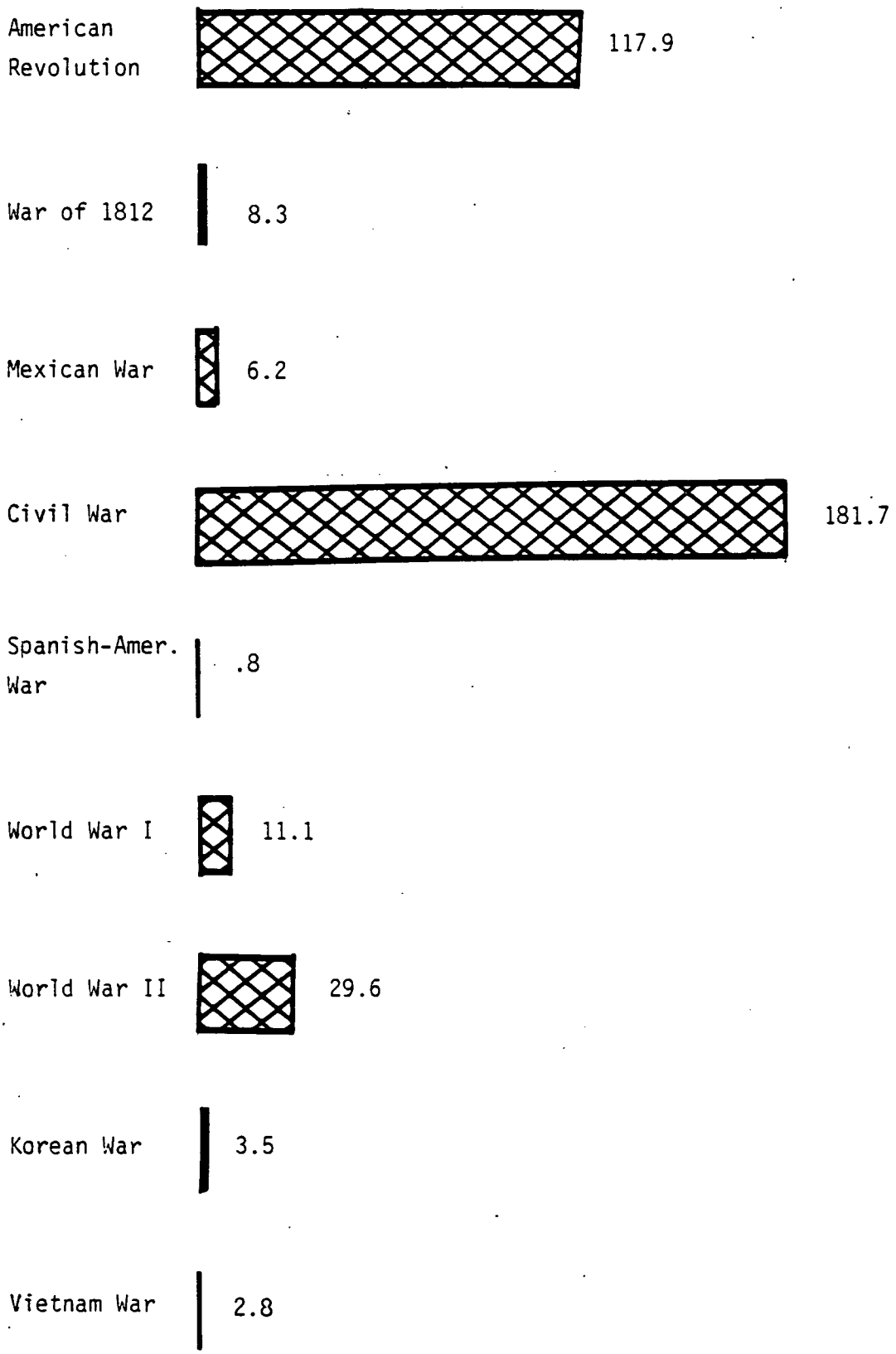


Figure 2

NUMBER OF MILITARY DEATHS IN U.S. WARS PER 10,000 POPULATION, 1775-1973



Since the distribution of population and resources in the two sections were very unequal, a clearer picture of the impact of Civil War deaths emerges from comparing Union and Confederate losses. With a much larger population, the North was able to field much larger armies than the South and the North sustained greater military losses. It is estimated that about 360,000 men from the Union forces died while 258,000 died in service to the Confederacy.8/

Though military losses in the North during the Civil War exceeded those in the South by nearly forty percent, the relative impact of that struggle on the South was much greater because of its smaller population base. Looking at the North and South together and using an estimate of white males ages 13-43 in 1860 as those individuals most likely to participate in the war, approximately 8 percent of them died during the Civil War. Considering the North and the South separately, about 6 percent of Northern white males ages 13-43 died in the Civil War while 18 percent of their Southern counterparts perished.9/ Young white men in the South were almost three times as likely to die during those four years as young men in the North.

The heavy casualties experienced by military-age whites in the mid-nineteenth century are unprecedented in our history. A large number of young men died in the Civil War and left behind them dependent widows and grieving parents and friends. Many of those who survived but were wounded or disabled during the war carried visible reminders of that conflict with them for the rest of their lives.10/ Given the magnitude of that conflict, most adult Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century probably either participated in the war themselves or had a close friend or relative who fought for the North or the South.11/

II. Characteristics of the Civil War

For many Americans the death of a close friend or relative was the central event of the Civil War. Yet reactions to the conflict were shaped not only by personal experiences but also by how their communities responded to the war. Although there was considerable division within the North and South over the desirability of secession and the response of the federal government to

it, once the Confederates fired upon Fort Sumter support for the war solidified in both sections.12/ The early calls for volunteers were quickly answered. Most communities in both the North and South responded enthusiastically by pledging to help the dependents of those who left for the front and even raising money to purchase uniforms and weapons.13/ Unlike the situation during the Vietnam War, few initially questioned the wisdom or necessity of supporting the war effort.

Everyone expected that the war would be very short and therefore volunteers were enlisted only for a few months. Soon it became clear that neither the Union nor the Confederate forces could gain a decisive victory and the news of heavy casualties at battles like Antietam dampened the enthusiasm for volunteering. As a result, both sides found it necessary to resort to the draft to supply their armies with sufficient recruits. Draft riots in the North testified to the unpopularity of conscription. But while relatively few men were actually drafted, the threat of conscription was sufficient to induce states and communities to raise the requested troops by offering bounties.14/ The setbacks on the military field as well as the increasing sacrifices demanded of the population led many individuals, particularly in the North, to question the wisdom of continuing the war.15/ Thus, the initial enthusiasm for the war slackened as the casualties mounted and all hope for a quick victory vanished.

Despite the increasing difficulty of recruiting troops as the war continued, both sides raised large armies. Altogether, more than three million men (including about 189,000 blacks for the Union) served in the Civil War. Nearly two million whites joined the Union forces and 900,000 whites enrolled in the Confederate cause.16/ If we calculate the rate of participation among those of military age (ages 13-43 in 1860) in the North and South combined, about forty percent of whites served in the armed forces. Although the North fielded more than twice as many men as the South, a much smaller percentage of whites of military-age participated from the North (35 percent) than from the South (61 percent).

As indicated in the previous section, large numbers of soldiers and sailors were killed in the Civil War. Therefore, the chances of someone enlisted in the war dying was high. Overall, more than one out of every five whites participating died. Again, the casualty rates were much higher

in the South than in the North. Approximately one out of six white males in the Union forces died, while more than one out of four of their counterparts in the Confederate armies perished. In part the higher mortality rate among Southern troops reflects the fact that many of them were forced to remain in the armed forces throughout the war while Northern soldiers were allowed to return home after completing their scheduled tour of duty.17/

Part of the explanation for the very high death rates during the Civil War as compared to wars in the twentieth century is that there was a greater likelihood of dying from diseases. More than half of the deaths among Union soldiers were caused by disease.18/ Furthermore, due to the relatively primitive nature of medical care during the Civil War, a much higher percentage of those wounded eventually died than would be true in subsequent wars.19/

Many soldiers and sailors abandoned the war by deserting. It is estimated that 200,000 Union soldiers deserted (80,000 of whom were caught and returned) and at least 104,000 Confederate soldiers deserted (21,000 of whom were caught and returned).20/ War weariness and concerns about one's family induced nearly one out of ten Union soldiers and nearly one out of eight Confederate soldiers to desert. If we assume that soldiers who died had not previously deserted, approximately 12 percent of surviving Union soldiers and 16 percent of surviving Confederate soldiers deserted. The high percentage of deserters among Union and Confederate survivors could mean that many veterans experienced considerable difficulty in readjusting to civilian life as the stigma of desertion haunted them.21/

The nature of Civil War recruiting also influenced the experiences of those who volunteered or were drafted. Groups of soldiers often were recruited from one locale and usually were formed into companies consisting of individuals from the same geographic area. At the beginning of the war, they sometimes elected their own officers who were popular political leaders or prominent individuals within the community.22/

Creating units from the same locality had important implications for the life course of the men. Rather than being separated from one's peers and getting a new start in the armed forces as in World War II or today, most men served with friends and neighbors who were familiar with their

social backgrounds and prior experiences. This also meant that those who distinguished themselves in the Civil War were considered local heroes while those who deserted often probably did not dare to return to their former homes. Indeed, how soldiers dealt with each other in the army often had repercussions on how their spouses or relatives treated each other at home during the war.23/ Furthermore, since there was great variation in the mortality experiences of units, some communities lost relatively few of their loved ones while others must have suffered staggering losses.24/ Thus, the manner of recruiting and assembling soldiers at first reinforced their previous experiences and then sometimes dramatically altered the life course of the survivors.

So far we have described the general context in which the soldiers and sailors participated in the war and suggested ways in which this may have affected them. But what about their personal experiences in that conflict? How did military service affect them at the time and after the war? The few works published on the lives of ordinary soldiers suggests that their experiences were quite varied and that individuals reacted to military life and the war in many different ways. Some relished the opportunity to participate in this great undertaking and welcomed the danger and excitement that accompanied battles. Many others quickly tired of long marches and short rations and dreaded the terror of facing death at the next encounter.25/ How their wartime experiences shaped their subsequent lives is unknown as little research has been done on the Civil War veterans.

While there are a few general studies of the soldiers in the Civil War, there is even less information about the lives of civilians. Most historians assume that few civilians were wounded or killed during the fighting. The great majority of battles occurred in the South so for the most part Northern communities escaped direct physical damage. One might speculate that the devastation of crops and farm animals in the South during the later stages of the Civil War created severe hardships which weakened civilians and made them more susceptible to diseases. Furthermore, it is likely soldiers who were exposed to new diseases such as malaria may have brought them back to their own communities after the war.26/

The economic impact felt by the North was quite different than that felt by the South. While Southerners experienced a greater scarcity of goods and more war-related destruction of property, many Northerners benefited from the growth of their economy. Both sides, however, suffered from high rates of inflation which reduced real incomes of workers and from new wartime taxes which drained their resources.27/ While some have argued that overall the Civil War stimulated economic growth and prosperity in the North, more recent scholarship emphasizes the negative economic impact of that war on the North. For example, the rate of industrialization and the growth of per capita wealth slowed during the Civil War decade marking a major departure from earlier decades.28/ In addition, population growth due to immigration was severely curtailed. Goldin estimates that the Civil War reduced immigration by approximately 1.3 million people--nearly twice the numbers that were lost in the armed conflict itself. She speculates that the combined effect of the losses in immigration and military deaths was to reduce the population by 5.6 percent from what it probably would have been without the the Civil War--a figure that appears to be too high because she overestimates the decline in immigration.29/

III. Newburyport and the Civil War

So far we have seen that a sizable proportion of military-age white males fought in the Civil War and that many of them died, were wounded, or deserted. But did the Civil War affect everyone equally or were there large ethnic and socio-economic differences in those who participated? If it was a "poor man's" fight, for example, as many contemporaries complained, then the human costs of the war would have been disproportionately borne by those in lower-class occupations.

Since there are no detailed national statistics on the characteristics of those who fought and died in the Civil War, it is necessary to pursue these questions based upon a northern community study of Newburyport, Massachusetts.30/ While no city is representative or typical of the North as a whole, Newburyport does provide a useful setting for such an investigation.31/ In 1860

Newburyport was a small maritime community of 13,000 individuals and had an ethnically diverse population (almost entirely white but with a foreign-born population of about one-fifth). The city had experienced an economic revitalization in the 1840s and early 1850s due to the construction of five steam-powered cotton mills but suffered hard times after the Panic of 1857. During the Civil War itself the city recovered as the demand for its goods and services increased.32/

One of the major reasons for selecting Newburyport is the availability of excellent military records which describe the role of its citizens in the Civil War. Although the city, like most other communities, did not keep complete and detailed records on the townspeople who contributed to the war effort, George Creasey, a Civil War veteran himself, devoted nearly three and a half decades of his life to meticulously tracing and recording the Civil War experiences of Newburyport soldiers. He consulted the available military records in Boston and Washington, D.C. and interviewed many survivors of that conflict as well.33/ Although undoubtedly some errors may exist in his work, his compilation provides a more complete and comprehensive record than could be assembled today by someone relying only upon the surviving written documents.34/

As part of a larger study of Newburyport during the Civil War, the data from the military records compiled by Creasey were linked to demographic and socio-economic information in the federal manuscript census of 1860. In addition, high school attendance records were linked to the two data sets. Although the results reported here are only a preliminary assessment of the impact of the Civil War on Newburyport residents, they provide a more detailed analysis of participation in the Union forces than heretofore available and are an example of the type of information which can be gleaned from community studies.

Compared to the North as a whole, Newburyport residents were more likely to enroll in the army or navy. The 1,337 different servicemen credited to the city represent 45 percent of the total number of males aged 13-43 listed in the 1860 Newburyport census while the estimated percentage of men enrolled in all of the North from the same age-group was 35 percent.35/ To ascertain background information on the soldiers and sailors from Newburyport, a subset of all of

those who could be identified in the 1860 census for Newburyport was created. The number of soldiers and sailors from Newburyport who could be linked to the 1860 census, however, was only 728--about 55 percent of individuals credited to the city and 48 percent of those listed in Creasey's compilation. Although there may be some biases introduced by using the linked set of military and census data, overall this sample provides a fairly accurate picture of the characteristics of males from Newburyport who served in the war.36/

The ages of Newburyport males serving in the Civil War ranged from eleven to 63 years in 1860. Most were in their late teens or their twenties. Only one boy aged eleven in 1860 enrolled later and very few aged fifty and above ever enrolled. This analysis focuses on those aged 12-49 in 1860 (this includes 98 percent of all soldiers or sailors matched to the manuscript census). Information on the military experiences of Newburyport servicemen comes from Creasey. The census provides data on age, ethnicity, occupation, wealth, and enrollment in school. School records report high school attendance.

In the only other study of those who joined or did not join the Union forces, Rorabaugh used cross-tabulation to analyze his Concord, Massachusetts data. Using this technique, Rorabaugh calculated the percentage of males enlisting by some other variable such as their property ownership or occupation. The limitation of this approach is that it does not allow the analyst to make reasonable inferences about the relative importance of each of the independent variables (i.e. property ownership or occupation) in predicting whether or not someone enlisted--especially when tests of the strength of those associations are not calculated.37/ This study improves upon Rorabaugh's statistical analysis by employing multiple classification analysis (MCA) because it permits the assessment of the relationship between each of the independent variables and whether or not someone from Newburyport enlisted. Thus, it is possible not only to determine the relationship between enlisting and ethnicity, separate from the effects of the other variables, but also the relative ability of a variable such as ethnicity, to predict the likelihood of enlisting compared to the other characteristics of those individuals.38/

Since many of the young teenagers had not yet entered the labor force or accumulated any personal property in 1860, the sample was separated into two groups. For individuals ages 12-17 we use the occupation and wealth of their parents as an indicator of their background while for those ages 18-49 we rely upon their own occupation and wealth. In order to minimize any distortions introduced by using these two subgroups, separate multiple classification analyses were run on each group rather than only a single MCA which would have included variables for occupation and wealth based upon different criteria. The two groups were analyzed for the influence of six variables on the enlistment of Newburyport men: age, ethnicity, occupation, wealth, school attendance, and educational attainment.

As expected, age was the best predictor of whether or not someone enlisted in the armed forces. About one half of those ages 16-17 in 1860 fought in the Civil War as well as nearly four out of ten of those ages 18-24. Only one out of six in their thirties in 1860 joined the Union forces and one out of twenty in their forties participated.39/

There is considerable controversy over the participation rate of foreign-born men in the Union army. Many scholars claim that foreign-born soldiers predominated in Northern units, but more recent work suggests that foreign-born men were represented at a rate equal to or even less than that of native-born men.40/ In Newburyport the foreign-born were much less likely to enlist in the Civil War than the native-born. Aliens who had not taken out naturalization papers were not liable for the military draft and many foreigners in the North were hostile to the entire war effort --especially those who perceived it as an unnecessary crusade to free slaves. Somewhat surprisingly, second-generation Americans were even more likely to serve than children of native parents. Perhaps second-generation youth, who were liable to be drafted, wanted to display and prove their attachment to the United States despite any misgivings their parents may have had about the war. Alternatively or in addition, second-generation Americans may have been less able to avoid military service through the hiring of a substitute or by paying a commutation fee of $300.41/ Ethnicity was the second best predictor of participation in the Civil War.

Many contemporaries portrayed the Civil War as a "poor man's" fight since the well-to-do could afford to hire a substitute or pay the commutation fee.42/ Therefore, one would expect that in Newburyport the children of unskilled workers or the unskilled laborers themselves would be much more likely to have enlisted. Yet the results of the MCAs reveal that among those in the 12-17 age-group the sons of fathers employed at high white-collar or skilled jobs were joining up at rates much higher than those for sons of unskilled workers. Among adults, the skilled workers were also more likely to enlist than the unskilled workers, but in this age-group the few individuals in high white-collar occupations were particularly adverse to serving and enrolled at a very low rate (although most of that differential disappears once we control for the effects of the other independent variables).

With regard to wealth, the expected pattern of greater wealth predicting lower enrollment is confirmed but with a surprising similarity in the two rates. The rate of enrollment was 29 percent for youths with parents having less than $100 total wealth and the rate for those with the wealthiest parents was 24 percent. Adult males whose total wealth was $1000 or more were less likely to enlist than those with less wealth. Therefore, although there were differences in the rates of enrollment by occupation and wealth, these differences are not large enough to justify describing the war as a "poor man's" fight.43/

The last two variables investigated deal with education. Was attendance at school a deterrent to enlistment and how did the level of education attained affect enlistment? Since most children in nineteenth-century Newburyport completed their education well before they were likely to enlist, few would have declined to join in order to complete their schooling.44/ Those who indicated in the census of 1860 that they were still enrolled in school (any of common school, high school or college) were less likely to enlist than those who had already entered the labor force--even after controlling for the effects of other factors such as the age of the child. This measure of education was the weakest predictor of military participation.

Perhaps a better indicator of the influence of education is whether or not an enlistee received at least some high school training. When this measure of education was used as the education

variable it became the third best predictor of enlistment. A great swell of patriotic fervor swept through the Newburyport high schools after the war begun, yet former high school students were less likely to enroll than those who had not attended any high school. One out of every five former high school students enrolled while almost one out of every three who did not attend high school enrolled.45/

A large number of Newburyport residents fought in the Civil War and thus far we have examined some of the factors which might predict who would participate. We now turn to a consideration of the effects of that experience on the participants. Four obvious but important measures of the impact of military service are the likelihood of dying, being wounded, deserting, or being discharged as disabled. Many of the studies of the effects of twentieth-century wars on the life course of individuals focus on experiences such as marriage, education, or job mobility without adequate attention to the more direct outcomes of participation in a war.46/

Of the Newburyport servicemen matched to the manuscript census and aged 12-49 in 1860, 13 percent died either of wounds or disease during the Civil War.47/ This percentage of enlisted men from Newburyport killed is somewhat lower than the aggregate estimate of 17 percent of all white Union soldiers and sailors who died in the Civil War. To a large degree a lower mortality rate for Newburyport is the result of the fact that a high proportion of Newburyport men served in the navy and the navy suffered fewer losses than the army.

Approximately 16 percent of Newburyport soldiers and sailors were wounded but survived. Altogether, 29 percent of these servicemen were either wounded or killed during the Civil War. Only 2 percent of those in the military matched to the federal manuscript census deserted, but as indicated earlier, a much higher proportion of those who were not linked deserted. Adding in the small number who deserted, 31 percent of all Newburyport soldiers in our sample either died, were wounded, or deserted. Thus, one out of every eight individuals from Newburyport who fought for the Union died and one out of every five who survived the war was either wounded or had deserted.

Many Newburyport soldiers and sailors, including some of those who were wounded, were discharged from the armed forces as disabled. Almost one out of every five servicemen was discharged due to a disability.48/ Altogether at least 42 percent of those who fought in the Civil War from Newburyport were killed, wounded, deserted, or discharged as disabled. Thus, the immediate adverse effects of the war upon the life course of a very large portion of its participants are quite evident.

We now turn to a consideration of the variation among Newburyport soldiers and sailors of differing age or socio-economic status in their chances of being killed or wounded during the Civil War.49/ As before, we subdivide the sample into those aged 12-17 in 1860 and those aged 18-49 in 1860 in order to deal with the problem of many young teenagers having no occupation or personal wealth. Each group was analyzed to determine the extent to which age, ethnicity, occupation, wealth, and service experiences can predict casualty outcomes, but space limits us to only a brief discussion of the results.

Servicemen aged 12-14 in 1860 were less likely to be killed or wounded than those ages 15-17. The obvious explanation for this differential is that many of them became old enough to join only late in the war and therefore served for a shorter time. Among soldiers and sailors aged 18-49 in 1860, the youngest and the oldest were the most likely to be killed or wounded.50/ Although age is the strongest predictor of enlistment in the Civil War, it is the weakest predictor of whether or not a serviceman died or was wounded.

Foreign-born and second-generation soldiers and sailors were more likely to die or to be wounded than servicemen of native parents. Perhaps foreign-born soldiers were more susceptible to diseases since they tended to be less affluent than native-born troops. While foreign-born youths and adults were the least likely to enlist in the Union forces, they were much more likely to be casualties than native-born troops of either age-group.

In terms of both occupation and wealth, servicemen from disadvantaged backgrounds were more likely to be killed or wounded during the Civil War than servicemen with higher ranking jobs or greater wealth. The generally inverse relationship between socio-economic status and the

probability of dying or being wounded, even after controlling for the effects of the other independent variables, raises intriguing questions about why casualty rates were disproportionately high among the lower status citizens of Newburyport. Was their health generally poorer at enlistment and therefore they were more susceptible to diseases? Or did they happen to be assigned to units which experienced particularly dangerous missions?

The last factor to be considered concerns the service experiences of the Newburyport enlistees. This variable was subdivided into three categories--servicemen who were privates in the army, those who were officers in the army, and those who enlisted in the navy. Among the younger enlistees, army officers were more likely to be killed or wounded than army privates or those who joined the navy. Among servicemen aged 18-49 in 1860, however, army officers were less likely to have died or been wounded than army privates or those in the navy. Overall, this variable was the best predictor of whether or not a serviceman was killed or wounded in the Civil War.

Our examination of Newburyport servicemen indicates widespread participation in the war effort among males ages 13-49 in 1860. Although there were some occupational and wealth differences in the rates of enlistment, Union soldiers and sailors were not to any great extent disproportionately recruited from the lower socio-economic groups in Newburyport. Second-generation Americans were the most likely to enlist while the foreign-born were the least likely. Despite the strong support for the war in the secondary schools, those Newburyport youths who received the most education were less likely to enlist--even though most of them had already completed their education than those with less education. On the other hand, among adult males, Newburyport illiterates were underrepresented in the Union forces.

If the likelihood of participating in the Civil War is not as differentiated by occupation, wealth, or level of education as one might have expected, there are considerable differences in the likelihood of being killed or wounded depending on these variables. Servicemen from the lower socio-economic segments of Newburyport society were much more likely to be killed or wounded than those from the more privileged groups. In addition, the foreign-born servicemen experienced particularly high rates of casualties even though they had been less willing to enlist initially. The

relative casualty rates among privates and officers in the army were mixed for the two age-groups, but in both groups those in the navy were much less likely to be killed or wounded.

IV. Civil War Pensions and Union Veterans

Almost nothing has been written about the experiences of Civil War veterans. Although considerable work is available on the aggregate economic impact of the Civil War, social historians simply have ignored the impact of that conflict on the large number of veterans who survived.51/ Undoubtedly, wounds and war memories affected many Union and Confederate soldiers decades after the Civil War and determined at least to some degree the type of employment opportunities available.52/ Indeed, for some, like Oliver Wendell Holmes, the Civil War experience continued to shape their outlook on life well after the war itself had ended.53/

But the influence of the Civil War went beyond the devastation caused by loss of lives and property or by memories left in the minds of the survivors. The pension programs created for Union soldiers were to have a profound and long-lasting impact on the lives of veterans. On July 14, 1862 President Lincoln signed into law an act which became the basis for all subsequent federal pension legislation until 1890. It provided for monthly payments to men totally disabled or to the widows of those killed. Further legislation before the end of the war granted higher compensation to veterans suffering specific disabilities (such as the loss of both hands, both feet, etc.). After the war, Union veterans or their dependents received additional payments while their Confederate counterparts received no federal aid or state aid. Only after Reconstruction did some of the Southern states provide even minimal help for Confederate veterans.54/

From 1861 to 1885, 555,038 pension claims were filed alleging the existence of service disabilities and 300,204 of them were allowed. Likewise, 335,296 claims of widows, minor children, or dependent relatives were filed during the same period for deaths of soldiers due to war-related causes and 220,825 of them were allowed. The large number of invalid claims were due to the requirements in the pension law that proof had to be made that disability and death

were due to military service. As a result, there was great political pressure in the late 1880s to provide Civil War pensions for anyone who had performed military service in the Union armies. On June 27, 1890 Congress passed a new pension act which provided that anyone who served in the Union forces for ninety days or more during the Civil War, received an honorable discharge, and was now disabled from any cause whatsoever was entitled to a pension. In essence, the Act of 1890 would provide assistance to thousands of Union veterans as they became incapacitated due to the normal illnesses associated with aging.55/

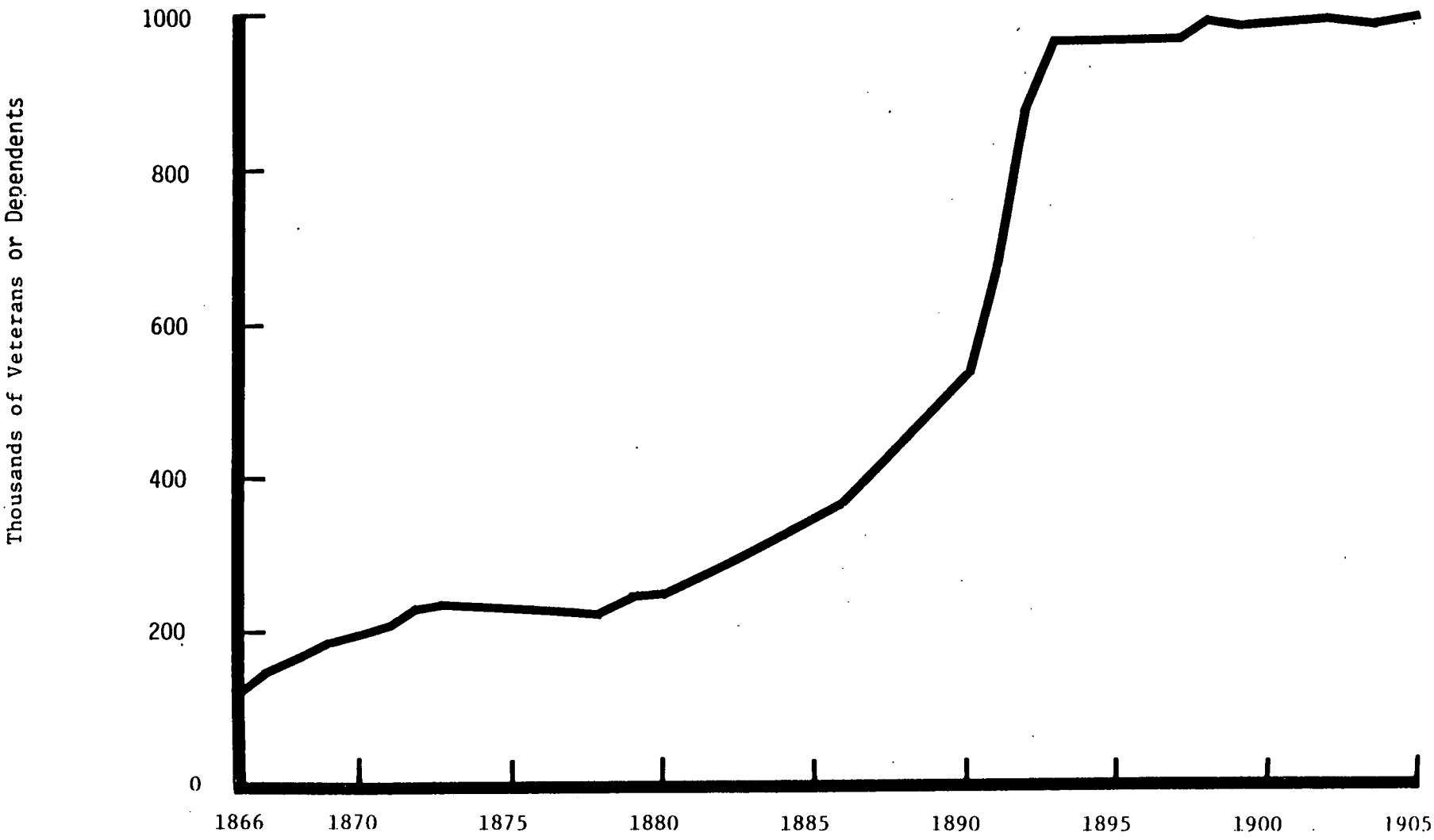
While some analyses of the legislative and administrative aspects of federal pension aid in the nineteenth century are available, virtually nothing has been done from the vantage point of the veteran or his dependents.56/ As a result, it is very difficult to even speculate about the probable impact of this program on individual veterans or their families since the necessary data have never been compiled or analyzed. Nevertheless, using very fragmentary published statistics currently available, the contours of the federal pension program for Union veterans can be sketched.

The number of Union veterans or their dependents receiving federal pension benefits immediately after the Civil War was rather small, but then grew rapidly in the late nineteenth century--especially after the passage of the Act of 1890 which dropped many of the earlier strict eligibility requirements (see figure 3). The number of veterans or their dependents receiving federal pensions rose from 126,722 in 1866 to a high of 999,446 in 1902 (at the later date a few of these recipients were veterans of the Spanish-American War of 1898).57/ The last Union veteran survived until 1956 and in the 1986, 78 widows and children of men who had fought for the Union or the Confederacy remained on the federal pension rolls.

Initially, a high proportion of persons receiving veterans benefits were the widows or children of deceased Union soldiers--58 percent in 1866. But as the eligibility requirements for pensions were relaxed and as more veterans themselves applied for them, the proportion of widows or other dependents who received such benefits dropped to 19 percent in 1891.58/

Figure 3

NUMBER OF VETERANS OR THEIR DEPENDENTS (1000s) RECEIVING FEDERAL PENSION BENEFITS, 1866-1905



The percentage of surviving Union soldiers receiving a federal pension also changed dramatically over time (see figure 4). In 1866 only 2 percent of Union veterans received any financial assistance from the federal government for their services in the war. By 1895 that figure had jumped to 63 percent--largely as the result of changes in the pension legislation which no longer required that a veteran's disability had to be war-related in order to warrant a pension. In fact, by 1900 the Pension Bureau began to treat these disability pensions as a form of old age assistance for Union veterans. Commissioner H. Clay Evans instructed the examining doctors: "A claimant who has reached the age of 75 years is allowed the maximum rate for senility alone, even when there are no special pensionable disabilities. A claimant who has attained the age of 65 is allowed at least the minimum rate, unless he appears to have unusual vigor and ability for the performance of manual labor in one of that age."59/ Thus, by 1900 the United States government in effect had developed a very extensive and expensive old age assistance program for veterans.

It is difficult, of course, to estimate exactly how important these veteran pensions were for nineteenth-century Americans, but some general statements can be made. Overall, only a small proportion of the adult white population received a veteran's pension--about 1 percent in 1870 and 4 percent in 1900. Thus, one might speculate that federal pensions had relatively little impact on Americans.

But such a conclusion does not take into account the age-distribution of veterans. Since most soldiers in the Civil War were quite young, we need to follow the cohort of individuals who were in their late teens and early twenties during the Civil War. We find that 56 percent of all white males aged 25-29 and 34 percent of those aged 30-34 in 1870 were Union veterans. Similarly, 48 percent of all white males aged 55-59 and 29 percent of those aged 60-64 in 1900 were Union veterans (since Union veterans comprised only about 70-75 percent of all veterans from the North and South together, we would find that an even larger proportion of white males in certain age-cohorts had participated in the Civil War either as Union soldiers or Confederate soldiers).60/

Figure 4

FEDERAL VETERAN BENEFITS IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, 1866-1905

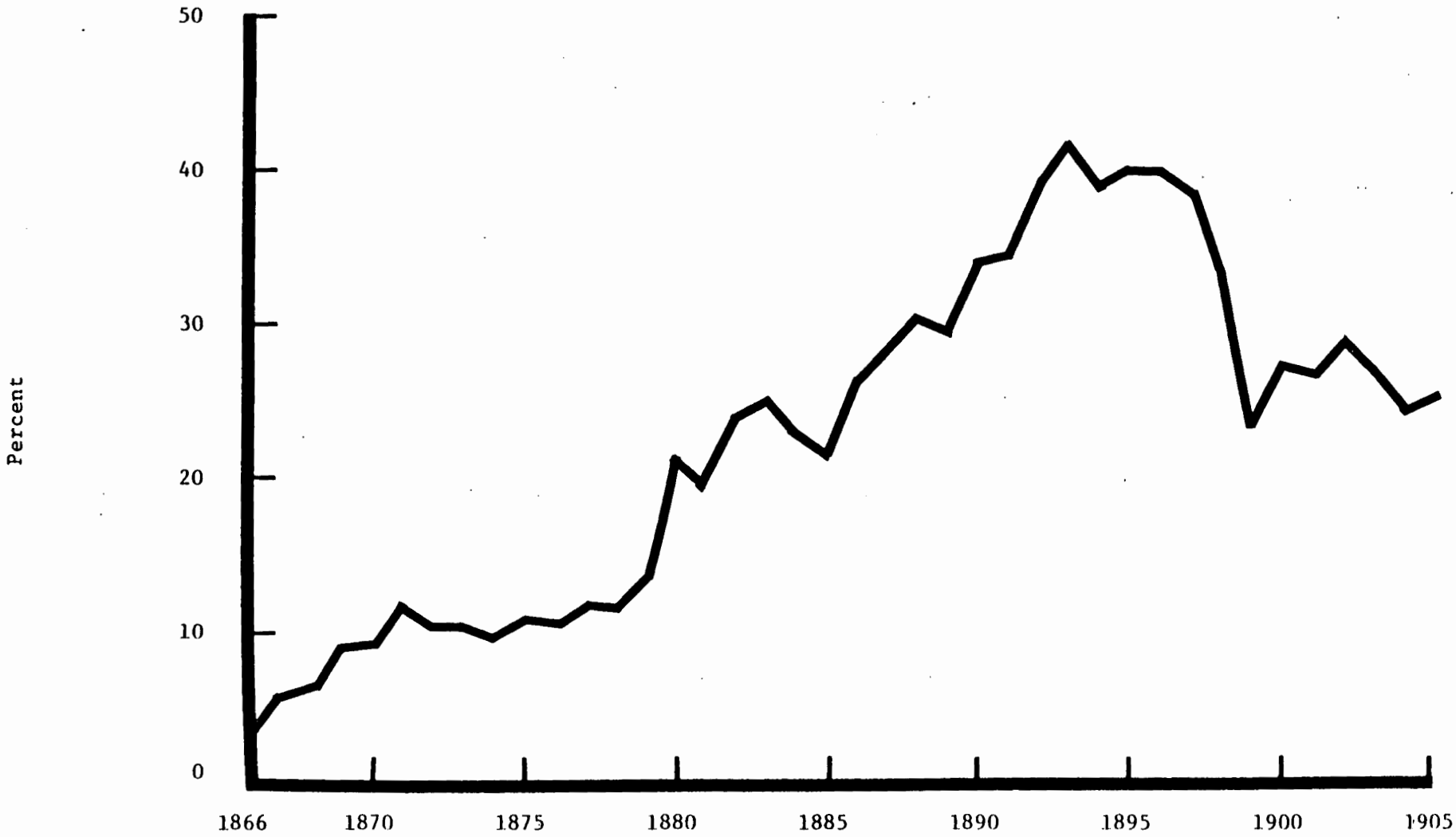
One can roughly guess, given the percentages of Union veterans and the overall proportion of them that received federal pensions, that in 1870 only about 1 percent of white males ages 25-34 received a federal pension. But by 1900, 30 percent of all white males ages 55-59 and 18 percent of those ages 60-64 were receiving a federal pension.61/ In other words, to understand the lives of nineteenth-century Americans, we need to acknowledge that of the cohort members who were of the age to fight in the Civil War, many experienced that event in uniform. Furthermore, a surprisingly high percentage of these individuals received a form of old age assistance from the federal government forty or fifty years before we had even created a federal social security system. Finally, if we take into consideration the widows and dependents of deceased Union soldiers who also received these pensions, the proportion of nineteenth-century Americans from these particular cohorts who benefited from the veterans' pension programs was quite high.

Having established that at least for members of certain cohorts the federal veteran pension program played an important role in their lives--especially as they aged--we must now turn to the financial aspects of this effort. How much money was involved overall, what percentage of the federal budget went to veteran pensions, and how much did the average claimant receive?

The amount of money provided through the federal veteran pension program started low and rose sharply. In 1866 the federal government spent 15.9 million dollars on veteran benefits. By 1893 it was spending 165.3 million--a sizable increase reflecting to a large extent the rapid expansion of the number of veterans who were eligible for the benefits.62/ As a percentage of the federal budget, expenditures for Civil War veterans greatly exceeded those for veterans today. Today veteran benefits are less than three percent of the total federal budget, but in the last third of the nineteenth century they were a much higher percentage (see figure 5). In fact, the percentage of the federal budget allocated to veteran pension benefits rose steadily throughout the nineteenth century until the expenses associated with the Spanish-American War greatly expanded the total federal budget and thereby reduced the veterans' percentage. In 1893 veteran benefits to former Union soldiers or their dependents comprised more than forty percent of the overall federal budget.

Figure 5

PERCENT VETERAN BENEFITS ARE OF TOTAL FEDERAL BUDGET, 1866-1905



Finally, we need to consider the financial impact of the federal pension program on the recipients. If the amount of money per recipient was very low, then its influence, despite the large number of people it reached, may have been minimal. On the other hand, if the sum of money provided for veterans or their survivors was large, then the program played an important role in supporting significant numbers of Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In real dollars, the average amount of money received per recipient from the federal veteran pension programs was substantial and grew rapidly in the 1880s. In current dollars, the average recipient received $122 annually in 1866 ($64 in 1860 money) and $139 annually in 1900 ($136 in 1860 money). Considering that the average annual earnings of all employees in 1900 was $375, the average of $139 provided by the federal pension program was quite substantial--especially by nineteenth-century standards.63/ Furthermore, since the Act of 1890 did not make veteran pension payments conditional on economic destitution, some recipients may have used those funds as supplementary income.

In 1890 there were 195,000 white Civil War widows--approximately 10 percent of all white widows at that time. Since 69.3 percent of white Civil War widows were those of Union soldiers in 1890, a sizable proportion of them were eligible for federal assistance. The prevalence of Civil War widows, like veterans, was particularly concentrated in certain age-groups. While only 4.5 percent of white widows sixty-five and above had been married to Civil War soldiers or sailors, 18.8 percent of those ages 45-54 had been married to participants in that conflict.64/

We know very little about the effects of the availability of federal benefits on the lives of the widows of Union soldiers or sailors. One intriguing analysis of rural and urban widows in Kent County, Michigan in 1880 found that those women who received a federal pension were slightly more likely to be living in their own households and much less likely to be working than widows who received no federal assistance.65/

Although the federal pension program for Union veterans or their widows has been mentioned by some of those studying American life in the second half of the nineteenth century, it has not received the attention it deserves. Just as social historians have ignored the impact of the Civil

War on the life course of their subjects, so have they failed to investigate the possible assistance of veteran or widow benefits to the well-being of Americans after the war. Similarly, while researchers analyzing the changing attitudes and behavior toward the elderly have noted briefly the existence of the federal pension programs for Union soldiers, they have not attempted to investigate its scope or importance to the older Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.66/ Thus, the post-Civil War experiences of Americans remains to be considered from the perspective of the influence of the Civil War on their lives--including a reassessment of the role of federal pension payments on the life course of its recipients.

V. Conclusion

One of the most exciting and productive areas of research during the past twenty-five years has been the study of the lives of ordinary Americans based upon sources such as the federal manuscript censuses. Employing sophisticated statistical and demographic techniques, social historians have revolutionized our knowledge of the experiences of individuals in the nineteenth century. Whereas the study of our past had been dominated by analyses of political, diplomatic, and military events, today attention has shifted to the investigation of our social history.

While the recent interest in social history opened unexplored areas for study and introduced new social science techniques for analyzing the past, it has sometimes resulted in the neglect of the more traditional themes and events in our past. Unlike military, intellectual, political, or economic analysts, social historians have lost sight of the centrality of the Civil War. As this article has tried to demonstrate, the Civil War directly affected the lives of most Americans at that time and left behind a legacy that continued to influence them many years after Appomattox. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how any of us studying the life course of Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century could have overlooked such a major and tragic experience.

The Civil War is the bloodiest experience in our history. Almost as many Americans died in that conflict as in all of the other wars combined. Nearly one out of five white males of military

age died in the South and one out of sixteen in the North. There was widespread participation in the war, but servicemen from lower socio-economic backgrounds may have been particularly likely to have been wounded, disabled, or killed.

Perhaps the experiences of men from a wide variety of backgrounds fighting together in the Civil War eased some of the class and ethnic tensions that plagued antebellum society. The comradery on the battlefield often continued after the war as veterans gathered in organizations like the Grand Army of the Republic to remember an idealized version of their wartime experiences. Just like the fraternal orders of the period cut across class lines, post-war veterans' organizations may have reduced the growing class tensions of an urbanizing and industrializing America during the last third of the nineteenth century.67/

The impact of the Civil War on the lives of Americans did not end in 1865, but continued throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The war left many survivors physically disabled and some emotionally scarred. While large numbers of Union soldiers or their widows received generous federal pensions, their Southern brethren struggled unassisted to reconstruct their lives after being vanquished. For many on both sides, the heritage of the war remained with them the rest of their lives. While there should be little doubt of the importance of the Civil War to that generation, the exact nature of that impact is yet to be specified and analyzed.

The failure of social historians to study the impact of the Civil War on the lives of its participants is not an isolated phenomenon. In general, we have ignored the role of wars in affecting the life course of our citizens. Despite a great interest in our military heroes and exploits, very little attention has been paid to the terrible costs of these conflicts to those who lived through them. Yet there is a resurgence of scholarly interest on the effects of wars on soldiers and civilians.68/ As we pursue these questions further, we will be in a better position to understand the consequences of wars and appreciate the importance of specific historical events on the life course of individuals.69/

FOOTNOTES

1 One of the best critical bibliographies of the Civil War is still J. G. Randall and David Herbert Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction (2nd ed.; Lexington, Mass., 1969). For an excellent, detailed bibliography of the writings on the North, see Eugene C. Murdock, The Civil War in the North: A Selective Annotated Bibliography (New York, 1987). The single best one-volume study of the Civil War is James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom (New York, 1988).

2 Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy (Baton Rouge, 1943); Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union (Baton Rouge, 1952). For a more recent but less satisfactory volume on the Civil War soldiers intended for the popular market, see Bell Irvin Wiley, The Common Soldier of the Civil War (New York, 1973).

3 For example, the major study of life in the North during the Civil War remains Emerson David Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War (New York, 1910).

4 Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Clyde Griffen and Sally Griffen, Natives and Newcomers: The Ordering of Opportunity in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Poughkeepsie (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). For an important exception, see Michael H. Frisch, Town into City: Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Meaning of Community, 1840-1880 (Cambridge, Mass., 1972). A few labor historians like Dawley and Walkowitz discuss the impact of the Civil War on the labor movement, but surprisingly even they do not consider its overall effect on the lives of individual workers. Alan Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (Cambridge, Mass., 1976);

Daniel J. Walkowitz, Worker City, Company Town: Iron and Cotton Worker Protest in Troy and Cohoes, New York, 1855-84 (Urbana, Ill., 1978).

5. Walter Nugent, Structure of American Social History (Bloomington, Ind., 1981); Robert V. Wells, Revolutions in Americans' Lives: A Demographic Perspective on the History of Americans, Their Families and Their Society (Westport, Conn., 1982).

6 The lack of attention to the social history of wars is now changing. For some recent examples, see Fred Anderson, A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984); Myron P. Gutmann, War and Rural Life in the Early Modern Low Countries (Princeton, 1980); J. M. Winter, The Great War and the British People (Cambridge, Mass., 1986).

7 Information about military casualties is limited and often highly unreliable. For a useful summary, see Claudia D. Goldin, "War" in Encyclopedia of American Economic History, ed. Glen Porter, vol. 3, pp. 935-957 (New York, 1980). Goldin's estimates of casualties for the Mexican War, Civil War, World War I, World War II, and Korean War were used. Her numbers for the other wars appeared too small and were replaced by data from other sources. For the American Revolution, see Howard Peckham, The Toll of Independence: Engagements and Battle Casualties of the American Revolution (Chicago, 1974), p. 130. The number for the War of 1812 is from Bell Wiley and includes a very crude estimate of military deaths from nonbattle causes. Bell Irwin Wiley, The Common Soldier of the Civil War, p. 118. The number of casualties for the Spanish-American War are reported by Gerald Linderman, The Mirror of War (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1974), p. 110. The figure for the Vietnam War is considerably higher than Goldin's estimate because it includes 10,449 Vietnam servicemen who died in accidents or from disease. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1987 (107th edition; Washington, D.C., 1986),

table 549. The reader should regard some of these estimates as intelligent approximations rather than definitive figures.

Robert Fogel and associates are now undertaking a broad reanalysis of mortality trends in nineteenth-century America--including a re-examination of the data on military deaths during the Civil War. For a preliminary analysis of their work on nutrition and mortality trends in nineteenth-century America, see Robert W. Fogel, "Nutrition and the Decline in Mortality Since 1700: Some Additional Preliminary Findings," National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 1802. For a discussion of the trends in antebellum mortality, see Maris A. Vinovskis, "Recent Trends in American Historical Demography: Some Methodological and Conceptual Considerations," Annual Review of Sociology, 4 (1978), 603-27; Maris A. Vinovskis, Fertility in Massachusetts from the Revolution to the Civil War (New York, 1980), pp. 25-39.

8 Goldin, "War," p. 938. Goldin's figure of 360,222 total Union deaths includes both white and black soldiers. An estimated 36,000 black Union soldiers died in the Civil War. Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867. Series II: The Black Military Experience (Cambridge, 1982), p. 633n.

9 The estimate of white males ages 13-43 is based upon the published federal census. The population of Virginia was subdivided into Virginia and West Virginia using county divisions from 1870. The Confederate and Union populations for Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia were apportioned using McPherson's estimates of the division of military recruits from those areas. James M. McPherson, Ordeal by Fire (New York, 1982), pp. 149-162. Tennessee was divided on the basis of the secession vote in June 1861. The populations of the other Confederate and Union states and territories were used as if all individuals in each of those areas supported their own side. While this is a crude approximation of the actual Union and Confederate pool of white males ages 13-43, it does provide an adequate basis for preliminary comparisons.

10 The figures on the wounded are even less reliable than those of individuals killed. While Goldin provides an estimate of 275,175 for those wounded in the North, she does not even try to provide such data for those in the South. Goldin, "War." It is difficult to evaluate the effect of wounds and war-related disabilities on the lives of veterans. Glasson provides a list of the causes of the 467,927 Union disabilities for which pensions had been granted by 1888, but it is impossible to ascertain their seriousness from the categories provided. William H. Glasson, Federal Military Pensions in the United States (New York, 1918), p. 138. Goldin and Lewis assume that wounded veterans experienced a loss of one-half of their potential earning ability, but they do not explain how they arrived at that estimate. Claudia D. Goldin and Frank D. Lewis, "The Economic Cost of the American Civil War: Estimates and Implications," Journal of Economic History, 35 (June 1975), 299-326.

11 Although the Civil War is the bloodiest experience in our history, it is less extraordinary when viewed from a European perspective. The number of deaths per 10,000 population in the Civil War was slightly higher than the losses the British and Irish suffered in World War I, but only two-thirds the losses experienced by the Germans and one half of those by the French in the same war. Winter, The Great War and the British People, p. 74.

Civil War casualties can also be compared to military losses in other modern civil wars. Among the 106 civil wars between 1815 and 1980 which resulted in at least 1,000 military deaths per year, the American Civil War is tied with the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) for fourth place based on the total number of deaths and ranked eighth in terms of severity as measured by deaths per capita. Melvin Small and J. David Singer, Report to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980 (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1982). See also Jack S. Levy, War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495-1975 (Lexington, Kentucky, 1983).

12 On the initial responses to secession, see Kenneth M. Stamp, And the War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-61 (Baton Rouge, 1950); David Potter, The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861 (New York, 1976).

13 On the role of local communities in providing assistance for the war, see Frisch, Town into City; Emily J. Harris, "Sons and Soldiers: Deerfield, Massachusetts and the Civil War," Civil War History, 30 (June 1984), 157-171.

14 On the Civil War draft in the North, see Eugene C. Murdock, One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North (Westport, Conn., 1971). Only 6 percent of the Union enlistments "can be attributed to the direct effects of the draft." Marvin A. Kreidberg and Merton G. Henry, History of Military Mobilization in the United States Army, 1775-1945 (Washington, D.C., 1955), p. 108. For an interesting quantitative analysis of the resistance to the draft in the North, see Peter Levine, "Draft Evasion in the North During the Civil War, 1863-1865," Journal of American History, 67 (March 1981), 816-34.

On the Confederate experiences with the draft, see Albert Burton Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy (New York, 1924). For a very interesting case study of the class divisions within the Confederacy, see Paul D. Escott and Jeffrey J. Crow, "The Social Order and Violent Disorder: An Analysis of North Carolina in the Revolution and the Civil War," Journal of Southern History, 52 (August 1986), 373-402.

15 There has been considerable controversy over the role of the Democratic Party in the North. For a thoughtful and well-balanced account, see Joel H. Silbey, A Respectable Minority: The Democratic Party in the Civil War Era, 1860-1868 (New York, 1977).

16 The estimates of white males in the Union and Confederate forces are from McPherson, Ordeal By Fire, p. 181. In his more recent work, however, he has revised his estimate of Confederate soldiers and sailors to 900,000. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, p. 30n. Even

this may underestimate the total whites in the war because it does not always include those who served in state militia units--particularly in the South. Personal communication from James M. McPherson, June 24, 1987.

The traditional figure for blacks in the Union armies is 179,000. Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, eds., Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, p. 633n. McPherson points out that up to another 10,000 blacks may have served in the Union navy. McPherson, Ordeal By Fire, p. 355.

17 On the differences in experiences between Confederate and Union soldiers, see Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb; Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank. For an excellent review of the recent studies of Civil War soldiers, see Marvin R. Cain, "A 'Face of Battle' Needed: An Assessment of Motives and Men in Civil War Historiography," Civil War History, 28 (March 1982), 5-27.

18 William F. Fox, Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, 1861-1865 (Albany, NY, 1889); Thomas L. Livermore, Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-65, (2nd ed.; Boston, 1901). The estimate of those who died from diseases does not include the approximately 30,000 Union soldiers who died of diseases in Confederate prisons. If these were included, the percentage of deaths from diseases would be even higher. Personal communication from James M. McPherson, June 24, 1987.

19 Despite efforts by both the North and the South to reduce deaths from diseases, more men on both sides died from diseases rather than battle wounds. Paul E. Steiner, Disease in the Civil War: Natural Biological Warfare in 1861-1865 (Springfield, Ill., 1968).

20 McPherson, Ordeal by Fire, p. 468.

21 Since approximately 40 percent of Union and 20 percent of Confederate deserters were caught and returned to their units, undoubtedly some of them died from diseases or were killed in battle. In addition, some soldiers may have deserted more than once. Therefore, the number of surviving

Union and Confederate soldiers who deserted will be somewhat lower than the estimates presented in the text.

22 On the nature of Civil War recruiting, see Murdock, One Million Men; Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy.

23 For example, Samuel Cormany's part in helping to demote an inefficient non-commissioned officer poisoned his wife's formerly close relationship to that man's spouse at home. James C. Mohr and Richard E. Winslow, III, eds., The Cormany Diaries: A Northern Family in the Civil War (Pittsburgh, 1982), p. 369.

24 Fox, Regimental Losses; Livermore, Numbers and Losses.

25 For a stimulating and thoughtful analysis of the variations in the experiences of combat in the Civil War, see Gerald Linderman, Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War (New York, 1987). On the differences between Union and Confederate soldiers based on a content analysis of diaries and letters, see Michael Barton, Goodmen: The Character of Civil War Soldiers (University Park, Penn., 1981). There are, of course, numerous books of the letters or diaries of individual soldiers which provide useful information about Civil War experiences. For an annotated introduction to these materials, see Murdock, The Civil War in the North.

26 Steiner, Disease in the Civil War. It is very difficult to obtain any figures on civilian casualties in the Civil War. McPherson has guessed that about 50,000 civilians in the South perished because of the war. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, p. 619n.

27 Stephen J. DeCanio and Joel Mokyr, "Inflation and the Wage Lag During the American Civil War," Explorations in Economic History, 14 (October 1977), 311-36. On the problems of scarcity and poverty in the South, see Paul D. Escott, "Poverty and Governmental Aid for the Poor in Confederate North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, 61 (October 1984), 462-80.

28 Goldin and Lewis, "The Economic Cost of the American Civil War." While acknowledging the devastation of the Civil War on the South, McPherson argues that "the demands of war had boosted the northern economy to new heights of productivity following the temporary setback of 1861-62 caused by the departure of the South with its raw materials." McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, p. 816. McPherson's more positive assessment of the economic impact of the Civil War on the North, however, is not based on as refined and detailed an analysis of economic trends as the work done by the economic historians. For example, he does not attempt to calculate what the per capita income of the North would have been if the Civil War had not occurred.

29 Goldin states that the Civil War "probably resulted in 1.3 million fewer immigrants, if one applies the same estimation techniques that Wright used for the War of 1812. Deaths amounted to about 618,000 for the Union and Confederacy together (table 1) and their combined impact was to reduce population by about 5.6 percent." Goldin, "War," pp. 947-948. Her source of that estimate of immigrants is the work of Chester W. Wright. Wright, however, states that there was a total decrease of some 1.3 million people--635,000 due to Civil War deaths and 500,000 due to reduced immigration. Chester W, Wright, "Economic Consequences of War: Costs of Production," Journal of Economic History, 3, Supplement (December 1943), p. 11. Therefore, Goldin has greatly exaggerated the loss in immigration by inadvertently misquoting Wright's estimate. According to Wright's figures, the population would have been decreased by only 3.8 percent because of military deaths and the negative impact of the Civil War on immigration. I am indebted to James M. McPherson for raising questions about Goldin's estimate of the decrease in immigration. Personal communication from James M. McPherson, June 24, 1987.

One of the reasons that the Civil War did not have a more profound long-term demographic impact is that increased immigration after the war replaced many of those killed. For data on immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century, see U.S. Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1975), Series C89.

30 So far few scholars have attempted to study the characteristics of those who fought in the Civil War. A few historians have analyzed the backgrounds of soldiers in small units. Early J. Hess, "The 12th Missouri Infantry: A Socio-Military Profile of a Union Regiment," Missouri Historical Review, 76 (Oct. 1981), 53-77; David F. Riggs, "Sailors of the U.S.S. Cairo: Anatomy of a Gunboat Crew," Civil War History, 28 (Sept. 1982), 266-73. For an investigation of soldiers from a small, western Massachusetts community, see Harris, "Sons and Soldiers." The only comparison of those who enlisted with those who did not is W. J. Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War? Concord, Massachusetts, Enlistments," Journal of American History, 73 (Dec. 1986), 695-701.

31 An additional advantage of using Newburyport is that several scholars have provided useful monographs on that community in the nineteenth century. For example, Benjamin W. Labaree, Patriots and Partisans: The Merchants of Newburyport, 1764-1815 (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); Susan Grigg, The Dependent Poor of Newburyport: Studies in Social History, 1800-1830 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1984); Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress.

32 E. Vale Smith, History of Newburyport from the Earliest Settlement of the Country to the Present Time (Newburyport, Mass., 1854); John J. Currier, The History of Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1764-1905 (Newburyport, Mass., 1906-1909), 2 vols.

33 George W. Creasey, The City of Newburyport in the Civil War, From 1861 to 1865 (Boston, 1903).

34 Creasey found that many of the records of the servicemen were inaccurate and had to be corrected from other sources. Creasey, Newburyport in the Civil War. Indeed, the reliance on any single set of data can be problematic due to reporting errors; therefore, studies which incorporate several different sources of information are more reliable.

Creasey gathered information on everyone in the military whose enlistment was credited to the city of Newburyport or who was a resident of that community but enrolled in another area. In addition, he included the military activities of some former Newburyport citizens who had moved elsewhere before the Civil War. Altogether he found information on 1562 soldiers and sailors--225 of whom were credited to other communities (many of whom probably had left Newburyport prior to the war).

35. This estimate for both Newburyport and the North is based on the total number of servicemen divided by those ages 13-43. Since some of the servicemen were under age 13 or above age 43 in 1860, the estimate for both areas is slightly higher than the actual figure if we only used those enlisted who were ages 13-43 in 1860. Unfortunately, we do not have complete and comprehensive national information on the ages of those enlisted in the Union army and navy.

36 There are several possible explanations for the failure to match a higher proportion of the enlistees to the federal manuscript census of 1860. First, despite the unusually complete and detailed military and census information, a few individuals who lived in Newburyport in 1860 perhaps could not be matched because of inadequate or incorrect information. More likely, some of the individuals who lived in Newburyport in 1860 moved elsewhere during the war while others may have migrated to Newburyport after the census was taken. Given the high population turnover of antebellum cities, one would expect considerable difficulty in matching residents in any community with records generated two to five years later--particularly for young adult males in their twenties who were especially likely to move. In addition, some of the soldiers and sailors credited to Newburyport may have lived elsewhere in 1860 but decided to enlist there because of the relatively generous municipal bounties offered by Newburyport in order to avoid having to resort to the draft. In a comparable study of enlistments from Concord, Massachusetts, Rorabaugh matched 47.8 percent of those on the military list for that community with the manuscript census data for 1860. Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War?"

It is difficult to determine precisely what biases may be introduced in the analysis by the failure to find a sizable portion of the soldiers and sailors from Newburyport in the federal manuscript census of 1860. Using the information from Creasey on the age, nativity, and rank at first muster on all soldiers and sailors, a multiple classification analysis (MCA) of individuals who were linked compared to those who were not reveals that those ages nineteen and under in 1860 were more likely to be matched than men in their early twenties, individuals in the army (especially the noncommissioned offers) were more apt to be found than those in the navy, and the native-born were more likely to have been found in the 1860 census than foreign-born. On most indicators of what happened to someone during the war (such as being wounded or killed), there was relatively little difference between the matched and unmatched records. On the issue of desertion, however, there was a very significant difference. While only 2 percent of those linked deserted, 13 percent of those not matched deserted.

37 Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War?"

38 The division of Newburyport males into two subgroups ages 12-17 and 18-49 is based upon an analysis of their pattern of school attendance on the eve of the Civil War. For a discussion of schooling in that community, see Maris A. Vinovskis, "Patterns of High School Attendance in Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1860." Paper presented at the American Historical Association Meeting, New York City, December 1985.

Due to limitations of space, the MCA results reported in this essay will not be reproduced in detail. A more comprehensive analysis of the Newburyport soldiers in the Civil War will be published elsewhere later. Anyone interested in the specific tables referred to in this paper should consult the longer, preliminary version of this essay which is available from the author. For a clear and lucid introduction to the use of MCA, see Frank Andrew, N. J. Morgan, John A. Sonquist, and Laura Klem, Multiple Classification Analysis (2nd ed.; Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973).

39. Rorabaugh found a similar pattern in Concord with 35 percent of those in 1860 ages 16-20 enlisting, 22 percent of those ages 21-29, 13 percent of those ages 30-39, and 8 percent of those ages 40-49. Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War?"

40 The most detailed study of foreigners in the Union forces emphasizes the disproportionately high rate of foreign-born enlistments. Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy (Baton Rouge, 1951). More recent analyses, however, question that interpretation. McPherson, Ordeal by Fire. Rorabaugh also found that Irish were less likely to enlist than the native-born population. Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War?" Unfortunately, he did not distinguish between the participation of second-generation Americans and those of native-born parents.

41 Since very few men from either Newburyport or Massachusetts were actually drafted, the lack of funds to hire a substitute or pay the commutation fee probably did not mean that large numbers of second-generation Americans were forced into service through the draft directly. The draft, however, may have induced these individuals to "volunteer" in order to secure the generous bounties since they were likely to be drafted anyway if they did not enlist. Creasey, Newburyport in the Civil War.

42 Murdock, One Million Men.

43 Rorabaugh, looking only at the native-born population, found that those without property were much more likely to enlist than those with property. In addition, enlistees were under-represented among the mercantile and professional elite, but over-represented among propertied small shopkeepers, clerks and skilled workers in their twenties as well as among skilled workers in their thirties. He goes on to speculate that "a combination of economic and social malaise" on the eve of the Civil War may explain the pattern of socio-economic differentiation he found in enrollments. Rorabaugh, "Who Fought for the North in the Civil War?", 699. Although Rorabaugh's

suggestions are intriguing, they are limited by the small cell sizes in his analysis and his inability to adequately control for the effects of other potentially important variables. Nevertheless, his call for more attention to the socio-economic differentials in enlistment as well as his attempt to relate them to larger developments in antebellum society are to be commended.

44 Vinovskis, "Patterns of School Attendance."

45 Unfortunately, we do not have any measure of the years of schooling received by adult males. The federal manuscript census of 1860 did indicate the literacy of adults. Many nineteenth-century commentators and twentieth-century historians assumed that illiterates were disproportionately likely to have served in the Union forces. The results of the MCA on males ages 20-49 in 1860, however, present a different picture. While 19 percent of literate men in Newburyport enlisted, only 6 percent of those illiterate did. Even after controlling for the effects of age, ethnicity, occupation, and wealth, illiterates were still less likely to have enlisted--although the differential between them was considerably narrowed. Overall, the literacy of an individual was by far the weakest of the predictors of the likelihood of participating in the Civil War for adult males.

46 This does not imply that we should not look at the effects of the war on marriage, education, or job mobility, but only that we must also look at other effects such as being killed, wounded, disabled, or dishonorably discharged. Indeed, the analysis of Newburyport will include in the future a study of the impact of the Civil War on the timing of marriage and on educational attainment and occupational mobility.

47 This is based on all servicemen ages 12-49 rather than just those with at least one parent as defined in the MCA runs for youths 12-17.

48. Some were also discharged apparently because they were wounded, but Creasey did not indicate that they were also designated as disabled.

49 One could also analyze whether or not someone was killed or wounded separately, but the combination of those events seems more interesting and appropriate. In addition, separate MCAs were run on whether or not someone was killed, wounded, or deserted and whether or not someone was killed, wounded, deserted, or disabled. The results of the latter two analyses were generally similar to the one based on whether or not a serviceman was killed or wounded (although the percentage of servicemen affected was higher).

50 Future investigations will calculate the likelihood of being killed or wounded taking into consideration the total months enrolled in the armed forces. As a result, this particular analysis of being killed or wounded reflects both the length of time one served as well as the relative danger of service.

51 On the economic impact of the Civil War, see Ralph Andreano, ed., The Economic Impact of the American Civil War, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Stanley L. Engerman, "The Economic Impact of the Civil War" in The Reinterpretation of American Economic History, eds. Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman (New York, 1971), pp. 369-79; Goldin, "War"; Goldin and Lewis, "Economic Cost of the American Civil War."

52 Surprisingly, we do not have any general studies of the advantages and disadvantages of being a Civil War veteran in terms of obtaining employment after the war. For a study of some Confederates who moved North after the Civil War, see Daniel E. Sutherland, "Former Confederates in the Post-Civil War North: An Unexplored Aspect of Reconstruction History," Journal of Southern History, 48 (August 1981), 393-410. For an analysis of 1,250 Tennessee Confederates based upon questionnaires administered between 1915 and 1923, see Fred Arthur

Bailey, Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1987). There is considerable work on the general effects of the Civil War on Southerners after the war. For an intriguing interpretation as well as an introduction to that literature, see Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South (New York, 1987).

53 Hiller B. Zobel, "Enlisted for Life," American Heritage, 37, No. 4 (June/July 1986), 56-64. There is considerable evidence that the Civil War had a great effect on its participants. For example, a study of northern intellectuals demonstrated that they were strongly affected by that conflict. George M. Fredrickson, The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union (New York, 1965). Unfortunately, nothing comparable has been done on the postwar experiences of common soldiers.

54 On the federal legislation affecting Civil War veterans, see William Henry Glasson, History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States (New York, 1900); Glasson, Federal Military Pension; Gustavus A. Weber and Laurence F. Schmeckebier, The Veterans' Administration: Its History, Activities and Organization (Washington, D.C., 1934); Gustavus A. Weber, The Bureau of Pensions: Its History, Activities and Organization (Baltimore, 1923).

55 Glasson, Federal Military Pensions. For an analysis of the politics of the pension program, see Heywood T. Sanders, "Paying for the 'Bloody Shirt': The Politics of Civil War Pensions" in Political Benefits: Empirical Studies of American Public Programs, ed. Barry S. Rundquist (Lexington, Mass., 1980), pp. 137-59.

56 There is a study of the role of veterans in the North agitating for more federal pension support. Mary R. Dearing, Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R. (Baton Rouge, 1952). A recent dissertation looks at the composition of the Grand Army of the Republic at the local level

and provides some interesting insights into the types of individuals who joined that organization. Stuart Charles McConnell, "A Social History of the Grand Army of the Republic, 1867-1900." Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1987.

57 Glasson, Federal Military Pensions.

58 Glasson, Federal Military Pensions.

59 Quoted in Glasson, Federal Military Pensions, p. 243.

60 Calculated from Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Series A119-134 and Y943-956. The data have been adjusted to take into consideration that an estimated 5 percent of Union veterans were blacks. The estimate that 70 percent of all veterans were Union veterans is from the federal census of 1890 which inquired about the veteran status of the population. If one calculates the estimated number of Union and Confederate soldiers and sailors and subtracts the number killed, then Union veterans make up about 75 percent of all veterans in 1865.

61 This estimate relies upon the calculations already made for the percentage of whites in 1870 and 1900 who were veterans. Using additional data from Glasson on the number of Union veterans receiving a federal pension in 1870 or in 1900 and crudely assuming that the likelihood of having a federal pension was uniform across all age-groups of veterans, the percentage of white males receiving a federal pension could be calculated. Glasson, Federal Military Pensions, pp. 144, 271. Obviously these estimates are very inexact but they do provide an approximate indication of the proportion of white males receiving a federal military pension in the late nineteenth century.

62 Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Series Y971.

63 The average amount of money received per recipent is calculated from Glasson, Federal Military Pensions, p. 273. The average annual earnings, adjusted for unemployment during the year, is from Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Series D723.

64 Calculated from Census Office, Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, I, Part 1 (Washington, D.C., 1895), p. 831; Census Office, Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part 2 (Washington, D.C., 1897), pp. 576-579.

65 Amy E. Holmes, "Remembering the Noble Ladies: American Widows and the Civil War Pension System." Unpub. seminar paper, University of Michigan, December 1987.

66 For example, see W. Andrew Achenbaum, Old Age in the New Land: The American Experience Since 1790 (Baltimore, 1978); William Graebner, A History of Retirement: The Meaning and Function of an American Institution, 1885-1978 (New Haven, Conn., 1980); Carole Haber, Beyond Sixty-Five: The Dilemma of Old Age in America's Past (Cambridge, 1983). For a useful, comparative discussion of the origins of pension systems which appreciates the importance of the Civil War pension programs, see Ann Shola Orloff, "The Politics of Pensions: A Comparative Analysis of the Origins of Pensions and Old Age Insurance in Canada, Great Britain and the United States." Unpub. Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1985.

67 For a useful discussion of how the local and national activities of the Grand Army of the Republic helped to integrate the North across ethnic and class lines, see McConnell, "A Social History of the Grand Army of the Republic." For an analysis of the role of fraternal orders in transcending class divisions, see Mary Ann Clawson, "Fraternal Orders and Class Formation in

the Nineteenth-Century United States," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 27 (October 1985), 672-695.

68 For example, see Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Military Times and Turning Points in Men's Lives," Developmental Psychology, 22 (1986), 233-245; Glen H. Elder, Jr., "War Mobilization and the Life Course: A Cohort of World War II Veterans," Sociological Forum, 2 (1987); Glen H. Elder, Jr. and Yoriko Meguro, "Wartime in Men's Lives: A Comparative Study of American and Japanese Cohorts," International Journal of Behavioral Development, 10 (1987), 439-466; John Modell and Duane Steffey, "A People's War to Protect the American Family: Military Service and Family Formation, 1940-1950," unpublished paper presented at the Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, November 1985.

69 For an introduction to the use of life course analysis in studying the impact of historical events, see Glen H. Elder, Jr., "History and the Life Course," in Biography and Society: The Life Course Approach in the Social Sciences, ed. D. Bertaux (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1981), pp. 77-115; Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Family History and the Life Course," in Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective, ed. Tamara K. Hareven (New York, 1978), pp. 17-64; Maris A. Vinovskis, "From Household Size to the Life Course: Some Observations on Recent Trends in Family History," American Behavioral Scientist, 21 (November/December 1977), 263-87; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Life Course Analysis and the Historian: Reflections on Applications of the Life Course to the Study of American Family Life in the Past," in Life-Span Development and Behavior, eds. David Featherman and Richard Lerner (forthcoming).

SOURCES FOR FIGURES IN TEXT

Figure 1. Source: For the Mexican War, Civil War, World War I, World War II, and Korean War, Goldin, "War," pp. 938-39. For the American Revolution, Peckham, The Toll of Independence, p. 30. For the War of 1812, Wiley, The Common Soldier, p. 118. For the Spanish-American War, Linderman, The Mirror of War, p. 110. For the Vietnam War, U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1987, table no. 549.

Figure 2 Source: Data for deaths same as those used for figure 1. Population estimates for all wars are from Goldin, "War," pp. 938-39.

Figure 3 Source: Glasson, Federal Military Pensions, p. 273.

Figure 4 Source: Calculated from Glasson, Federal Military Pensions, pp. 144, 271; Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Series Y960.

Figure 5 Source: Calculated from Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Series Y336, Y971.

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