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# CAMP, COMBAT, AND CAMPAIGN: NORTH CAROLINA'S CONFEDERATE EXPERIENCE

By

Peter Ruffin Thomas, Jr.

A thesis submitted to the Department of History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in

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Dedication

For my mother and father.

Acknowledgements

The opportunity to study within the atmosphere of the University of North Florida's history department has been one of the most fulfilling educational experiences in my life. UNF's department promotes an environment of academic integrity enhancing the student's experience and promoting student achievement. If it was not for my experience in this department, my path as an historian would be different. I am indebted to many.

First, my advisor, Dr. James Broomall has provided unparalleled guidance and support over the past two years. Without his support this project would not have come to fruition. He pushed me to think outside the box; asked difficult questions; and forced me to consider all possible angles. Dr. Broomall believed in me when I doubted myself and grounded me whenever I stressed over assignments. He has been a teacher, mentor, and friend.

Many thanks to Dr. Charles Closmann and Dr. Gregory Domber. Dr. Closmann's insight into war and the environment helped me understand soldier attachments to natural landscapes. His guidance was instrumental in the development of this project and also in the project I plan to pursue in my doctoral studies. Even though Dr. Domber's specialty is Poland, he always showed a particular interest in my studies of the Civil War South, even after completing his research seminar on foreign policy. He constantly sought me out to discuss my research and career path. He offered sound advice and assistance in whatever I needed.

A big thanks to Marianne Roberts. No matter the task, Marianne always delivered. She is the glue and backbone of the UNF department. Without her, the staff of students would be lost.

I also want to thank the staff in the Thomas G. Carpenter Library of the University of North Florida. Many of the books I used were loaned through other libraries. The staff at UNF informed me the minute these books arrived, and they were always helpful when assisting me with online resources provided by the library.

Through this project, I developed a fondness for North Carolina. I had the opportunity to spend time in cities like Durham, Raleigh, Hillsborough, Asheville and Chapel Hill. I spoke with representatives of county historical societies from Catawba, Franklin, Buncombe, Wake, Chatham, and Pitt. I cherished the opportunities to learn about elements of the state's culture such as food, music, and folklore. North Carolina truly is a unique state. I especially want to thank the staffs of the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill and State Archives of North Carolina in Raleigh for their assistance in the manuscript collections. Each voice within this thesis provides a story, and if it was not for the work of archivists our job as historians would be impossible.

Finally, on a personal note, I want to thank my family and fiancé. My mother and father have been my biggest supporters since I was a child. They constantly push me to pursue my goals and never fall in the trap, as Thoreau wrote, of "living a life of quiet desperation." Thank you to Meggie, my fiancé, and all of her support while finishing this thesis. She understood my devotion and commitment to the project, and has never once questioned the purpose of it all. She understands me more than anyone and grounds me

whenever I lose focus. For this, I thank her, and I look forward to spending the rest of my life with her.

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Abstract

This research examines a sample of North Carolina Confederates as they transitioned from citizen to soldier between 1861 and 1863 during the American Civil War, and it questions how levels of commitment and devotion emerged during this transformation. North Carolina Confederates not only faced physical and emotional challenges as they transitioned from citizen to soldier, but also encountered social obstacles due to the strict social order of the Old South. Orthodoxy maintains this social dissent hindered any form of solidarity among North Carolina Confederates. The question remains, though, why did so many North Carolinians remain committed to the Confederacy until death or surrender? This thesis addresses that question. It acknowledges traditional works on North Carolina's Civil War experience, however it focuses on the war front more closely. By examining soldiers' personal reflections to experiences encountered during their transition more understanding concerning soldiers' shifting perceptions emerge. This thesis encapsulates a soldier's transition through three stages: camp, combat, and campaign. Each stage offers insight into how perceptions toward fellow men, the home front, combat, and camp-life changed over time. Soldiers were exposed to unprecedented levels of fear, sickness, death, and nostalgia that shook their foundations. Levels of commitment were questioned as men encountered each obstacle. The reflections herein indicate men's devotion actually increased by 1863 by engaging the basic duties of soldiering and learning to function together in the midst of combat. Self-awareness for health and survival, hard work, and camp life activities took on new meanings by 1863. Furthermore, this sample offers an example of how the constant interactions of men whether in camp or on the battlefield ultimately strengthened solidarity among troops. This thesis pays particular attention to soldiers' attachments to natural landscapes, and their abilities to materially alter landscapes for the purposes of survival and

respite. These North Carolinians reveal how experiences during their transition from citizen to soldier ultimately laid a foundation to remain committed to the war.

## Chapter 1: Introduction[1]

Between 1861 and 1863, Camp Mangum, located just outside of Raleigh, North Carolina, was responsible for organizing thousands of North Carolina's Confederate soldiers during the American Civil War. Mangum was similar to scores of other such camps across the state, which brought white southern men together to begin their transition into Confederate military service. Camp Mangum ultimately witnessed soldiers from seventy-two counties across the three regions of the Old North State mustered into service.[2]

Mangum represents a microcosm of other Confederate camps men encountered as they began their Civil War experiences, and the soldiers encamped within illustrate the social make-up of a Confederate regiment. Camps such as Mangum brought together men from a variety of backgrounds representing the rigid social structure of the Old South.[3] Once in camp, though, not only were these men expected to live together, but also they were forced to function together under the banner of war. Both of these issues posed serious problems to the depth of men's commitment, for antebellum class divisions

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[1] I want to take this time to recognize and thank Dr. James Broomall for his guidance on my research and argument. His own research focused on the Civil War's role in prompting gender and cultural change among white Southern men has influenced and challenged me to seek new insights into the day-to-day experiences of Confederate soldiers. His influence is an intellectual debt I can never repay.

[2] At times, I will refer to North Carolina as the Old North State. "The Old North State" is the official state song.

[3] As scholarship continues to examine the dynamics of the Old South's social ladder, more complexities have been discovered either separating or linking the interests of white men across the antebellum South. Antebellum census data from North Carolina suggests a complicated socio-economic make-up existed within a North Carolina regiment and encampment. Occupations such as blacksmith, cobbler, physician, farmer, merchant, and sailor represent some of the many different backgrounds within a North Carolina regiment.

carried over into military encampments.[4] How men responded to this at-times divisive environment shaped their transformation from citizen to soldier, and when looking at questions concerning devotion to a cause, North Carolina offers a truly unique study sample for two intertwined reasons. First, scholarship maintains social dissent was rampant throughout North Carolina's Confederate ranks, and historians have primarily focused on how issues such as desertion contributed to North Carolina's failed war effort.[5] Second, the 125,000 North Carolinians who fought for the Confederacy were the most of any Southern state. Of these 125,000, nearly one third fought until death.[6] These two features beg an important question: if loyalty was so rare within North Carolina regiments, as scholars posit, were North Carolina Confederates able to overcome social tensions and commit to the cause? When considering North Carolina's complex social

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[4] Economic and political disparities existed across the demographics of North Carolina, however, the common cultural threads such as honor, individualism, and racial prejudice existent in the antebellum state were core to every white North Carolinian and reemerge in the arena of a military encampment and an army regiment, refer to, "The Social Order and Violent Disorder: An Analysis of North Carolina in the Revolution and the Civil War" in which Paul Escott argues violent reactions resulted from the lower classes due to resentments toward the upper classes during the Civil War. He suggests war disrupted the peaceful nature of diverse social groups during non wartime affairs, Paul D. Escott and Jeffrey J. Crow, "The Social Order and Violent Disorder: An Internal Analysis of North Carolina in the Revolution and the Civil War", The Journal of Southern History Vol. 52, No. 3 (Aug. 1986): 373-404; William Link also recognizes differences among "Conservatives" and "Confederates" during the Civil War as disrupting unity in, *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State* (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, 2009); see also, Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973); and Guion Griffis Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937).

[5] Historian Paul Escott argued regimental diversity ultimately prevented North Carolina Confederates' abilities to unite. The divisive antebellum social system of the Old North State, he claimed, failed to overcome internal divisions and the obstacles of the Civil War. Escott ultimately concluded that the social structure, political system and geography of North Carolina led to an internal collapse within the state. Although he is certainly correct to point out that as the war dragged on home front divisions affecting North Carolina regiments led to desertions and higher rates of discontent in certain areas, Escott's work fails to account for those Confederates who continued to fight. , Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People: Power and Privelege In North Carolina, 1850-1900* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1985), 32-33, 59-84.; For more on Escott's argument toward the failure of Confederate Nationalism refer to, Paul D. Escott, "The Failure of Confederate Nationalism: The Old South's Class System in the Crucible of War", in *The Old South in the Crucible of War,* ed. Harry P. Owens & James J. Cooke (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1983), 15-22; also, Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), x, xii, 19,53, 93.

[6] John G. Barrett and W. Buck Yearns eds. *North Carolina: Civil War Documentary* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

structure, there must be reasons to explain why such a large contingent of North Carolinians remained committed to the Confederacy until death or surrender. This project seeks answers from the military front to understand how soldiers endured conflict together under the banner of war. If social divisions among North Carolina troops were so significant, we must discover what happened during their experience to fully grasp how social tensions were mitigated. This thesis addresses this issue by discussing how perceptions of war and motivations to fight were ultimately molded by interactions within military encampments, issues with the home front, experiences on the battlefield, and engaging *militarized landscapes*.[7]

Military encampments support the foundation of this study, and this thesis sheds new light on the transition from citizen to soldier as it follows a sample of soldiers who remained committed to the Confederate cause until death or surrender.[8] Camp, combat, and campaign form the three stages of the citizen soldier's transition; each phase frames a chapter of this thesis. Men's personal reflections, spanning 1861 to 1863, provide insight into how war's meaning changed over time, and how new levels of commitment emerged

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[7] *Militarized Landscapes* is a term Environmental Historians have applied to understand the dramatic and sudden militarization on landscapes. Militarization leaves its mark on societies, economies, cultures, and political structures. Scholars traditionally have used this term in understanding nature as a victim to the this process. Rachel Woodward's edited selection in *Militarized Landscapes: From Gettysburg to Salisbury Plain,* questions "who are the soldiers who live and work within the militarized landscape and how does their activity transform or maintain it?" Her work's focus uses pictures to grasp the change on humans and nature during the militarization process. I build on this idea by recognizing the importance of *militarized landscapes* such as large encampments, campsites, bivouacs and winter lodging, to argue that these arenas fostered protection as well as emotional comfort for soldiers to decompress from the stresses of military life. Militarized landscapes should be highlighted for its ability to mitigate social tension within a military regime as well, refer to Chris Peason, Coates, Peter & Cole, Tim, *Militarized Landscapes: From Gettysburg to Salisbury Plain* (New York: Continuum, 2010).

[8] For a description of the study sample as well as brief soldier biographies, refer to Appendix I in the back of the thesis. An article by Gary Gallagher and Kathryn Meier question the existence of this element in Civil War historiography. They argue that a pedagogical shift influenced change in Civil War historians training. More scholars, as a result, have evolved less versed in military history, which neglects focus on the citizen-soldier, Gary W. Gallagher and Kathryn Meier, "Coming To Terms with Civil War Military History," *Journal of Civil War Era,* Vol. 4, No. 4 (December 2014) pp: 487-508.

within a soldier's consciousness establishing a foundational motivation to remain in the army.[9] By beginning with Camp Mangum, this work offers perspective into the citizen's initial interaction with the duties required of soldiers. The study sample's reactions indicate how soldiering shook prewar foundations, while revealing the struggles many men endured during the first stage of a citizen's transition into a soldier.

Once these men left the confines of Camp Mangum, they faced the prospect of combat. Once in this deadly arena, soldiers were thrust into a horrific atmosphere where they were exposed to the vicissitudes and uncertainties of war. With combat experience, North Carolinians gained a better sense of what was required of them as a soldier. As a result, they sought comfort and stability. Evidence reveals how it impacted daily outlooks and forced men to question antebellum traditions and worldviews. The reflections of these North Carolina Confederates demonstrates men who were greatly shaken by their military experiences. Nevertheless, the men examined herein demonstrated tremendous resolve and persevered through their struggles by engaging their fellow soldiers.

Much of a soldier's military duty consisted of campaigning, which underpins the culmination of their transition from citizen to soldier in this study. After experiencing deadly combat and the constant struggle of homesickness, North Carolina Confederates offer specific examples of how soldiers from different backgrounds together existed within the confines of a camp. To support this, there are instances during campaign when men engaged the basic duties and requirements of soldiering in a new manner when

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[9] To understand soldiers' motivations and experiences I refer specifically to, Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, 4th printing (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013); Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1987); James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations and Experiences* (New York: Touchstone, 1998).

compared with their initial experiences in Camp Mangum. For example soldiers committed themselves to duties including breastwork and encampment construction with more diligence and motivation. In addition, camp life activities that encouraged human interaction such as religion, music, letter writing, and wardship fostered new levels of *esprit de corps.* By analyzing the reflections of soldiers who materially altered landscapes into large encampments, bivouacs, breastworks, or winter lodging, new forms of agency emerged during the campaign season suggesting soldiers attempted to create atmospheres of comfort. Moreover, their reflections exhibit newfound purpose among comrades and camp activities. Consequently, soldiers exhibited new levels of commitment to the cause.

This thesis questions how devotion and *esprit de corps* grew among North Carolina men as they transitioned from Southern citizen to Confederate soldier. Importantly, soldiering and its associated struggles transcended, to some extent, class distinctions, and this work provides examples of how soldiers' interactions with combat, nature, and trauma were equally shared by different classes of North Carolina Confederates.[10] While soldiers' stories were singular, their experiences were not. There is a direct correlation between the changing mindsets of men and the emotional and physical gap between the home front and war front. The traumatic moments endured by these North Carolinians at an individual level paralleled others in this sample. Individual responses to experiences were similar, and as this sample of North Carolina Confederates interacted with regimental comrades in new ways, a foundation of common ambitions was ultimately created. Ultimately, the fusion of different social classes created an

[10] Megan Kate Nelson's *Ruin Nation* talks about the Civil War's impact on all facets of society, and it raises important questions as to how citizens were able to adapt to the traumatic experiences of the four-year struggle. Her understanding of war's total destruction impacting the home front and war front, supports claims of the Civil War as shared experience, Megan Kate Nelson, Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 2012.

important foundation for their commitment both to their comrades and the Confederate cause.

Military encampments, therefore, were the communal areas in which soldiers were able to find a common voice for the struggles of war. John Dollard's *Fear In Battle*, suggested that one's fear could be suppressed when that fear is identified, discussed, and shared within a group. As the realities of war mounted, soldiers depended more on one another for support.[11] Indeed, as Lord Moran contends, "courage seems to have had its roots in a vacant mind" to suggest courage overcomes fear through experience and exposure to those demonstrating bravery.[12] Ultimately, group cohesion, peer pressure, and tests of manhood were key to motivating soldiers for four years.[13] These same ideas can be found through the lens of a military encampment. Basic military camp duties, such as working together to create a campsite, involved group effort. The feelings of accomplishment met by altering their environments helped North Carolinians when encamped to endure the struggles of the Civil War, overcome social tensions, and mold into a regiment.

This work overlaps with several fields of Civil War historiography and posits four contributions. First, it provides new insight into white North Carolina's Civil War experience by looking at a sample of men who remained committed to the Civil War until death or surrender. Furthermore, scholarship on North Carolina's Civil War experiment, in particular, has overlooked the soldier's experience and focused instead on issues

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[11] John Dollard, *Fear in Battle* (Washington: The Infantry journal, 1944), 26-27.
[12] Lord Moran, *The Anatomy of Courage* (Boston: Houghton Mufflin Company, 1967),1-15.
[13] McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 13; Mitchell, Reid, *Civil War Soldiers* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997); & Glathaar, Joseph. *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: Free Press, 2009).

impacting the home front. This thesis primarily focuses on the soldier to understand their war experience. Second, by focusing on North Carolina, new revelations concerning the abilities of men of different social backgrounds to function under the banner of war emerge and provide an example of how culture translated into war. Third, this work builds on scholarship focused on the transition from citizen to soldier to understand how men acclimated to the duties of soldiering.[14] Finally, it sheds new light on how the environment impacted Civil War soldiers.

Large numbers of men from differing social backgrounds were used to fill North Carolina's Confederate ranks. Much of the scholarship pertaining to the state's Civil War experience has overlooked the citizen-soldier's transition into a Civil War regiment. Works such as Paul Escott's primarily focused on social issues hindering solidarity.[15] Scholars such as John Barrett only explored North Carolina's military and strategic involvement in the war.[16] Those scholars who posit dissent among North Carolinians

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[14] Social historians in the 1970s and 1980s were critical of Civil War works investigating its military history, and argued military histories' approaches were failing to properly connect the home front with the war front. This wave of social historians believed that to fully understand the links between home front and battlefront attention needed to focus on the "victims" of the conflict, thus they encouraged scholarship to break away from discussing battles, leaders, and tactics. I instead try to refocus on the citizen-soldier complex, which Gary Gallagher feels has been neglected, refer to *Journal of Civil War Era,* "Coming To Terms with Civil War Military History," 488-491.

[15] Scholarship focused on North Carolina has yet to discover how social tensions were mitigated within a regiment. In fact, much of the most recent scholarship has argued that social divisions crippled the Confederacy. Historian David Williams, for instance, uncovers class conflicts within the social order, which he argues originated during the antebellum period, and then culminated in the Civil War. His input recognizes the ways wealthier planters exploited the poorer classes ultimately leading to conflict. Many scholars have adhered to this orthodoxy on the topic, refer to David Williams, *Johnny Reb's War: Battlefield and Homefront* (Abilene: McWhiney Foundation Press, 2000) where he explains the consequences of an ineffective government support network to the lower classes; also, Williams, *Bitterly Divided: The South's Inner Civil War* (New York: New Press, 2010), Williams, *Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1999), and David Williams, Teresa C. Williams and R. David Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War Class and Dissent in Confederate Georgia* (Gainesville: The University of Florida, 2002).

[16] John Barrett's in depth look into North Carolina's Civil War experience explains the state's crucial role in the war and remains one the field's top sources for insight into the conflict, John G. Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963) and John Barrett & W. Buck Yearns eds., *North Carolina: Civil War Documentary* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina

draw conclusions from the home front, state politicians, and newspapers without full consideration of voices from the frontlines.

As scholars continue to push Civil War scholarship toward new understandings concerning Confederate unity, broader historiographical trends have emerged crucial to this study and its arguments. These revelations ultimately have led historians to question the existence of Confederate nationalism, which my research seeks to engage by questioning what bound North Carolinians to the cause.[17] Sociologist Peter S. Bearman, whose statistical study on desertion in North Carolina regiments adheres to the idea that "class antagonisms crippled national identity," argues that North Carolinians' localized mentalities reemerged through their interactions among men. As local identities that promoted desertion reemerged, more men felt comfortable fleeing the ranks.[18] However, Aaron Sheehan-Dean reminds us in *Why Confederates Fought* that it is important to qualify what reasons soldiers had for deserting and to recognize that although many deserted for personal reasons they often returned to service.[19] Therefore, statistical evidence pointing toward desertion must be understood in the context of the decision to fully understand the motivations behind it.[20]

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Press, 1980). See also, J.G. De Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction In North Carolina* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1964). For regional and local studies of the state's Civil War experience I refer to John Inscoe who reveals how the Civil War drove many rural, Appalachian communities to wage their own war within a war, John C. Inscoe and Gordon B. McKinney, *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia: Western North Carolina in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

[17] I refer specifically to arguments within *Why The South Lost the Civil War.* I adhere to Jason Phillips conclusions with my sample, however, and agree with Phillips' assertion that Confederate Nationalism was unnecessary, refer to Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr, *Why The South Lost the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 1991; Jason Phillips, *Diehard Rebels: The Confederate Culture of Invincibility* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press), 2010.

[18] Peter S. Bearman, "Desertion as Localism: Army Unit Solidarity and Group Norms in the U.S. Civil War" *Social Forces*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (Dec., 1991): 321-342.

[19] Aaron Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 48-52.

[20] Within my sample one deserter is present. He abandoned his military duties due to home front issues. He ultimately returned to service and was killed at the Battle of the Wilderness.

The complexities discovered in the class structure of the Old South has prompted many scholars to label the Confederate war effort as a "rich man's war and poor man's fight," which suggests that Confederate nationalism did not exist. Traditional depictions of North Carolina maintain this idea since so much attention has been devoted to how antebellum divisions plagued unity and commitment.[21] Nevertheless, a number of regional- and state- based antebellum studies challenge assertions of social disparity by providing examples when cultural traditions overshadowed class tensions. Cultural traditions reemerge within a military encampment, and it has only been recently that a reinterpretation of the topic of encampments has been offered. Historian Jim Broomall's work on male companionship analyzes antebellum and post war sentiments in addition to wartime reflections in order to understand how the Civil War impacted men's perceptions of one another. In a piece focused on camp life, Broomall argues Confederate interactions promoted new levels of companionship among men ultimately influencing how men perceived one another.[22] Other research has also identified certain elements of the white South, which represented the entire region in spite of differences in social classes.[23] This

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[21] For cases specifically pertaining to this opinion, refer works on guerilla warfare as it related to North Carolina, Inscoe, *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia,* 105-139; Also, Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009). For more insight on matter, refer to Bessie Martin's study of desertion of troops from Alabama. She outlines the push and pull factors influencing soldiers to abandon the Confederacy, Bessie Martin, *A Rich Man's War, A Poor Man's Fight: Desertion of Alabama Troops From the Confederate Army* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1932. For more on desertion as it relates to North Carolina troops refer to Peter S. Bearman, "Desertion as Localism: Army Unit Solidarity and Group Norms in the U.S. Civil War," *Social Forces,* vol. 70, No. 2 (Dec., 1991) pp: 3210-342.

[22] James Broomall, "We Are a Band of Brothers: Manhood and Community in Confederate Camps and Beyond," *Civil War History,* Vol. 60, No. 3 (September 2014): 270-309; for more on Civil War camps, refer to James I. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia: South Carolina Press, 1998), 43-47 & Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, 4th printing (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).

[23]For more on the centralization of whiteness within the South refer to, W.J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1941). Cash argued racism united white men during Reconstruction and the Civil War experience strengthened these convictions. Even though my thesis only covers 1861-1863, I believe studies of the post-war period are telling as to understand the impact Civil War experiences had on white Southern men; For more on 'whiteness' see, Orville Vernon Burton, *In My Father's House Are many*

study's evidence similarly indicates how many of these cultural elements reemerged within the atmospheres of military encampments.

A number of other historians including Bill Cecil-Fronsman and Stephanie McCurry attempt to uncover what common cultural strands existed in the Old South by analyzing lower class whites in comparison to middle and upper class citizens. According to Cecil-Fronsman, other than being "peripheral to the plantation economy," common whites of North Carolina were critical to "the social and political stability" of their regions. His conclusions revealed a much more complex social structure, and he provided agency among the lower classes of his study sample.[24] Stephanie McCurry's efforts to understand white classes in rural communities of South Carolina through land ownership, evangelicalism, and militia organizations are also important to understanding how the different social classes functioned together. She maintains that divisions between planter elites and yeomen farmers existed but she also reveals through an analysis of the power construct of the Old South male dominance upheld order in both yeomen households and plantations. Her work reveals three important ideas: how power is constructed and yielded, the continuing role of religion, and a construction of a social identity among the middle and poorer classes. It is important to keep these in mind when considering how North Carolina communities translated into the Civil War. As citizen-soldiers endured the stresses of soldiering, they sought personal refuge by applying antebellum traditions to

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*Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1985); Eugene D. Genovese, "Yeoman Farmers in a Slaveholders' Democracy," *Agricultural History*, 49 (April 1975), 331-342.

[24] Bill Cecil-Fronsman's *Common Whites* was one of the first books to offer detailed insight into the motivations of lower class North Carolinians. Common whites are defined as owning little land, very few slaves if any at all, and self-sufficient, Bill Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1992).

soldering.[25] In many cases, the roles of religion and public recognition through hard work not only helped individuals cope with soldiering but also mitigated tensions to a degree that interactions between soldiers of different social backgrounds led to functioning wartime relationships.[26]

Accordingly, by following the transformational stages of a citizen to soldier this thesis uncovers new evidence pertaining to North Carolina's Civil War experience and issues of dissent within Confederate ranks. In addition, this work continues to bridge the gap between environmental history and the Civil War. North Carolina's Civil War experience should be viewed as one of the more intriguing aspects of the Civil War. The state's story is unique because its commitment to the Confederacy ultimately overshadowed the social tensions that plagued its antebellum society.

Within soldiers' diaries and letters patterns of emotional expression emerge rooted in the traumatic experiences of camp, combat, and campaign. Many men were profoundly shaken by the war's events, which sparked confusion. Scores of men thus

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[25] Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[26] A historiography of religion as a motivating force behind soldiers' overcoming their fears can be found in, Samuel J Watson, "Religion and Combat Motivation in the Confederate Armies" *The Journal of Military History*. Vol. 58, No. 1 (Jan., 1994), pp. 29-55. In understanding religion as a combat motivator, I specifically refer to, Drew Gilpin Faust, "Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army," *Journal of Southern History* Vol. 53, No. 1 (February 1987), pp 63-90 as she indicated religion was the central role to the antebellum Southern culture, and a crucial piece to the common Southern soldier; James W. Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda* 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc, 1967), 8, 42-46, 54-55. Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 8-16, 216-240; Bell Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb,* 174-191. For discussions on religion and the South, I refer to Donald G. Matthews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977) xi-xvii, 82, 247. Anne C. Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order: 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), 1-6. See also, Edward R. Crowther, "Holy Honor: Sacred and Secular in the Old South" *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Nov. 1992) p: 619-625, for insight as to how evangelical religions created a common vocabulary for all antebellum southerners. To understand southern work ethic and identity refer to, Carl Osthaus, "Work Ethic of the Plain Folk: Labor and Religion in the Old South" *The Journal Of Southern History*, vol. 70, No. 4 (November, 2004): 726-752;

turned to pen or to their comrades for solace. Soldiers' writings conversely rejoiced or grieved to wives, family or friends. Similarly, in both diaries and letters men expressed love, homesickness, fear, and honor. This constellation of emotional expression within each chapter highlights the undulating struggles men endured internally on a daily basis, and often, family was too distant for immediate succor.[27]

The men examined in this study represent all social classes of North Carolina as well as the three regions across the state. A chapter is dedicated to each stage in their transition from citizen and soldier, and different methodological approaches are applied within each section. By so doing, this sample not only presents a clearer picture of how citizens learned to survive as soldiers in the Civil War, but also demonstrates how men learned to commit to cause and comrade.

The first chapter starts with camp, and introduces the citizens who began their soldiering experiences at Camp Mangum. Most recruits stayed at Mangum no longer than a month before their regiments were sent off to fight in the initial stages of the conflict.[28] Mangum captures the events that shaped North Carolinians' initial soldiering experiences

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[27] This idea of emotional expression linked to an emotional experience is a deeply revealing instance that I feel captures a central moment among all men and their wartime experience. Nicole Eustace explained emotion as "a key form of social communication", and she suggests "socialable feelings might bind people together in a new degree of *sensus communis*." Her work traces how patterns in language erupted among men as responses to a revolutionary experience. I use a similar approach to understanding men's emotional responses to their own day-to-day experiences, Nicole Eustace, *Passion Is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), Eustace, "AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," *The American Historical Review* vol. 117, no. 5 (December 2012).

[28] Between 1861 & 1862 twenty-one regiments were mustered into service at Camp Mangum. Two soldiers, William Beavans and James Lineberger, cited in this paper did not begin their experiences at Camp Mangum. Instead, they began with the "Enfield Blues"(Beavans) a company of the 1st North Carolina, and the "Gatson Rangers"(Lineberger) and both saw action at the Battle of Big Bethel. After six months with the 1st, Beavans was reorganized at Camp Mangum with the 43rd North Carolina State Troopers (hereinafter NCST). Lineberger was reorganized into the 49th NCST, refer to Manly Wade Wellman, *Rebel Boast: First At Bethel—Last At Appomattox* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956), 15-17, 79-85 & Pitts, Hugh Douglas, *Letters of Gatson Ranger, 2nd Lt. James Wellingoton Lineberger, Company H, 49th North Carolina Regiments Ransom's Brigade, CSA"* (Charlottesvill: University of Virginia, 1991).

and this chapter posits fresh insights into why North Carolinians remained committed to the Confederate cause despite antebellum class tensions.[29] To understand the rigid social structure of the Old South, and how it translated into a Confederate Civil War encampment, this chapter draws from cultural histories of the Old South as well as census information from North Carolina to describe the social make-up of Camp Mangum.[30] Scholars of World War 1 have established how veterans encountered an array of different experiences within the confines of trenches that impacted their soldiering experience.[31] Due to this, scholarship argues a common world was created ultimately bringing men closer together. This sample's personal reflections offer similar examples thus posing the idea that a common world did actually exist within a Confederate camp. Soldiers in this sample offer personal examples or observations of other men suffering from nostalgia, sickness, fatigue, fear, and uncertainty, and their personal insight encapsulates the entire atmosphere within Mangum. The idea of the military encampment's common world sets the foundation for the entire paper. Additionally, the environmental impact on soldiers' personal psychologies is a growing field in both military and environmental histories.

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[29] In articulating my own set of research questions, I do not discredit Escott's conclusions. In fact, I agree with Escott on many levels. I only use his conclusions as an example to state where scholarship on the North Carolina Confederates sits and where it should go, Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege In North Carolina, 1850-1900* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1985).

[30] To understand a specific cultural make-up of an antebellum North Carolina community I refer to, Robert C. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina 1849-1881* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987).

[31] Combat stress and the environment during World War I refer to, Charles Closmann ed., *War and the Environment: Military Destruction in the Modern Age* (College Station: Texas A&M Press); Tait Keller, "The Mountains Roar: The Alps during the Great War", *Environmental History*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (April 2009): 253-274. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Edmund Russell, *War and Nature: Fighting Humans and Insects with Chemicals from World War I to Silent Spring* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 37-52, 95-118.

This sample of North Carolinians provides new insight into how natural conditions constantly impacted soldiers morale at the beginning of war.[32]

The second chapter enters the next stage in a citizen's transition to soldier—combat. In order to understand a soldier's full approach to combat, this chapter expands the orthodox definition usually associated with the term to also include anticipation, participation, and reflection. Combat's traditional definition simplifies the overall experience, only offering the moment of deadly contact between individuals or groups of men. In order to fully understand combat, it is necessary to understand how men anticipated combat and then reflected on combat after experiencing its chaos. These reflections offer insight as to how combat impacted soldiers' perspectives.[33] Within this chapter, works focused on combat psychology that examine veteran experiences in Vietnam as well as World Wars, are utilized to understand how men were able to kill. Both fields encourage a consideration of how soldiers learned to kill, and why they did so. This chapter also provides insight into the impact constant violence had on men's

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[32] This thesis establishes a new interpretation between the important relationship of the environment and soldier. By using the natural environment as an angle to understand the Civil War, this paper identifies the important relationship between North Carolina Confederates and the natural landscapes they encountered during the Civil War. Environmental conditions certainly impacted Civil War soldiers in a number of ways, and scholars have convincingly argued that we can no longer separate nature and war. Environmental studies of the Civil War remain a virtually untapped subject, however Megan Kate Nelson, Kathryn Meier, and Lisa Brady are leading the way in merging the Civil War with the environment, Kathryn Meier, *Nature's Civil War: Common Soldiers and the Environment in 1862 Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Lisa M. Brady, *War Upon the Land: Military Strategy and the Transformation of Southern Landscapes During the Civil War* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2012); & Nelson, *Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press 2012).

[33] Expanding the idea of combat comes from a work by Dave Grossman called *On Combat*. Grossman wrote this as a guide for soldiers and law enforcement officers who must learn how to function in combat situations. His goal with the book was to prepare men for the mental issues associated with deadly combat, Dave Grossman, *On Combat: The Psychology and Physiology of Deadly Conflict in War and in Peace* (New York: Warrior Science Publications, 2008) I also refer to another study of Grossman's, *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2009).

mental stability because their personal reflections conveyed different tones in the midst of the violent nature of combat.

Environmental history continues to play a significant role in this chapter, as clearer understandings of war and the environment are provided. Special attention is given to soldiers' reflections of embattled landscapes to understand how this impacted their approach to battle in the future. Men commented on soldiers dying in combat, and through vivid details described the manner in which dead bodies littered battle landscapes. Questions first encountered in Camp Mangum, concerning burial rituals and "the good death," reemerged as men continued to encounter death later in the war. Men's reflections on the combat experience combined with their thoughts on the aftermath of battle's destruction are indicative of how it impacted their daily outlooks.

This chapter notes a shift in soldiers' attitudes. The correlation between the emotional and physical gap with home widening, while the solidarity within regiments galvanized is clearly seen. As men began defining themselves as soldiers, more distinctions between the home front and war front grew. Men voiced political opinions as well as offered opinions of those men who stayed on the home front and were not fighting.

Soldiers also showed tremendous agency in their survival as many learned to adopt techniques to endure the chaos of combat. This chapter draws heavily upon Kathryn Meier's recent work *Nature's Civil War,* which examines the Civil War campaigns of 1862 to understand the health of soldiers. She terms men's abilities to create remedies during campaign as "self-care," and she speaks to the abilities of men sharing these remedies. The result of this interaction contributed to the unity of a group of

troops, according to Meier. Within this sample of North Carolinians a plethora of "self-care" examples are seen, and soldiers specifically discuss their comrades' abilities to persevere through horrid conditions. Moreover, Meier's work argues soldiers gained a renewed sense of individualism, which was lost upon joining the army, through "self-care." This speaks volumes to soldiers' overall abilities to quickly change for the purposes of survival.[34] The fact these North Carolinians exhibited this form of agency challenges traditional interpretations of North Carolina's Civil War experience. More importantly, examples are offered from men commenting on their regiments' abilities to perform under duress, which suggest an admiration for comrade as well as a growing sense of *esprit de corps*.

The work's final chapter discusses military campaign and charts a distinct change in the tone conveyed through soldiers' personal reflections, not only in personal matters but also on the duties required of soldiering. By this stage, soldiers knew war's nature. They had adapted to camp-life, each other, and combat conditions. Home remained foremost in their minds, but their thoughts conveyed a new sense of purpose that started with the duties of soldiering. Social tensions were lessened as soldiers recognized common worlds among themselves. Identities reemerged within a regiment, as was most clearly seen through the lens of a *militarized landscape.*

Drawing from scholarship that discusses war and the environment, this chapter focuses on the consequences of soldiers' interactions with natural landscapes. This area of Civil War scholarship has not been fully explored. Even though scholarship is now beginning to explore the Civil War and environment, very little has considered the result

[34] Kathryn Meier, *Nature's Civil War: Common Soldiers and the Environment in 1862 Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

of men working together and engaging natural landscapes. If Confederate soldiers existed within a common natural world during war, how did this impact social tensions and levels of commitment?[35]

Initial experiences in Camp Mangum undoubtedly rattled men, however, the reflections offered in Chapter Three indicate that by the fall of 1862, camp life had new meaning. By stepping back into the activities of a military encampment when on campaign, examples are provided of soldiers engaging comrades and camp-life in much different manners than when first encamped at Camp Mangum. Referring specifically to Civil War scholarship discussing camp-life activity bolsters this assertion as well as supports many scholarly claims concerning the importance of activities within a Civil War camp. Similar to Mangum, soldiers interacted through a number of channels including religion, work, drill, letter writing, eating, and sleeping. What defines a campaign encampment versus an enlistment encampment is the degree to which men were willing to engage camp life activities. In this sample, specific examples of religion bringing men together were much more common in comparison to Camp Mangum. Letter writing, one of the key components of camp-life, conveyed tones less ominous and more optimistic about the future. Most importantly, examples of men's dependency on one another emerge, and specific examples of male companionship provide support for this

[35] Traditionally, environmental historians have labeled a military's location for conducting a war as *militarized landscapes*. Within these centers of war, armies trained, soldiers lived, and war was conducted. During the Civil War, the militarization process transformed landscapes to centers for conducting war. Long-term winter quarters, fortifications along rivers, logistical camps for organization, or bivouacs for campsites were created. This unique form of material engagement with nature resulted in higher morale for soldiers. The interactions with and within these landscapes afforded soldiers' opportunities to step away from the miserable marches, shocking battles, and harsh conditions of war.

claim.[36] Once establishing this, examples of men constructing *militarized landscapes* are offered. Detailed descriptions of soldiers actively engaging in the alteration of landscapes with renewed purpose present a compelling case to support how new levels of devotion emerged within regiments. Understanding the meaning of a campsite during this final transitional stage only bolsters the claim, because soldier's abilities to work together for a common goal support a renewed sense of *esprit de corps* as well as recognition of each other's survival.

Change plays a major role throughout this thesis. Each stage of men's transition from citizen to soldier influenced a shift in perception. Men learned to exist and function together on the battlefield. They also were forced to constantly interact with each other at unprecedented levels. Horrid conditions, nostalgia, death, fatigue, fear, and combat influenced men to ultimately view camp for its ability to offer an arena of decompression, one in which soldiers found solace from the stresses of soldiering. Examples of men engaging the basic duties of soldiering as well as activities within camp in new manners support this claim. Moreover, as this change took shape, reflections expressing the satisfaction from materially altering landscapes, speaks to the importance of encampments.

[36] Refer to James Broomall article in *Civil War History,* "We Are a Band of Brothers: Manhood and Community in Confederate Camps and Beyond" & Stephen Berry, *All that Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

## Chapter 2: North Carolina Confederates and Camp Mangum

In the spring of 1862, Confederate Kinchen Jahu Carpenter, of Rutherfordton, North Carolina, described living conditions at Camp Mangum. He wrote, "The white tents and so many soldiers were something I had never seen before." Carpenter was only eighteen years old when he enlisted and Mangum's landscape overwhelmed him. He explained, "19 tents, 6 men to sleep in one tent; all had to sleep together, all lying one way and wedged so tight against each other that when one turned over, the whole six had to do likewise."[37] Such conditions were extremely common throughout Mangum, and tight spaces would be only part of the stresses associated with war and their transition into the life of a soldier. Environmental conditions, fatigue, nostalgia (or homesickness as it is today known), and the death of comrades impacted every soldier at some point during the Civil War, but, for many, Camp Mangum served as their first introduction to the harsh realities of soldiering.

The initial experiences North Carolinians encountered while encamped at Camp Mangum forced them to adapt. This chapter seeks to understand the importance of these first encounters by analyzing men's personal reflections on camp life and by examining letters that reveal the day-to-day activities for the citizen-soldier. Ultimately, military life forced men to endure demanding and unfamiliar elements that stretched both their

[37] Julie Carpenter Williams ed., *The War Diary of Kinchen Jahu Carpenter Company I Fiftieth North Carolina Regiment, War Between the States 1861-'65*, (Rutherfordton, N.C. 1955), 5.

physical and emotional stamina. The evidence herein indicates growing levels of endurance among these men as they developed methods necessary to cope during their transition into the military. The fortitude and commitment to the Confederate cause, which North Carolina Confederates especially exhibited in the later years of the war, strengthened as the war unfolded. Personal interactions with fellow comrades as well as the devastation of war eventually emboldened their commitment to the cause.[38] As the war raged on and ties with home front communities waned, men ultimately developed new levels of commitment to those within camp, and their dependency on the atmosphere of a military encampment grew. The initial experiences in Camp Mangum forced North Carolinians to interact with one another in unprecedented ways, which ultimately created a foundation of solutions and practices that proved useful throughout the war.

Until recently, scholars have overlooked this critical stage in the transformation from citizen to soldier. Yet, in this transitional arena men from different social classes fused together and were forced to interact with each other in unpleasant conditions on a daily basis. The letters home at the onset illustrated horrible camp conditions and conveyed depressing tones. One citizen-soldier wrote home, "I can tell you when a man dise hire da er not looked at no more then at a dog."[39] The initial camp experiences

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[38] I specifically refer to two studies discussing the importance of war front interactions. Aaron Sheehan-Dean argues in *Why Confederates Fought* that commitment levels of Virginians in the Army of Northern Virginia grew as the devastation of the war impacted the home front. For North Carolina Confederates, their commitment levels to the Confederacy grew because of the necessity to protect the home front, and also because new levels of commitment to their comrades emerged from the activities promoted in creating a an atmosphere for survival, refer to Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War,* 2007; Interactions among men in camp life (as prior noted) is also the topic of James Broomall's research. He argues Confederate interactions in the Civil War promoted new bonds among men that influenced how men perceived one another. The interactions of the Civil War, he argues, ultimately influenced solidarity among Confederate Veterans during Reconstruction, refer to *Civil War History,* "We Are a Band of Brothers: Manhood and Community in Confederate Camps and Beyond," 270-309.

[39] William P. Cline to wife, 3 May 1862, Camp Mangum, Folder 1, in the William Pinkney Cline Papers #5019-z, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Hereinafter cited SHC).

exposed soldiers to the realities of war's nature. Nonetheless, the men who compose the study sample of this work exhibited unique levels of commitment to the Confederate cause and unity in the face of unfamiliar elements. The experiences of the Civil War eventually tested such levels of commitment however and many white Southern men came to question the meaning of their sacrifice. Yet, through similar camp life experiences a common world was created. Camp life loosened the rigid and complex social structure of the Old South as well by forcing men of different backgrounds to function together. This sample of North Carolinians from Camp Mangum adjusted to these new experiences and interactions, and remained committed at the onset and acclimated to their surroundings.

There was a certain level of self-awareness shown in the face of unfamiliar elements, and this indicates the levels of commitment these individuals possessed. The self-awareness exhibited in Mangum translated into agency that helped them to survive the war's later phases. The initial experiences at Camp Mangum thrust soldiers into a tumultuous and unfamiliar life. Their choices were to adjust, survive, and commit; or leave and give up thereby jeopardizing their honor and manhood.

## I. "Hurrah! Hurrah! The Old North State Forever"

North Carolina's economy and social structure were agriculturally driven like other Southern states. It was composed of a variety of yeoman farmers, a large cohort of middle class farmers, and a small number of wealthy landowners.[40] North Carolina's commercial farming output, however, was not nearly as high as its neighboring states of

[40] To understand class structure in antebellum North Carolina, I refer to Cecil-Fronsman's *Common Whites,* 1-21; & Escott's *Many Excellent People,* 3-27

Virginia and South Carolina. Wealthy landowners were less common in the Old North State as compared to other regions of the South, because North Carolina's soil was not suited for growing an abundance of cash crops on large plantations.[41] The wealthy aristocrat still carried heavy influence in North Carolina, however. And according to Paul Escott, power and status were determined by "wealth and position more than lineage, slaveholding or landownership." Therefore the middle class, who consisted of small commercial farmers, manufacturers, teachers, professionals, artisans, and merchants, all carried heavy influence in the state because their wealth derived from areas outside of plantation farming. This tremendously impacted North Carolina in 1860 as the country continued to debate issues dividing the North and South regions.

In 1860 and 1861 each slave holding state held secession conventions to discuss whether or not they would follow South Carolina's move toward independence. North Carolinians were initially against secession because much of the population thrived without the dependence of slavery. As the country moved toward civil war, North Carolinians were overcome with honor to defend home and region, however, many did not convey hateful tones toward the North at the onset of the conflict. Furthermore, most were not consumed by the fiery rhetoric stressing the maintenance of slavery, so North Carolinians were not as quick to react to the apocalyptic visions of fire-eaters.[42] Thus, as secession debates emerged in 1861 throughout North Carolina there was a split between anti- and pro- Union supporters.[43]

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[41] Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina,* 3-11.
[42] Eric Walther, *The Fire Eaters* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); William R. Taylor, *Cavalier & Yankee: The Old South and American National Character,* (New York: Harper Torchbooks), 220.
[43] Escott, *Many Excellent People,* 1-7.

In spite of the divisions between anti- and pro- Union supporters, white North Carolinians still carried deep cultural ties. The most significant of these were racial superiority, honor, and domestic status.[44] As a result, obligation to protect home and region were core to North Carolina's decision to finally secede (As the war unfolded these cultural similarities became a significant element of the war front's mentality. However, these sentiments only truly surfaced in the political and home front arenas at the war's onset and even then, secession received negative reactions). Although North Carolina was the last state to secede, and there was little consensus among its citizens to take this measure, North Carolinians still felt obligated to protect themselves and their neighboring slaveholding states. As events unfolded at Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, South Carolina, many North Carolinians became concerned. Once the United States lost control of the fort, President Abraham Lincoln requested an army of volunteers, including several North Carolina regiments, to put down the rebellion in South Carolina. United States Congressman Zebulon Vance (elected Governor of North Carolina in 1862) remembered, "I was canvassing for the Union with all my strength…and literally had my arm upward pleading for peace and the Union of our forefathers…when the telegraphic news was announced of the firing on Sumter and President's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers…I immediately, with altered voice and manner, called upon the assembled multitude to volunteer."[45] Vance like so many others in the state saw it necessary to honor their neighbors and protect one another from what many felt were the unnecessary, coercive actions of President Lincoln.

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[44] This is core to work done by Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds.*
[45]Barrett and Yearns, *North Carolina Civil War Documentary,* xv; Inscoe and McKinney, *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia,* 56.

Volunteers rushed to the ranks after North Carolina's secession. Strong feelings of patriotism resonated throughout community based enlistment events that included parties and large galas. Women flocked to young soldiers who prepared to leave for war. Men packed every item they could think of from banjos and violins to large bowie knives and tomahawks. The adventure and excitement surrounding secession overshadowed the seriousness of war and battle.[46]

Two separate laws were implemented when the state organized its military forces. The first law applied to men who volunteered after "the old law of the state." These volunteers were required only to serve twelve-month terms. The second law applied to men who volunteered after the state secession convention in May of 1861. These men were obligated to serve for at least three years or the duration of the war.[47] Whether or not there were differing motivations between these two groups of men warrants further research. This sample of men includes both those who volunteered before May 1861 and were conscripted in April of 1862, as well as those who volunteered in the midst of the state's secession in 1861; evidence indicates similar motivations for each camp. These reasons were rooted in honor and protection of region. Historian Kenneth Noe also posits that soldiers who joined after the initial enlistment activity or were conscripted, were equally motivated by racial and states' rights motivations as the group of citizen-soldiers who volunteered during the secession excitement. [48]

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[46] Ibid, 23; Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray,* 3-18; Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb,* 15-27.
[47] Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina*, 20-21.
[48] Kenneth Noe reminds us to consider the motivations of soldiers who enlisted and were drafted after 1861. Traditional depictions suggested impressed soldiers were more likely to desert, however Noe argues that soldiers who enlisted or were conscripted after 1861 were as committed to slavery and the institutions of the Old South as the soldiers who volunteered in the Spring of 1861. However, Noe maintains that meanings of camaraderie were different for soldiers who joined after the secession excitement. Motivations to fight were deeply rooted in protection of home and family. Thus soldiers who enlisted in 1862 or were conscripted were more likely to build relationships with relatives or soldiers from the same community.

Joseph J. Penney of Johnston County North Carolina was the son of a middle class farmer.[49] When Penney left home to join the Confederacy he was full of excitement, overcome by a profound sense of duty but also nervous about the future. He wrote to his friend George Barber (the brother of Penney's hometown sweetheart, Penelope Barber) about the honor in joining the Confederate cause while encamped at Mangum. He encouraged George to spread word that help was needed to "whip the yankis," and if the Confederacy were to begin drafting men to join the fight, Penney urged George to remain brave and confident.[50] Penney's excitement quickly dwindled, though, as the initial experiences of soldiering proved to be much harder than expected. He learned the life of a soldier was not easy, and it exposed him to circumstances he was not accustomed.

Penney's story parallels that of many young North Carolina men who found the first stage of soldiering especially challenging. In the case of J.J. Penney, even before he arrived at Camp Mangum, he was overcome with a "very bad" cough and a case of the mumps. Further, he left behind a sweetheart, Penelope Barber. In a letter home to Penelope, J.J. wrote, "I never shall forget the last time you was in Pas house…I shall remember that day as long as I live  I hope you will never forget the words you have spoken to me and never shall I."[51] Even though they were not married, the bond between

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Noe's insight influences me to consider this in later chapters, as there are two conscripts in this paper's sample. One of who deserted then rejoined for unknown reasons and served until his death. Kenneth Noe, *Reluctant Rebels: The Confederates Who Joined the Army after 1861* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 1-18, 153-160.

[49] Johnston County, North Carolina, 1860 census.

[50] "Dear Ma'am from J. J. Penney" 28 Jan 1862, Camp Mangum, Box 1, Folders 2-4, in the Penney Family Papers #5072, SHC.

[51] "Dear Ser" from Penelope Barber to J.J. Penney, 17 May 1862, Clayton, North Carolina, SHC.

them was strong and he constantly begged for "miniatures" of her.[52] Military service sacrificed such emotional bonds as men adjusted to military life and distance from home.

Soldiers often wrote home to loved ones reminiscing about enjoyable moments, fond memories, familial relations, and friendships. William Beavans of Halifax County, regularly wrote his sister from Mangum. Training with the 43rd Regiment, he recollected "the many pleasant hours" at home.[53] He attempted to cheer up his sister by reassuring her that in no time he would be home and begging her to tell him of her daily activities.[54] Members of the home front attempted to provide comfort as well by writing letters and sending personal belongings. However, attempts to provide comfort only reached so far and, coincidentally, as these North Carolinians travelled farther from home the emotional connections to home widened as well.

Even in the early stages of the war, camp conditions forced soldiers to confront, even question, their antebellum traditions. This emotional dilemma came in the midst of grappling with the day-to-day duties of soldiering, which drained them mentally and physically. It was necessary to adopt methods of survival in order to remain committed to the cause and to maintain personal honor. Civil War scholar Reid Mitchell maintains that wartime conditions "set the soldier apart from civilian society."[55] The hardships these men faced early in their experiences bolster Mitchell's assertion. The moment these men entered Camp Mangum, there was an instant detachment from civilian life.

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[52] "Dear Ma'am" from J.J. Penney to Penelope Barber, 21 May 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, SHC.
[53] North Carolina regiments are referred to as: North Carolina State Troops, Regiments, and N.C.S.T. For the purposes of this thesis I refer to to regiment and NCST.
[54] "Dear Darling Maggie" from William Beavans, May 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, Folder 1, in the William Beavans Diary and Letters #3244-z, SHC.
[55] Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers,* 64.

II. "Camp Mangum Has Become An 'Institution'"

The arrival at Camp Mangum in May of 1862 placed North Carolina's citizen-soldiers in the middle of a chaotic atmosphere. That spring, the Confederate government haphazardly attempted to both manage its new government and supply its army. As a unit of fighting men, Mangum's Confederate regiments received training on a daily basis to prepare them for combat. However, when away from drilling, soldiers suffered from lack of equipment. Confederate Murdoch John McSween, aka "Long Grabs," served both as a civilian war correspondent to local newspapers as well as a drill instructor to Mangum's raw recruits. McSween was an ardent secessionist with no military background, and local newspapers recognized him best for keen observations of his army activities. Writing for the *North Carolina Standard* in Raleigh and *Fayetteville Observer*, McSween illustrated a vibrant picture of Camp Mangum in his initial reports. In April of 1862, he wrote, "Camp Mangum has become an institution." He continued, "Some 12,000 [soldiers] probably are here now, and they come at from two to five companies a day from all sections of the state."[56] Then commenting on the organization of nine regiments, McSween described, "I have never been thrown into a crowd that represents the state so fully and strikingly as the masses of Troops here in camp. Here thousands of noble sons of the Old North State mingle together—strangers mostly, yet their hearts beat in throbs of sympathetic union." He explained "a good deal of sickness in camp" overshadowed this excitement, which is indicative of the horrible conditions encountered in a Civil War camp.[57] He further revealed how "accommodations are below ordinary," thereby demonstrating the organizational problems the Confederate government encountered at

[56] E.B. Munson ed., *Confederate Incognito: The Civil War Reports of "Long Grabs," a.k.a. Murdoch John McSween, 26th and 35th North Carolina Infantry*, (McFarland, 2012).
[57] Ibid, 30-31.

the onset. A month earlier, Benjamin Franklin Little, a colonel in the 52nd Regiment, echoed similar sentiments to his wife, "There is a large crowd of soldiers here, I suppose 10,000 or 12,000…companies are coming in very fast." Little continued, "Troops are coming in so rapidly that it is difficult for the government to provide for them" and he confessed that in attempting to divide food and tents equally among the men, many soldiers were left out.[58]

In addition to lack of supplies, there was an ordinance at Mangum, which stated soldiers were not allowed to go home.[59] This would have been especially frustrating for white Southern men whose antebellum lives thrived on the basis of individualism. The men in this sample, regardless of their place on the social ladder, identified themselves in communities as independent white men. Whether one was a subsistence farmer, a town merchant, or large plantation holder, white men in North Carolina lived self-reliant lives. Life in the army stripped this notion of individualism from citizens and forced men to adhere to strict military order.[60]

A.C. Myers of Stokes County often exchanged letters back and forth with his wife about supply issues. Myers also served in the 52nd Regiment and similar to other soldiers would write home to ask his wife for new pairs of boots and other supplies. Myers complained his boots were "halfsoled," and expressed his fears of drilling barefooted in

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[58] "My Dear Flax" from Benjamin Franklin Little, Box 1, Series 1, Folders 3, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, in the Benjamin Franklin Little Papers #3954, SHC.
[59] Ibid, 42.
[60] Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); W.J. Cash. *The Mind of the South* rep. (New York: Vintage Books, 1991); Owsley, Frank Lawrence, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); & McCardell, John *The Idea of A Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationolism, 1830-1860* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1981).

camp.[61] Although some soldiers, such as Myers, throughout the duration of the war were able to write home and ask for supplies, others were not so fortunate. Instead, they had to suffer through the conditions without the proper equipment.

This was the case for William A. Collins, a private out of Iredell County, North Carolina, served with the 48th NCST. He wrote to his sister on March 6, 1862, that he was supposed to be issued "one coat one pair pants two shirts one cap…one canteen…one pair of shoes and…a blanket."[62] Then on March 27th he wrote to his father, "we have not received the first bit of clothin yet of any sort not as much as a blanket nor do I not know when we will and there is men our camp that have not a thing only what they have on their backs and you can guess from that how we fare, it is no wonder that we would all be sick."[63] In addition to clothing problems, Williams complained to his sister, "we have nothing to burn here but pine wood for wood." He continued, "it makes a very bad fire to cook by and the smoke is so black that it smokes out clothes and faces black in a short time." He grumbled that the amount of water required to wash his own clothes was more than the amount issued, therefore his clothes were often dirty for inspection.[64] Shortages such as these in equipment made it easy for the natural elements to take a toll on Collins and his messmates.

Equipment shortages added to two alarming elements of soldiering—harsh environmental conditions and intimate living quarters with men—which for many North Carolina Confederates were unfamiliar experiences. Furthermore, a social divide became

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[61] "My Dear Wife" from A.C. Myers, 8 Jan 1862, Camp, in the A.C. Myers Letters Private Collections #506, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina (Hereinafter referred to as NCDA&H).
[62] "Dear sister" from William A. Collins, 6 March 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, in the William A. Collins Papers #5095-z, SHC.
[63] "Dear Father" from William A. Collins, 27 March 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, SHC.
[64] "Dear sister" from William A. Collins, 6 March 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, SHC.

apparent within the ranks as soldiers who were able to request items from home presented an unfair advantage to those poorer men who were not able to ask family members to send required items. These were critical parts in the initial stage of the citizen's transformation into a soldier, and they posed serious threats to the morale of a regiment. The constant exposure to natural elements fatigued men both emotionally and physically. The insufficient supply of proper equipment added to the already miserable conditions men endured. They were forced to sleep on uncomfortable, often-times wet ground. Some spent many nights with ice, water, or mud engulfing their bed, while others survived with proper equipment.

Little did summer soldiers know the exposure to conditions such as this prepared them for the future. As Camp Mangum's soldiers eventually embarked on military operations, they learned how to take care of themselves. Historian Kathryn Meier explained this as "self-care," and argued soldiers ultimately regained a sense of individualism by learning to care for themselves while on campaign. She also indicated how this contributed to rising levels of *esprit de corps*, because men often times shared remedies with one another.[65] This was key to the men encamped at Camp Mangum. This sample encountered disease, harsh weather, and homesickness that jeopardized both physical and emotional stability. Their personal reflections of Mangum's conditions reveal ways camp-life impacted men at the onset of war. The meaning of this sample of men to develop methods of survival and maintenance while encamped at Mangum speaks to the importance of camps like Mangum, which influenced soldiers to develop methods

[65] The term "self-care" comes from a study by Kathryn Meier who looked at the abilities of Civil War soldiers to overcome environmental conditions in Virginia's 1862 campaigns, Kathryn Schively Meier, *Nature's Civil War: Common Soldiers and the Environment in 1862 Virginia.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

of survival to use throughout the war. Consequently, as men learned how to cope with soldiering, the landscapes within which they performed daily routines began gaining entirely new meanings.

III. "Less Fear In Each Passing Day"

In spite of the horrid and stressful conditions of Camp Mangum, men were still able to find complacency in certain situations. Joseph J. Hoyle of the 55th NCST wrote to his wife about Camp Mangum in May 1862, "Our camp is very lively. The boys sing a great deal. We have taken up prayer every night."[66] Hoyle later admitted that, "There is so much noise and confusion about here that it almost runs one crazy, some are sing, some are playing, some are suffering, some are fiddling, and everything else that you could think of."[67] Camp Mangum was, simply put, chaotic. In spite of this, it is important to recognize what transpired when men came together during the early phases of military life. The early experiences within Camp Mangum required soldiers to learn to live and work together as a unit. The components of camp life never replaced the comforts of home, however, as soldiers endured similar situations as their comrades, men desperately attempted to reinvent notions of comfort within camp atmospheres.

Soldiering forced men to become close with one another. At first, they were hesitant to fully commit to camp life activities. This was one of the hurdles encountered when men from all different backgrounds were forced to fraternize with their comrades. Still, soldiers interacted with and observed their new messmates. William A. Collins wrote home to his wife explaining the men in his mess, "Our mess is all of very

[66] Girvan, "Joseph to his wife", May 17, 1862, *Deliver Us From this Cruel War*, 53.
[67] Girvan, "Joseph to his wife," May 23, 1862, *Deliver Us From This Cruel War,* 54.

respectable men and our company is for the most part civil men." Collins observed of the other soldiers, "They are all well, we have singing in our camp and the Bibles read much as can be expected."[68] A.C. Myers complimented the cooking capabilities of his messmates, "We have plenty eat  we draw rations of bacon and beef  flour & corn…we get plenty of all…we have several good cooks in the company."[69] Men also began to express the satisfaction in reaching goals. In explaining a day of drilling to his wife, William Beavans wrote "I enjoy myself very much some time; yesterday morning we had the best battalion drill we have had yet, more excitement about it."[70] These first moments of interaction among soldiers proved to be crucial. Even though camp-life meant very little to soldiers then, once they embarked on campaigns, moments such as these provided strength and perspective in moments of anguish.

Illicit behavior was another way soldiers interacted within camp. Many Confederates fell victim to the vices once in military camps. Drinking and gambling plagued encampments at the outset of the Civil War. Behavior such as this undermined discipline and army effectiveness. Camp Mangum was not friendly either. According to Isaac Lefevers, Mangum was a "wicked place." He said to his wife, "I have heard more cursing and swaring in one day than I did in a month at home."[71] Joseph Hoyle echoed this sentiment when he wrote, "We are here surrounded by almost every influence which tends to divert our minds from serous meditation, and we need divine grace to sustain us. Ah! When I view the deteriorating influences of camp life, my heart heaves a sigh, and I

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[68] "Dear Father" from William A. Collins, 27 March 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, NCDA&H.
[69] "Dear Wife and Children" from A.C. Myers, 24 April, 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, A.C. Myers Letters Private Collections #506, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina (Hereinafter referred to as NCDA&H).
[70] "Dear sister" from William Beavans, 20 April 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, SHC.
[71] "Dear Wife and Children" from Isaac Lefevers, 31 March 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, NCDA&H; "Dear Wife and Children" from Isaac Lefevers, 3 April 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, NCDAH.

implore the good Lord to cover our heads till his wrath be passed over."[72] Although, these vices eventually subsided as war became more serious, and much of the scholarship focused on the soldier points to the negative influence vices had on a regiment, we must recognize them for their abilities to bring men together

This sample of citizen-soldiers carried to Mangum strict religious beliefs. Their faith was not representative of all encamped within Mangum, however. The existence of vices in camp and other illicit behaviors often influenced men to steer away from God. It would take deadly combat for more men to turn to God and their faith for comfort. Although the religious revivals had yet to sweep Confederate ranks in 1862, religion still served an important purpose. Recognizing its potential to push and pull men together, just as vices did, is crucial in understanding how men were able to function together under the strains of war.[73] Joseph Hoyle commented to his wife in May of 1862, "We have prayer in two or three of our tents every night, and regimental prayer every morning and evening. The mode of regimental prayer," explained Hoyle, "is as follows; the whole regiment is drawn up in three sides of a square, each man then places his right hand under left elbow and raises his hat with the left hand, the minister then stand in the open side of the square, and pronounces the prayer."[74] Hoyle's comments here demonstrate how men first interacted with one another under the banner of God. At first, acquaintance probably composed these meetings. However, desertion and death later in the war changed the make-up of a regiment. Consequently, soldiers from a variety of places practiced religion

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[72] "Joseph to his wife," June 11, 1862, *Deliver Us From This Cruel War,* Girvan, 56.
[73] In "Christian Soldiers", Drew Gilpin Faust identified religion as central role to the antebellum Southern culture, and a crucial piece to the common Southern soldier. She believed religious conversion strengthened the discipline among soldiers and brought soldiers enduring the struggles of combat together, "Christian Soldiers," *The Journal of Southern History*, 74.
[74] "Joseph to his wife," May 30, 1862, *Deliver Us From This Cruel War,* Girvan, 54.

together. Thus, religion not only served as an outlet for overcoming fear and trauma, but was also crucial as a mode of interaction. Over time, its existence became more important within the confines of camp, ultimately brining more men together. This influenced soldiers' perceptions of camp to change over the course of the war.

Conditions at Mangum forced these North Carolinians to adopt remedies of survival and maintenance that ultimately proved crucial to surviving the elements associated with combat and campaign later in the war. Many instances sparked newfound awareness and the adoption of survival mechanisms proved vital at future campsites. Moreover, it renewed the sense of individualism within soldiers, as they were able to take initiative and care for themselves. Soldiers learned quickly the importance of provisions and rations. They recognized the shortages in equipment and some chose to sparingly use what provisions they had. Soldiers utilized their surroundings to help them cope with camp conditions. They continued to pick up hygienic habits to improve their general health. Interactions among men spread awareness as well as fostered new methods that could be implemented within campsites. Therefore, once on campaign, it was necessary to create military encampments that bolstered this atmosphere.

## IV. "Brothers In Arms"

Men were expected to tent together in uncomfortable living conditions. This was a part of military life to which most men were unaccustomed—a shortage in tents only worsened conditions. Large numbers of soldiers were forced to fit into small tents to avoid inclement weather and protect themselves from the elements. Historian James Robertson described three different kinds of tents supplied in the beginning of Civil War.

The standard tent issued to soldiers was considered a "shelter tent" and comfortably fit two to three soldiers. Also issued at the beginning of the war were wall tents and Sibley tents. Each tent was structured differently, and all were small and unpractical. Robertson concluded "ill-supplied Confederates" constantly relied on any material to form shelter.[75] Something these men eventually understood and accepted.

Not only did small tents create comfort issues, but also forced men to consistently exist in close quarters with other males. This was an unaccustomed experience for most males.[76] In some cases as many as six men were squeezed into one small tent. William A. Collins wrote to his sister explaining, "there is about seventeen in our mess and about eight to a tent." To his father Collins conveyed the attitudes of the soldiers in his mess, "we are tolerably well at present though there has been and is yet some complaining in our camp, too much cold and exposures been the cause of it." After more grieving about the impact of colder temperatures on men Collins added, "the reason was we could not get any tents and when we did get tents we did get but three and we had to divide our company into three messes making about 15 to a mess[tent]." He believed once more tents were supplied his company could go five to a tent.[77] New forms of interaction such as this among Southern men forced men to view one another differently because it challenged traditional tones of masculinity. Ultimately, interactions such as these laid the grounds for new forms of dependence throughout the war and especially during the Reconstruction period.[78] To citizen-soldiers in Camp Mangum, interactions such as this divulged the common world that existed within the ranks of a Civil War regiment.

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[75] Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray,* 43-47.
[76] *Civil War History,* "We Are a Band of Brothers," 276-281.
[77] "Dear Father" from William Collins, 27 March 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, SHC.
[78] *Civil War History*, "We Are a Band of Brothers," 273.

As time passed, environmental conditions worsened, thereby making it necessary for men to actively shape their camps. Civil War historians have only just begun interpreting soldiers' interactions with the environment. A host of military histories explain how the environment impacted military strategy and fighting effectiveness, while recent works have also discussed the war's devastating impact on nature. Yet, what can we learn about soldiers' interactions with their natural surroundings? Further, how did nature impact soldiers on a psychological level? Paul Fussell's breakthrough work on World War I exposed readers to the "Troglodyte world," which Fussell used to describe the day-to-day conditions soldiers faced in the horrid trench world of World War I. According to Fussell, as soldiers interacted with nature through encounters with weather, terrain, and sound a common world was created that impacted all veterans.[79] Camp Mangum was certainly different from the trench warfare of World War I, for North Carolinians never experienced combat there. Additionally, slave labor supported Mangum's infrastructure, though citizen-soldiers still partook in many of the arduous duties of soldiering such as the construction of breastworks and campsites. In spite of this, Mangum still created among Confederates a common world. Fussell's work illustrates how the common trench world impacted soldiers across class lines in one way or another. Dorothee Brantz's piece in *War and the Environment,* which also talks about World War I, confirms this idea. She too recognized new relations forming between World War I soldiers who consistently endured similar conditions during war.[80] Civil War scholarship certainly understands the common world Civil War soldiers existed in, for scholarship on battle motivation understands the importance of how common bonds

[79] Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory,* 36-74.
[80] Dorothee Brantz, *War and The Environment,* 78-42.

fostered Nationalism, unity, and commitment.[81] However, very little has been done to ascertain what can be learned from the common, natural world soldiers existed in. On a daily basis, Civil War soldiers' encounters with environmental conditions impacted marching, camping, and fighting. Environmental Historian Lisa Brady, who has written extensively on Sherman's combat strategy against the Confederacy in 1864 and 1865, understood soldiers contact with nature "as reduced to the daily struggle against the cold, mud, and wetness, and against illnesses of all kinds."[82]

Historian James Robertson believed the spreading of germs by the filth that built up from improper disposal of human waste was the "Grimmest Reaper" in a military encampment.[83] We learn from the reflections of this sample that soldiers within Mangum, despite their rank, experienced this campsite characteristic. North Carolinian Isaac Lefevers, for example, often wrote to his family of sickness spreading throughout Camp Mangum. Lefevers of the 46th NCST explained that "measles and mumps" were in the camp and they had affected two hundred men, himself included. He continued, "it is said to be very sickly at this place  it is said that their was about 20 dide hear last week."[84]

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[81] Scholars look at religion as a motivating force behind soldiers, and how large groups of men were able to rally together under the banner of God. A historiography of religion as a motivating force behind soldiers' overcoming their fears can be found in, Samuel J Watson, "Religion and Combat Motivation in the Confederate Armies" *The Journal of Military History*. Vol. 58, No. 1 (Jan., 1994), pp. 29-55. For more on religion as a combat motivator, I specifically refer to, *Journal of Southern History*, "Christian Soldiers,"63-90 as Drew Gilpin Faust indicated religion was the central role to the antebellum Southern culture, and a crucial piece to the common Southern soldier; Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda*, 8, 42-46, 54-55; Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 8-16, 216-240; Bell Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb,* 174-191. To understand soldiers' motivations and experiences I refer specifically to, Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb;* Linderman, *Embattled Courage*; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades;* and Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*.

[82] Lisa Brady, *War and the Environment,* 73.

[83] Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray,* 145-169.

[84] Isaac Lefevers to "Dear wife and children", 31 March 1862, Camp Mangum, Raleigh, Microfilm of Isaac Lefevers Letters, 1862-1864, NCDA&H.

Lefevers concluded, "there is 200 that is very bad with nomonia."[85] Even though soldiers encamped at Mangum were not directly exposed to fighting, their descriptions of camp illustrated the formidable conditions prevalent within camp. They witnessed and experienced sickness, dealt with human feces and blood, and endured harsh weather conditions in the midst of drilling and living. Together, these camp conditions created the common world of the Civil War soldier. Also contributing to this idea was William Pinckney Cline of the 46th North Carolina Regiment. He was a yeoman farmer out of Catawba County North Carolina, and similar to Lefevers' complaints, Cline moaned to his wife about camp conditions. "The water is bad hire and really it will git noe beter done dire," he explained. There is lots of sickness hire theire was forty dide in one night hire I can tell you when a man dise hire da er not looked at no more then at a dog." He continued by explaining "it is bade wether hire it rains ever day and the mud is hafe leg deep."[86] It is safe to assume Cline was aware of the bad water in camp, and he understood the risk behind drinking bad water. Most soldiers came to Mangum possessing enough competence to tell the difference between good and bad water. It was common for water to be warm and muddy, and these traits contributed to the negative opinions associated with camp life. However vile water was, though, soldiers still forced themselves to drink what was available.[87]

Dreadful conditions were a trait of all Civil War camps, and Camp Mangum exposed these men to elements that increased the difficulty of soldiering. This sample began approaching their daily routines with new outlooks as they adapted to camp life.

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[85] "Dear Wife and Children" from Isaac Lefevers, 3 April 1862, Camp magnum, Raleigh, North Carolina, NCDA&H.
[86] "Dear Wife" from William P. Cline, 3 May 1862, Camp Mangum, Wake County, North Carolina, SCH.
[87] Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray,* 60-65.

For instance, a beautiful day was never taken for granted. Additionally, an awareness of health and survival emerged as conditions in camp forced these men to take initiative in their personal survival. As messmates interacted on daily and consistent levels, the elements and conditions of soldiering were endured together. New methods of survival permeated throughout the ranks, and this encouraged new bonds among men.

V. Miserable Mangum

In addition to the death from sickness and poor conditions, emotional grief induced from nostalgia and stress compelled soldiers to take their own lives. Suicides in the beginning of the war resulted from the emotional suffering of soldiers. Scholarship maintains as the war progressed the number of suicide cases increased after soldiers witnessed battle for the first time. Historian Diane Sommerville has conducted extensive research on suicide and war trauma among Confederate veterans. Her evidence indicates how episodes of homesickness, cowardice, and battle experience all influenced soldiers to consider committing suicide during and after the Civil War.[88] She refers to this traumatic and unstable atmosphere as a "community of suffering," which altered traditional meanings of "the Good Death." She even suggests suicides actually "allowed soldiers abilities to maintain control over life's decisions, primarily death," which leads to her conclusion that "the Good Death" included self-murder. [89]

[88] Diane Somerville, "'A Burden Too Heavy To Bear'": War, Trauma, Suicide, and Confederate Veterans" *Civil War History,* Vol. 59, No. 4 (December 2013) pp: 453-491.
[89] Ibid, 489, see also 491.

Camp Mangum exposed soldiers to new types of death at very personal levels. Even before their "baptism of fire," men were surrounded by unfamiliar forms of death.[90] As the war raged on, strict religious traditions of the Old South such as proper burials and funerals, which were essential to the preservation of faith in men, were neglected. As a result, the new forms of death during the Civil War either from sickness, battle, and suicide challenged notions of "the good death."[91]

Isaac Lefevers discussed in a letter home one suicide in the hospital of Camp Mangum. "Their was a man kild him self hear night before last he was in the hospital," wrote Lefevers to his wife. "It was thought he was out of his head he was found with a double barral pistol in his pocket after he was dead the ball went rite threw his breast."[92] Though this is only one case of suicide at Camp Mangum and Lefevers offered little reflection on the episode, it still provides insight into what soldiers encountered in this initial stage of soldiering. Moreover, if we are going to consider a soldier's daily outlook during this transitional period, it is necessary to understand how suicides impacted daily camp activities.

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[90] "Baptism of fire" was used by Bell I. Wiley to explain soldiers initial combat experience, Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb,* 28-35.

[91] Mark Schantz argues that Americans' obsessions with death contributed to the coming of the Civil War. In the final chapter of *Awaiting The Heavenly Alter,* he recounts the romanticism of the rituals behind death, Mark S. Schantz, *Awaiting The Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); for more on "The Good Death" refer to Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and The American Civil War* (New York, 2008) Faust recognized how the realities of war created a distance between the battlefield and the home front. The boundaries that the Victorian style of religious practice had created within communities had not prepared Americans for the horrors of war. The "Good Death" promised that once a person dies, their community and family would comfort them as they entered the afterlife. To the soldiers who prepared for war, the "Good Death" gave brave men the strength and comfort they would need to venture into conflict. To the home front, they too were given the strength to believe that if tragedy hit home, their loved ones would be given a "Good Death" and proper burial.

[92] "Dear Wife and Children" from Isaac Lefevers, 3 April 1862, Camp magnum, Raleigh, North Carolina, NCDA&H.

First, we must consider possible reasons to explain why this soldier took his own life. Examples of the impact nostalgia, fatigue, fear, and sickness had on soldiers have already been discussed. In this particular case, it appears one of these or a combination of several, encouraged some form of unstableness that influenced his condition to be termed "out of his head" by his comrades. Nostalgia seems a likely reason for this suicide. Confederates encamped at Mangum had yet to experience combat, and this sample offers an abundance of evidence supporting the serious impact nostalgia played on a daily basis.[93] However, we can never know based on the evidence offered. Second, to what degree were soldiers impacted by suicide cases? This particular one presents an example of a suicide bringing men together. Rumors played a significant role in camp life activities, and were often discussed among messmates and comrades. Therefore, it seems logical if soldiers coined a suicide victim "out of his head," it generated from groups of men discussing it among themselves. Rumors also spread awareness of other issues impacting regiment comrades.[94] Additionally, suicide cases were unfamiliar to the average citizen in the nineteenth century, so encountering this within a regiment or campsite undoubtedly stirred the emotions of those encamped. This is especially

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[93] Susan J. Matt refers to homesickness as "Nostalgia" in a chapter titled "There's No Place Like Home: Homesickness and Homemaking in America" found in Peter N. Stearns American *Behavioral History: An Introduction.* Coined in the 17th century by Johannes Hofner "nostalgia" meant "pain and melancholy experienced by those who had left home." Matt traces the evolution of domestic life, and she identifies the importance of home to nineteenth century ante-bellum Americans. One case she discovers came from a Union field surgeon who reported five thousand soldiers "ill with nostalgia." My evidence portrays an abundance of evidence supporting homesickness. While these particular North Carolinians never became ill from homesickness, it certainly played an essential role in their day-to-day activities. Thus, it is important to keep this in mind as men in my sample attempt to recreate new *conditions* of comfort, Susan J. Matt, "There's No Place Like Home: Homesickness and Homemaking in America," in *American Behavioral History* ed. Peter N. Stearns (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 87-117.

[94] In *Diehard Rebels* Jason Phillips indicates the importance of rumors in camp. He provides evidence to suggest how "patriotism, ideology, and group cohesion" were fostered by rumors. I deal with the importance of rumor in more length in the following chapters, but it is important here to consider how powerful rumors associated with suicide could have been on soldiers experiencing life in the army for the first time, Phillips, *Diehard Rebels,* 144-145.

plausible when considering Dianne Sommerville's conclusion of suicide's impact on antebellum traditions centered on religious faith. Overall, individual cases of suicide this early in the soldiering experience indicate men's mental stability at times spiraled out of control. Of course, there is the possibility that he had a mental illness before joining the Confederate Army, and if that were true, his experiences at Mangum only pushed him more to the limits.

It is also worth noting how these explanations provide examples representative of the common world within Mangum. Rumors especially required men interacting and sharing information. Even at this stage, soldiers discussed their own feelings and sentiments of events in camp, and it is likely many realized similar problems happening to other soldiers. It is quite possible as issues were exchanged, this helped soldiers cope with the stresses of soldiering. This would be crucial during later stages of the war when camp's meaning changed for men.

It was mentioned how soldiers struggled with these new forms of death in camp, and the neglect of proper burials. When soldiers died from sickness or suicide, proper burials could only be met through the best means available. Many families wanted their loved ones sent home, however, this was not always possible in spite of the army's best efforts to do so. At the beginning of the war Confederate and Union armies tried to implement systems of order to sort through the dead. As the war raged on high casualty rates made a system like this hard to maintain. Women's organizations surfaced in both the North and South to help provide comfort and closure to the families who lost loved ones during duty.[95] In many cases comrades in arms, close friends, or officers replaced family duties during these times, ensuring the proper burial of soldiers as well as writing

[95] Ibid, 108-111.

home to the family of the dead soldier. This raised levels of empathy among soldiers, and ultimately brought them together.

VI. Homesickness

Confederates suffered from nostalgia throughout the entire war, however, this sample exemplified ways to cope with it over the course of their soldiering experiences. All soldiers yearned for the comforts of home at one point during their war experience. Their personal reflections provide the necessary evidence to support this theory. Soldiers often wrote home expressing the desire to return to their families. Confederate wartime letters are littered with comparisons between the miseries of soldiering and pleasantries of home life, and letters from these men were no different. They desired everything about home. They sent love letters to wives or sweethearts; encouragement and motivational thoughts to children; comforting notes to mothers and fathers; honorable expressions of manhood to friends; and business orders for home. Each man constantly yearned for communication with the communities they left behind.

On the one hand, the connection with home offered men the chance to stay in touch and express their deepest feelings with loved ones as J.J. Penney expressed in May 1862 to his sweetheart, "Thank god we have a means of conversation by which we are enabled to let each other still know our hopes and fears."[96] On the other hand, writing did not fully heal their hearts. The emotional stresses often conveyed in letters home and personal diaries indicated nervousness and agitation. Therefore, men were forced to look elsewhere to fill the void of home, and the initial experiences in Mangum pushed many soldiers to the limit.

[96] "Dear Wife" from J. J. Penney, 30 May 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, SHC.

One example was A. C. Myers. He wrote to his wife in April 1862, "I have been very much confused ever since I left home." He continued to grieve by saying "I would give all that his war will ever pay me to be with you now & stay with you."[97] William Beavans was another example and similarly wrote to his sister in that same month, "I am getting on very well enjoying fine health and most of the time in fine spirits except when I think of home and my friends at home."[98] Beavans eventually turned to writing poetry and songs to find respite, however, at the onset of the war he struggled with the distance from home. A.C. Myers never found peace in writing. Instead, he often wrote home grieving over the lack of communication from his wife. A problem with wartime communication that only worsened as men left on campaigns. When analyzing issues such as these, it forces one to wonder how exactly men were able to move forward.

A lack of communication with his wife frustrated A.C. Myers throughout the entire war.[99] His frustrations began in Camp Mangum over one letter he received from home in which his wife expressed her disappointment in him because she felt he did not wish to come home. It is possible she did not understand the duties of military life, and though Myers attempted to explain in his replies his wife simply quit writing him. Though he expressed "patience" in his letters, his confusion and anxiety turned for the worst. He mulled over the inability to communicate business matters with her, he was sad

[97] "My Dear Wife" from A. C. Myers, 24 April 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, NCDA&H.
[98] "My Dear Sister" from William Beavans, 20 April 1862, Folder 2, #3244-z, SHC.
[99] In a letter addressed "My Dearest Wife" written from A. C. Myers in November of 1862, he confessed to her "the expectation of seeing you for so long and then it did not come it has thrown me in such confusion that I have not seen any satisfaction since." I revist this letter in chapter 3. "My Dearest Wife," 11 November 1862, Black Bridge, Franklin, Virginia, NCDA&H.

not to hear of the wellness of his children, and his tone questioned the love she had for him.[100]

William P. Cline, a conscript, experienced similar circumstances during his stint in Mangum. He received letters from his wife while stationed there with detailed descriptions of lies a man in their hometown were spreading pertaining to Cline. Cline was outraged when he received this letter. Unfortunately, Cline lacked a proper education so he was not able to express a detailed reaction. However, his prose and spelling (which were already hard to decipher) worsened when he illustrated his thoughts in replies to his wife. Cline said of the gentlemen spreading the rumors, "tel him to stay away from my place  if he pesters you I wont you to let me now it  when I come home I thin that dir will be powder and led at use  I kill him then. I come home I will gave hom one lode he wod beter ben in the wore then th be whear he has been."[101] Following this, Cline wrote more letters to his wife that continued to discuss his disgust toward the gentlemen, "Markus Huitt," who was spreading the rumors of inappropriateness to Cline's wife. Cline's demeanor toward the war also turned negative after the twisted news.[102] Cline, just as Myers, eventually found satisfaction in the duties of soldiering. The eventual shifts, which are discussed later, Myers and Cline exhibited speak volumes to the growing distance between home front and war front as well as the growth of solidarity within units. Additionally, eventual shifts speak to soldiers' abilities to adapt and change which played a crucial role in their survival. As men navigated the vicissitudes of

[100] "My Dearest Wife" from A. C. Myers, 24 April 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, NCDA&H; "My Dearest Wife" from A.C. Myers, 28 May 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, NCDA&H.
[101] "Dear Wife" from William P. Cline, 25 May 1862, Camp Near Raleigh, North Carolina, SHC
[102] "Dear Wife" from Willima P. Cline, 3 June 1862, North Carolina, SHC.

soldiering, they began to seek out their comrades and became more involved in camp activities for emotional solace. New levels of commitment to a regiment emerged.

VII. Moving Forward

The citizen-soldier's transition from home front to war front provides essential information in understanding the wartime link between communities and soldiers during war. This first period in their transition introduced them to the emotional distance from home. Additionally, men's notions of individualism that were so characteristic to their antebellum lifestyles slowly dissipated. They desperately tried to fill the void created by nostalgia and regain control of their identity, but for some men it was too much. However, those who endured the elements of camp life eventually were hardened from exposure to elements and homesickness. Rationales and outlooks changed through the interactions an army life required of its soldiers. Ultimately, men began to develop levels of devotion to those within camp, and their survival depended on the atmosphere of a military encampment.

The environment North Carolinians encountered while at Camp Mangum offers perspective on how men first adapted to place during their transformation into soldiers. Military life forced them to endure demanding and unfamiliar elements ultimately stretching their physical and emotional stability. Before becoming Confederate soldiers, men had to prove their worth in battle. The following chapter reveals how the next transitional stage, combat, forced men not only to relish the existence of camp but also learn to kill.

## Chapter 3: North Carolina Confederates and Combat

In *On Killing*, military historian Dave Grossman questioned whether humans are natural killers. He contends that soldiers must learn to kill in combat in order to save themselves and their comrades. In his detailed analysis of war, Grossman studied a broad sample of soldiers involved in various conflicts and concludes that casualty rates should have been much higher in each war due to the amount of ammunition used. Grossman argued that most soldiers averted from killing. Instead, they experienced an "intense resistance to killing a fellow man" and resorted to "posture"—a blind aim as he defined—in the midst of battle. In addition, Grossman points to the overall psychological impact of the combat experience on soldiers.[103] His argument triggers numerous questions for this study on North Carolina Confederates and their transition from citizen to soldier. Primarily, how did killing impact both the soldier's perceptions of his self-identity and his interaction with members of the regiment?

After this sample of North Carolinians departed from Camp Mangum and a life of tedious drill, they headed to the front of war. Once engaged in military action, they would be required to kill. To these green soldiers, death and killing were entirely new experiences, and their "baptism of fire" changed their overall understanding of war.[104] In order to understand how this experience impacted citizen-soldiers' perceptions, combat's

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[103] Grossman, *On Killing*, 4-11

[104] Bell Wiley among others defined "Baptism of Fire" as a soldiers "trial at arms," Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb,* 4th printing, 28.

orthodox definition is expanded. Instead of focusing on only the moment of deadly contact, this chapter analyzes how soldiers anticipated the moment of combat as well as how they reflected on the experience so as to completely understand how combat instituted a change in identity and interaction.

This chapter provides more examples of the kinds of shared experiences and interactions ultimately uniting soldiers under the banner of war. These were not always handled easily, though. In fact, many of the reactions to families during this stage expressed disgust toward cause and bitterness toward home front. This falls in line with much of the scholarship pertaining to North Carolina's Civil War experience, which traditionally attributes high rates of desertion, death, social dissent, and trauma from battle, as proof North Carolina Confederates lacked the commitment and determination to continue fighting in the later stages of the war. Analysis in this chapter grapples with those arguments. Although every statement offered does not demonstrate commitment or devotion, it is important to understand these reflections continue to support the claim that a common world existed for these men. Moreover, combat's requirements such as killing, fighting, and witnessing brought about new interactions. Not only did soldiers interact with each other in new ways, but also there were new interactions with death and trauma. As soldiers navigated their own emotional landscapes, personal reflections home were often similar to other men; examples offered support this claim because of the similar tones being conveyed in letters home. Moreover, interactions of deadly contact altered each man's day-to-day outlook, and their letters home yearned for support, relief, and the will to survive. New interactions between soldiers were born from the encounters with deadly combat. Their expressions together suggest common perceptions of place, duty,

and identity emerged within regiments out of the interactions with combat. Combat, then, becomes a crucial stage of transformation for it not only shook men's foundations, but also emotionally pushed them further away from the home front and the closer to their comrades. Furthermore, soldiers' abilities to change in the confusion of "shell-shock," speaks to their renewed sense of awareness and capability to adapt for survival.[105]

Few scholars who have studied North Carolinians and the Civil War have considered how personal reflections from soldiers who fought until death or surrender can provide insight into understanding what events shaped the motivations of a North Carolina Confederate. Scholars such as James McPherson and Drew Gilpin Faust offer broader soldier studies on combat motivations to understand commitment. Themes including camaraderie, religion, and fear, according to McPherson and Faust, are seen as uniting factors responsible for strengthening a soldier's resolve in the face of battle and his commitment to his regiment. The evidence herein builds on scholarship dealing with motivations, and it places most of the focus on how these combat motivators were shaped in a military encampment. In order for soldiers to understand how vital a campsite actually was, though, they had to experience combat. Furthermore, it places emphasis on the killing experience and how this shaped the mood of a group of troops.[106] This chapter also provides new examples of how soldiers reacted to their initial combat experiences

[105] The combination of camp and combat for a citizen-soldier turned into his entire campaign experience. There is no doubt these North Carolinians experienced "shell shock" because of battle conditions. "Shell shock" in the case of this study is used in the metaphorical sense, as historian Jay Winter does in his works dealing with World War I veterans. It is the traumatic response to all the elements of a battle experience. With the technology used in the Civil War, and damage caused from it, "shell shock" was common among many Confederate soldiers. The visions of combat stayed with men throughout their Civil War experience as they reflected on that episode of their lives, refer to Jay Winter; Historians and physicians also use the term "shell shock" as the diagnosis for returning veterans who have trouble acclimating to civilian life, Shell Shock, 1-15.

[106] For more on the experiences of Civil War soldiers, and how they coped with realities of war, refer to Linderman, *Embattled Courage;* McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*; and Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*.

and continues to build toward an understanding of how *militarized landscapes* were a backdrop and common arena for soldiers to decompress from war. It reveals what questions emerged from soldiers desperately seeking to find an identity and meaning during these traumatic experiences. It shows how the divide between war front and home front continued to impact soldiers' ultimately bringing regiments closer. Combat was the key test of one's manhood during the Civil War. To these North Carolinians their initial combat experiences brought about a whole new meaning to the world they existed. Did they eventually learn to kill? Yes, because on the battlefield, the reason to kill was to protect themselves, their home, and their comrades.

I. Union Strategy and the Home Front

Several points must be made to provide insight on broader issues impacting these North Carolinians' combat motivations and overall outlooks once they left Camp Mangum. Protecting home was one of the main motivations that compelled these soldiers to join the Confederacy, and home, family, and culture remained paramount to North Carolinians throughout the Civil War. The politics instituted early on by the Confederacy to protect Richmond and Virginia, however, opposed soldiers' original reasons for fighting, for these tactics shifted the soldiers away from their home state. Furthermore, they continued to drain men's sense of individualism since soldiers were ordered to remain in camp and rarely granted furloughs. J.J. Penney angrily remarked to George Barber, for example, "There is but one thing that renders me dissatisfied here…that is the recent order of General Lee forbidding the granting of furloughs to the soldiers so long as the enemy remain in threatening vicinity of the Capital at Richmond." He expressed his desire "to go hom and stay a while and see all of my old friends and acquaintances."

Penney was not necessarily angry to be defending Richmond, for he eventually expressed to Barber the need that "the Yankees must be whipped and peace made."[107] However, Penney was displeased that he could not go home. As more soldiers recognized the initial boundaries of war, and they were forced to act on the orders from higher authorities, resentment certainly set in for North Carolina soldiers.

Since the Union Army threatened Richmond, Virginia, Confederate leaders felt it necessary to focus the majority of military forces at the epicenter of the Union war effort. This epicenter was not North Carolina, but the Union war strategy initially threatened the Old North State. Seeing how the First Battle of Bull Run was a debacle for the Federals, Union General Ambrose E. Burnside suggested that the Union Army should send soldiers to North Carolina's coast. The Carolina coast offered great opportunities for a Union advance through the heart of the Confederacy. General McClellan granted permission to Burnside's expedition, and fifteen regiments and an unlimited amount of funding were provided for the tactical advance.[108] The unpredictable waters off the coast posed threats to the Union advance, and this natural element helped North Carolina's home guard slow down the Union advance long enough for Confederate strategy to focus attention on North Carolina's vulnerable coast. Additionally, in March of 1862, McClellan initiated the Peninsular Campaign, which required the use of Burnside and a significant portion of his troops. Yet, Burnside's advance cost the Confederacy valuable supplies, farmland, and coastal forts. As a result, the Union Army occupied key ports off the coast of North Carolina, and Confederate General Robert E. Lee was forced to pull troops from Richmond and place them in North Carolina. This also resulted in more North

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[107] "to George Barber" from J.J. Penney, 25 July 1862, Camp near Petersburg, Virginia, SHC.
[108] Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina,* 66-75.

Carolinians remaining stateside to protect what valuable assets remained on the state's coast.[109] Burnside's advance on North Carolina had a tremendous impact on North Carolina's role in the Civil War and motivated her men to continue fighting. Burnside's successes exposed a weakness in the Confederacy, which prompted Confederate leaders to focus on the protection of the Old North State.

The attacks on North Carolina proved transformative. Indeed, as Aaron Sheehan-Dean argues, destruction within Virginia emboldened Virginia Confederates to remain committed to the cause.[110] Throughout the first phase of the Civil War (much earlier than the culminating point in Sheehan-Dean's sample) the reflections of these North Carolinians indicate a direct parallel with the success of the Confederacy and levels of commitment within this sample of soldiers. Soldiers continued to write loved ones expressing their personal desire to return home, but many now emphasized duty and honor as reinforcing their levels of commitment. A.C. Myers, for example, wrote to his wife, "I had rather be at home with you than any where," but he ended the letter by saying the only way he would return home is through an "honorable discharge."[111] J.J. Penney echoed this in May 1862, "But the Yankees must be driven back or you and the rest of Carolina's fair daughters are lost perhaps for ever and now is no time to stop and look back."[112] A defiant William A. Collins wrote home, "though I be sick wounded or dead you can console and comfort yourself that I died at my front and in full reliance on God who is ever my trust and comfort."

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[109] Ibid, 128-130.
[110] Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 141-164.
[111] A.C. Myers, "My Dear Wife", April 24, 1862.
[112] J.J. Penney, "Dear Ma'am", May 27th, 1863.

North Carolinians' resolve to continue fighting early on also sheds light on historian Jason Phillips' argument that a spirit of invincibility possessed many Confederates. The circulation of rumors, according to Phillips, drove this ethos and definitely impacted the North Carolinians under consideration.[113] However, what impacted this ethos even more, according to this sample, was the initial success of the Confederacy. Moreover, it overshadowed home front activities and encouraged soldiers to remain committed and devoted. Throughout 1862 and 1863 the Confederate cause continued to show purpose, and this galvanized outlooks for these Tar Heels. Though portions of North Carolina were exposed to the Union Army, and men desperately yearned to be home, their expressions of honor directly paralleled the Confederacy's successes during the Peninsular Campaign. Stories circulated around campfires about the progress of the Confederate cause, and men exchanged tales about the feats of the Confederate Army. In August of 1862, for example, A.C. Myers wrote to his wife, "I further heard today that Stone Wall Jackson is this time fighting  I think he will breake up the Lincoln army this drive if he has got all the men this has been sent to him I understand the entire strength of both armys that have been in Virginia has consentrated there."[114] Leaders were idolized and men's hope hung on to the success of these iconic officers thus helping soldiers rarely consider defeat.[115] The early success of the Confederacy initially bolstered men's confidence in the cause, especially after many were

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[113] Phillips, *Diehard Rebels,* 3 & 138-145.
[114] A.C. Myers, "Dearest Wife," Camp Campbell, Virginia, August 31st 1862, NCSA&H
[115] According to Phillips, a culture of invincibility was found within "Diehard Rebels." Embellished rumors and stories of triumphant victories in major battles strengthened the morale of this classification of Confederate soldier. I would not classify A.C. Myers as a "Diehard Rebel", because at times he constantly complains to his wife, and even mentions how he would desert the cause just to be with his wife. As the paper will indicate later, his moment of devotion to the Confederacy comes in a different form. However, his letters indicate the power of rumor within news correspondence, and the success of the Confederacy motivates his company's morale during skirmishes early on in the Civil War, *Diehard Rebels,* 116-145.

troubled by the neglect shown toward North Carolina. As this ethos continued to grow it continued to set a foundation for men as they continued to serve in the ranks.

II. Forward, March!

Early in the war, soldiers anxiously awaited the prospect of a fight to relieve the tedium of camp. Men even expressed disappointment when a fight did not commence. Such was the case for A.C. Myers when he explained to his wife, "This regiment was ordered out last Monday to meet the enemy." He told her that "we only had one hours notice" and "we marched out in a thick cluster of pine trees by the side of the road." To Myers's disappointment, though, the regiment received news "that the Yankees had gon back" forcing his regiment to retire to camp. With great bravado, Myers explained to his wife, "I think we would have whipped them and run them back to Newbern [North Carolina]." His final thoughts are key to understanding the mindset of these North Carolinians, as participation in battle preserved both personal honor and commitment to family. Because of issues at home—Myers' wife had censured him for breaking promises—he desperately wanted a fight as to prove his worth in battle to his wife, as was the case for many Confederate soldiers.[116]

On the march, soldiers encountered new lands, which fulfilled the promise of excitement in the army. Recent works by environmental historians even suggest the tranquility and beauty of unfamiliar landscapes alleviated some of the stresses associated with soldiering—such scholars credit the abilities of soldiers to quickly adapt to find

[116] "My Dearest Wife" from A.C. Myers, 5 July 1862, Camp Johnson, NCDA&H

refuge in these spaces.[117] J.J. Penney wrote, for example, "Is it not a strange difference of places in so short a time to think that yesterday evening after sunset we were at Camp Mangum." He went on to explain, "Now this morning 96 miles from that place tents erect upon the sunny old fields near Garysburg and but about two miles from the Virginia line one had quote a lively time if indeed—every crevess of the scene in some places and every gateway was crowded until bedtime last night with the beautiful & the gay throwing out their handkerchiefs and Minnie flags saluting us at every turn."[118] William Collins wrote to his father of a campsite, "I like this place very well  we have very good water and a very nice place for camp  it is cool and the fresh air has fair sweap at us." He continued, "we have very much rain and the coolest weather that I ever felt."[119] Similarly, Joseph J. Hoyle wrote to his wife, "we have a very pretty camp here aiming the long-leaf pines. We can get tolerably good water by going a good ways after it." Hoyle even indicated that the men in camp seemed in "good spirits at the prospect of a fight." [120] As soldiers left Camp Mangum, they brought with them the habits and rituals adopted within camp on the campaign. They quickly learned after experiencing battle that it was necessary to adopt the practices from Mangum at individual sites on campaign.

In spite of the excitement generated by new landscapes and countryside, as these Confederates travelled further from North Carolina many confronted the barren lands transformed by war. Thus, they realized first-hand the battle's destructive capacity, which impacted their perceptions. William P. Cline described a desolate land writing home, "Thire is no bodey liven close hire for thire all gone and left there homes for tha was a

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[117] Lisa M. Brady, "The Future of Civil War Era Studies: Environmental Histories," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* vol. 2, no. 1 (March, 2012), accessed September 13, 2014; Nelson, *RuinNation,* 2-9.
[118] J.J. Penney, 31 August, 1862, Camp Campbell, Virginia, SHC.
[119] William A. Collins. "Dear Father" June 11, 1862, Dinwiddie County, SHC.
[120] Girvan, "*Deliver Us From This Cruel Wa*r," 58.

frade of the yankes."[121] Soldiers even encountered the remains of recent battles. Samuel Walkup described how his regiment came upon the remnants of the Seven Days Battles near the Chickahominy River and New Bridge. He illustrated the remains of the deserted campsite in addition to a detailed description of "the bloody battle field, where friend and foe lay in thick clusters, which showed the dreadful & well fought contest."[122] After encountering death and destruction, soldiers quickly realized the war's devastating potential. The war torn environment they existed within was quite different from the antebellum worlds they were left behind.

As landscapes changed, so did soldiers. They quickly adapted to unfamiliar territories and were able to perform their necessary duties. Soldiers' reflections described individuals working and marching together as a unit. Social differences temporarily paused as common goals emerged. The training in Camp Mangum had translated into the field. As men continued to transition from citizen into soldier, though, it would not be until they actually experienced battle together that the true test commenced. These North Carolinians carried with them inherent cultural elements, such as strict religious beliefs and strong family networks, which had only been tested in the horrid conditions of camp life. Moreover, the motivations of these North Carolinians to continue fighting had not yet been tested. Though Mangum set the foundation in the transition from citizen to soldier, the men were still green. Once soldiers experienced battle, the true nature of war would come full circle. The test of combat and the abilities to continue experiencing war's full nature would push these men to a breaking point. As their physical thresholds were pushed to the limit, so too were their moral and political ideals. For these North

[121] William P. Cline, June the 22 1862, Chesterfield, Campe naire (near) druis (drewys) blufe (bluff), SHC.
[122] S.H. Walkup Diary, June 28, 1862, SHC.

Carolinians to uphold personal duty and honor, they learned it was necessary to adapt and interact with one another in new ways just as they had done in Camp Mangum. The experience of combat would be new in itself, and the forced interactions after battle generated a completely new way for men to relate with one another and perceive war.

III. Seeing the Elephant

On June 16, 1863, Samuel H. Walkup revisited the site of the 48th North Carolina Regiment's "baptism by fire," and he reflected on his time as a soldier since that day. He wrote, "it was with a thankful soul I felt how God in his mercy had still preserved me then & even since my last visit to this place in Aug., whilst so many others had fallen around me in battle, & disease." This site evoked strong memories as he surveyed the "hotly contested field" and recalled the men who had "fought so bravely & fell" (a phrase Walkup often used when writing in his diary).[123] This moment allowed Walkup the opportunity to reflect on the events he experienced to that point, and thank God and his faith for protecting him. He was thankful for being alive, and his statements of religious commitment implied a new admiration for those who had died on that field while also galvanizing his own faith in God. This admiration for both friend and foe suggests Walkup's perception of killing had assumed new meaning. His gratitude for surviving battle alludes to his ability to kill in order to survive. Perhaps, too, by thanking God in this manner, Walkup revealed a shift in religious faith. Soldiers of devout faith undoubtedly questioned the act of killing during the Civil War, but deadly contact was required of a soldier. Similar to Dianne Sommerville's speculation that suicide provided men opportunities to reclaim control over their death thus instituting a change in the

[123] S.H. Walkup Diary, June 16, 1863, SHC.

parameters of the "good death," Walkup's statement concerning the act of killing shows a shift in the meaning of religious faith to a soldier. Instead of questioning whether to kill, which many soldiers struggled with, Walkup had learned to kill for survival. He recognized the importance of God when surviving deadly combat, and this particular landscape, where his initial combat experience took place, embodied the meaning of survival to Walkup. Not only had killing become a necessity to him, but was also the required duty for the world in which he existed.

Green soldiers (or those men who had never experienced battle before) found mental preparation for combat difficult, if not impossible. Historian Eric T. Dean described battle through the "demoniacal appearance of men—enraged, blackened faces, screaming, firing their rifles in a frenzy, grappling in hand-to-hand combat." He touches on the unearthly elements of the battlefield—the noise, sound, vision, and chaos that engulfed the landscape. These experiences surely shook the psychological foundations of individual Confederates. Battlefield tactics, too, forced soldiers into a state of shock as frontal assaults over vast open fields forced both sides into head-to-head fighting.[124] The experience of battle awakened many men to the true realities of war, and forced them to discover new ways of handling this element of war.

Samuel Walkup's experience parallels many other North Carolinians' recollections of their first battle experiences. Kinchen Carpenter vividly remembered his first experience in battle. "Our regiment was being fired on from front left and right," he wrote. "The noise of 10, 000 muskets and 1000 cannons firing at once cannot be described by my pen," he remembered. The "artillery," Carpenter continued, "came by as fast as they could travel" and the cavalry's horses "stampeded by the explosion of a

[124] Dean, *Shook Over Hell*. 57-58.

shell" and took off "in their wild flight." Carpenter described how the horses rushed to a "plank fence" and "caught many of our men who were held down to be trampled by the horses until we could throw down a rail fense on the opposite side of the road and allow them to escape."[125] William Pickney Cline also revealed the chaos of battle as he wrote to his wife, "I never saw it rain bullets before I can tell you that we have a hard time it it for we have traveld since the first of sep til the last 3 days we have been a resting a few day I don't know whear we go to from hear."[126] Soldiers were now forced to adapt to this reality and came to better understand the nature of combat. With time they were better able to mentally prepare for assaults or attacks, and thus gain control over their abilities to reflect on and prepare for the experience.

This stage exposed citizen-soldiers to alarming realities of war that they would encounter throughout their soldiering experiences. The rage of battle was witnessed and felt firsthand as men faced new obstacles such as deadly conflict and death in new ways during the chaos of battle. It is necessary to understand battle as a shared experience—one in which soldiers together endured deadly contact. Similar reflections of battle contribute to this claim as well. These new interactions placed each soldier in an entirely new world—a common world. One completely different than the world families existed within, and one in which they understood other soldiers existed within as well.

Deadly combat forced men to reconsider the fragile nature of life. James Wellington Lineberger wrote to his wife after his first two battles, "I have been through too battles since I got to ritchman and how I escaped from the balls I cant tell you for they appeared to be thich as hale." He continued to explain, "we have fourteen men

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[125] Williams, *The War Diary of Kinhen Jahu Carpenter*, 7.
[126] "Dear wife" from William P. Cline, 25 September 1862, Camp near Martinsburg, Virginia, SHC.

wounded, three dead and six missing."[127] Echoing Lineberger's sentiments, John Washington Calton wrote home to his father, "I cant tell you how many fites I hav bin in fo it has bin anever [every] day bisness  we have lost 25 men out of our Co sense we came to Richmond." Calton continued, "we fought all day the day we got thar…we lost four men that day wounded & too the next day & then on the 20th we lost twenty three kild & seventeen wounded." He was thankful and "grately blest." Calton's gratitude for survival was even stronger due to the fact that a bullet went through his hat the very instant he entered his first fight.[128]

Battles took place on roads, near and around rivers, and in thick pockets of the wilderness. As citizen-soldiers continued to adjust to horrible natural conditions within camp life, they quickly learned how the environment impacted combat. It could transform a skirmish or large battle into mass confusion. Samuel Walkup explained marching in the dark as "the most harassing  & inconvenient time imaginable." Walkup said it was "so dark in many places that we could not tell whether we were in the road or in the woods. The artillery got lost and most of the troops worried through for miles."[129] He recounted one experience, "after a hurried march of 2 miles we reached the field of battle & went immediately into action." After hurrying through a cluster trees it opened up to the "terrific fire of artillery and musketry." Walkup explained that their line broke and many men scattered taking "shelter behind trees." The soldiers were caught between a fence and a line of "artillery and musketry" which "swept everything before it." Joseph Hoyle

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[127] "Letters of A Gaston anger: 2nd Lt. James Wellington Lineberger Company H, 49th North Carolina Regiment ransom's Brigade, CSA", edited by Hugh Douglas Pitts, "Dear Wife", near James River, August the 4 1862 (Richmond: [Publisher Not Identified]), 1991, 14.
[128] "My father" from John Washington Calton, 24 May, 1862, in the John Washington Calton Collection, NCDA&H.
[129] S.H. Walkup Diary, 20 Sept., 1862, SHC.

wrote to his wife on another occasion of the terrible marching conditions, "We have marched very hard-to day, and the heat has been very burdensome. I am told several men in the division died on the road with excessive heat."[130] Kinchen Jahu Carpenter echoed Hoyle's sentiments when he wrote in his diary in July of 1862, "It is impossible for me to describe what our troops have gone through. Hunger thirst and fatigue was awful. We would drink water from a stream that had dead horse in it. When you are so very thirsy, any kind of water is good."[131]

Ultimately, combat was both unpredictable and chaotic. Men with several months of preparation were thrust into the fog of war. Interactions with the realities of deadly combat continued to institute changes in soldiers' mental outlooks. On the one hand, a stronger sense of nostalgia emerged within the minds of many men, on the other hand, though, as the emotional distance from home widened so did the connections between home front and war.

## IV."War is Hell"

The new ways in which many experienced death forced soldiers to depend more on the comfort and support of home for solace. The agonizing letters home intensified after experiencing battle, and some men began envisioning catastrophic futures. A.C Myers said to his wife, "I do hope this war will but last long may it end without another battle let all of us soldiers go home to our familys to our homes & remain in peace during our short stay here in this world."[132] William Pickney Cline echoed Myers's sentiments when he wrote, "I hope that we will all git home dis winter I wood gave all that I have

[130] Girvan, *Deliver Us From This Cruel War,* Joseph J. Hoyle to his wife, June 9, 1863, 125.
[131] Williams ed., *The War Diary of Kinchen Jahu Carpenter,* 8.
[132] "My Dearest Wife" from A.C. Myers, 3 August, 1862, Camp Campbell, Virginia, 1862.

got if the ware wod stop  if it dont stop the will all perish [then we will all perish]." William Beavans offered similar sentiments early in the war when he wrote to his female companion, "I have thought a great deal of this war with its hardships & cruelties." He continued, "It makes me sad to think that now when I could ought to have a great deal of pleasure it is broken up by this horrible war! But I sincerely hope the time will soon come when we can have piece [peace] on our once glorious and prosperous land." Soldiers desperately looked to home for strength, while also confirming their levels of commitment to family. However, as soldiers experienced death in new ways, new perceptions of the world they lived within impacted the tones they conveyed home.

Soldiers' language gradually shifted from the expression of traditional ideas—such as the confirmation of duty to country—to more ominous visions of the future that predicted death and suffering. Such was the case with William Pickney Cline who began one letter with "If I live that long…" and closed by stating, "remember me on tel [until] death and I will you."[133] He often wrote to his wife hoping that "the time is comen that will[we'll] met a gane and if we dot meet in dis world I hope that we will met in heven whear we part no more."[134] Cline, who had little or no formalized education, even at one point early in the war apologized to his wife for he was unable to explain what he had seen. Instead, he told her the only way to truly know a soldier's life is to experience it first-hand. Cline expressed both frustration and guilt at his inability to relate to his wife what he witnessed. Nonetheless, as the language Cline used began to change, so too did Cline's understanding of the world in which he lived.

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[133] "Dear Wife" from William P Cline, 25 June 1862, Petersburg, Virgina "Niere durries blufe"(Near Dreweys Bluff), SHC.
[134] "Dear Wife" from William P. Cline, 22 June, 1862, Chesterfield, Virginia, SHC.

Soldiers continued to write home confessing their desires to be with loved ones. Joseph Hoyle wrote to his wife while bivouacked between fights, "I often think how lonesome you are; and feel so sorry that I cannot be with you. All that is dear to me on earth," Hoyle explained, "I freely would give up for the enjoyment of your companionship again."[135] J.J. Penney wrote to his "Dear Penelope," that he wanted to hear from her "the worst I ever did in my life an I want you to ritt to me son as you get this letter."[136] As soldiers confronted the realities of war, they desperately sought confirmation from family and loved ones.

Over time, the relationship between Confederate soldiers and North Carolina civilians changed. Many soldiers became embittered by activities on the home front. Joseph Hoyle often wrote to his wife complaining that, "those wretches who are being at home, willfully dead a line to the good of that country which gives them protection…I trust do receive the scorn and contempt of every good man and woman. A just retribution is in store fir them when the brave soldier returns home after our independence is achieved."[137] We also learned in the previous chapter of the home front issues causing anxiety within the lives of William Cline and A.C. Myers. A man at home attempted to steal Cline's wife and property and accused him of being a coward. As a result, Cline was preoccupied and stressed during most of his time at Camp Mangum trying to convince his wife that the stories were fabricated. Myers suffered from numerous issues but most importantly a lack of communication from his wife. He was deeply troubled not only by the absence of letters from her but also by her false accusations that he did not care about her. These situations certainly raised bitter feelings for both men.

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[135] "Dear Wife" from Joseph Hoyle, "Deliver Us from this Cruel War", Joseph Hoyle, 64.
[136] "Dear Penelope" from J.J. Penney, 23 June, 1862, SHC.
[137] Girvan, *Deliver Us From This Cruel War,* 139.

New opinions of war emerged during this stage as men wrote home of the policies instituted by the Confederacy. William Beavans explained to his sister, "I feel bad every time I think of this conscript law . . . I am afraid I have a contempt for the law; think it a very unpopular act." Beavans felt "some men just because they are in the service wish every body else had to go, but it is not so with me, I want some to remain home to make provisions for the army. It is impossible for me to fight unless they have something to eat."[138] William A. Collins wrote to his nieces and nephews, "I am sorry to her that the conscripts have to leave home and that my dear mother must be felt alone to morn for her two sons who lived so long with her to comfort."[139] Bitterness toward the Confederate government and its conscription laws flamed men's anger. Ultimately, men yearned for contact with the communities they left behind and felt resentment toward the entity that separated families. On the one hand, the connection with home offered men the chance to stay in touch and express their deepest feelings with loved ones as J.J. Penney expressed in May 1862 to his sweetheart, "Thank god we have a means of conversation by which we are enabled to let each other still know our hopes and fears."[140] On the other hand, writing never fully healed their hearts as the emotional stresses conveyed in letters home and personal diaries indicated nervousness and agitation. What began to take full shape in this transitional stage from citizen to soldier was the divide between home front and war front. In *Why Confederates Fought,* Aaron Sheehan-Dean indicates that the "distinction" between home front and warfront occurred in the war's later phases, at least for Virginians. The evidence within this sample of North Carolinians suggests this divide

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[138] "My Dear Sister" from William Beavans, 20 April, 1862, Camp Caswel, Raliegh, North Carolina, SHC.
[139] "Dear Nieces and Nephews" from William A. Collins, 12 July, 1862, Duns Hill, Petersburg, Virginia, SHC.
[140] "Dear Wife" from J. J. Penney, 30 May 1862, Camp Mangum, North Carolina, SHC.

occurred as early as the summer and fall of 1862.[141] The North Carolina Confederates who left their home-state to fight met the face of battle much sooner than the home front, for the war only touched coastal North Carolina in 1861 to 1862. A truer sense of this divide is gained by analyzing the responses of each individual. There was a separation growing despite soldiers' best attempts to maintain relations between loved ones and themselves. Soldiers identified with one another through the trials of soldiering. Men confronted nature, trauma, and war together. Soldiering duties were physically demanding and the role of being a soldier began to outweigh the connection to home as a citizen. William P. Cline wrote home "you sade that the times was hard dire  I can tel you that the times is hard hire  I git corn bred and a litel poor beef  i have not had eny wheat ever sense I have ben hire  I can say to you that dis is a harde plase."[142] J.J. Penney wrote to George Barber, "I am sorry to learn you are all lonesome in NC." Then in a somewhat apathetic tone Penney told Barber, "Every letter of reaction brings the same complaints of lonesomeness but as _____ the conscripts are more dissatisfied than you Roanoke prisoners or ladies you prisoners will soon be exchanged."[143]

The wartime transition from citizen to soldier altered men's perceptions of home and duty, because the divisions between home front and warfront deepened. As soldiers travelled farther from home wartime situations became worse, and though many continued to call for support from home, the interactions and experiences of combat were too drastic to maintain a connection with the home front. Nostalgia certainly played a critical role in crippling the morale of men, especially in the cases of William P. Cline,

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[141] Sheehan-Dean, 150-164; Reid Mitchell also talks about this as I mentioned in the first chapter, *Civil War Soldiers.*
[142] "Dear Wife" from William P. Cline, 3 April, 1863, SHC
[143] J.J. Penney to George Barber, 25 July, 1862, Camp near Petersburg, Virginia, SHC.

A.C. Myers, and William Collins. However, confusion over family matters forced these men to look inward to the Army for comfort and support. This was especially the case for these North Carolinians as their distinctions came about from the duties and requirements of soldiering. Citizens, political leaders, and newspapers cast opinions of the military, and despite the early success of the Army, many still criticized the progress of the war. In reality, though, no one citizen ever had any true perspective of the war. Certainly, some lost their homes and property, but that experience was much different than constantly experiencing moments of deadly combat. Much of the home-front's war motivations remained fixed throughout the war. Soldiers' motivations to continue fighting also remained fixed on protecting home, however, as the war progressed and men experienced combat together, their motivations to continue fighting shifted inward and expanded. They fought to protect not only their communities back home, but also their communities born of war. This continued to build the mold of the soldier's common world and acted as an agent in bringing them together. Scholars argues the divide between home front and war front hindered any attempt at solidifying Confederate Nationalism. The problem with this claim, though, is that its focus rarely falls on the men fighting the war, and instead hones in on much of the structural issues hindering unity. This sample focused on North Carolina Confederates contends with this assertion because each man remained committed despite problems with home front activities and the growing divide with those communities. Within in their common world, levels of commitment and devotion blossomed as each man endured similar situations, recognized the importance of each other, and learned the basic duties of soldiering. If a sense of Nationalism existed within

the regiments associated with this sample of soldiers, it was a level of commitment to one another and an honor to protect their homes.

V. "Sharing the Toils of a Soldier's Life"

In spite of the growing divide between home front and war front, soldiers' motivations to continue fighting did not wane. In fact, the evidence herein suggests otherwise and points specifically to men's abilities to engage with each other and their surrounding natural environments thus shedding new light on North Carolina Confederates' Civil War experiences. Furthermore, their abilities to adapt under stress while still performing their duties and working together speaks to individuals' attempts to regain control of their lives in the midst of war's confusion.

Samuel Walkup's descriptions of fighting and endurance of the elements reveals both the miseries surrounding a soldier's life and his ability to endure war's turbulent nature. For instance, he recounts one episode at the end of July 1862 when his regiment "arrived at camp fatigued and hungry, and having no bed clothes lay on the cold ground and without fire, for fear of discovery, being wet with perspiration." He continued, "the whole evening was raining and we were wet and could have no fire or shelter and had only ham and crakers to eat." They fought on and off throughout the night in the midst of these conditions with "many of the men eating raw meat."[144] At daylight, they moved out and marched the entire next day. Over the course of the next month, Walkup's regiment was involved in many skirmishes with similar circumstances. After Second Manassas, at the end of August, 1862, they marched through the site of the main battle. He described the scene as "awful beyond description" relating, "dead men and horses lay rolled in

[144] S.H. Walkup Diary, 30 July, 1862, SHC.

indescribable confusion."[145] Men were expected to endure demanding marches at long distances, fight in unpredictable conditions, sleep in uncomfortable locations, and then repeat the process all over.

The summer of 1862 was still early in the Civil War, thus many experienced their first taste of real combat. The details from Walkup's description of this month-long episode capture the essence of what Confederate citizen-soldiers experienced at this stage in their transitions. This sample of North Carolinians helps to cast light on this issue by analyzing the collective reaction to combat situations. More importantly, the factors that afforded soldiers survival opportunities and allowed them to push forward are seen by their responses to deadly contact. Samuel Walkup revealed the importance of camaraderie in easing the inevitable strain associated with this episode of soldiering. One entry by Walkup on September 7, 1862, described a scene of jollity when the 48th crossed the Potomac River and, "the infantry stripped off their pants, drawers, shoes, stockings" and waded across the river singing "Dixie" and acting as if nothing had happened. Walkup commented on the moment, describing a scene of joy by those partaking in the activity and others observing. This act of decompressing in a nearby stream reveals soldiers' needs for respite and thus supports their desires to recreate these feelings.

Unfortunately, though, conditions never improved for soldiers, they only worsened. Men constantly confronted physical danger and emotional struggles throughout the Civil War. Like the remedies adopted in Camp Mangum, however, soldiers developed methods of sustainability by adapting and performing basic soldiering

[145] S.H. Walkup Diary, 29 August, 1862, SHC.

duties that improved combat conditions and soldier motivation.[146] The initial experiences in Camp Mangum forced soldiers to interact with one another in spite of their unfamiliarity with each other and the unpleasant qualities of camp. Out of these interactions, new levels of awareness and methods of survival emerged.[147]

We have already seen "self-care" techniques used at Mangum. Historian Kathryn Meier recognized these methods of survival for their roles in the development of relations among men and reemergence of individualism.[148] These techniques emerge throughout the realm of combat as well. In two examples described by Kinchen Jahu Carpenter, the initiative and resiliency in taking steps to survive are shown by his fellow "Rutherford Regulators" of the 50th NCST. They had just finished fighting in the Battle of Malvern Hill, part of the Peninsular Campaign's Seven Days Battles, and Carpenter's description speaks volumes about men's abilities to work together during turbulent situations. Carpenter explained in the aftermath of battle how, "it had been raining on us all night; we were wet and cold. Although the middle of the summer, we were never much colder. 12 to 15 hours in a drenching rain was awful, but soldiers need expect nothing else only hard times. We were marched out in a field and built log fires, taking rails from around a

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[146] James McPherson argues in *For Cause and Comrades* Civil War soldiers' motivations to continue fighting developed over the devotion to their fellow comrades. Levels of devotion grew from the experiences encountered, McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades,* 77-89. For more on the strength of Southern honor refer to, Bertram Wyatt-Brown's *Southern Honor*.

[147] This refers back to the ideas of historian Kathryn Meier introduced in the first chapter. She argued that Civil War soldiers fighting in Virginia in 1862 ultimately regained a sense of individualism by caring for themselves while on campaign. She also indicated a sense of camaraderie among men who practiced the same rituals or methods of care. The term "self-care" comes from a study by Kathryn Meier who looked at the abilities of Civil War soldiers to overcome environmental conditions in Virginia's 1862 campaigns, Kathryn Schively Meier, *Nature's Civil War: Common Soldiers and the Environment in 1862 Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

[148] As you will see in the next chapter, the interactions of men within *militarized landscapes* reveals the nature of relationships between North Carolinians within military encampments. The traumatic experiences on the battlefield, and the tedious routine of marching forced soldiers to look at campsites in new ways. Examples of tent activities, constructing breastworks and campsites, sharing letters, religious practices, and together enduring natural elements indicate new forms of solidarity that emerged within the confines of a camp. Together soldiers looked to materially alter landscapes to fit their personal needs.

large field."[149] In another episode, Carpenter reflected on the ingenuity of the 50th NCST after a long march to Kinston, North Carolina in 1863. He explained that, "we marched until late at night and a heavy snow storm raging." Despite these conditions, which continued once they stopped marching, Carpenter explained that, "we built log fires, raked away the snow and built our beds by laying down fence rails. The ground would have made a much better bed had no snow been on it."[150] These two examples specifically point to men coming together. Furthermore, when addressing the issues of class division, which many scholars argue hindered North Carolinians commitment to the Confederacy, examples such as these contend with those claims. Even if soldiers working together toward a common goal were not fully committed to the Confederacy, for them to do this after battle proved their abilities to adapt in order to survive and protect one another.

Soldiers were also forced to quickly adjust to new surroundings in the midst of combat, and they used techniques to ensure their own survival and that of their comrades. As men learned to adapt to camp life in order to survive, they learned to adjust to the battlefield as well. A reflection by Samuel Walkup while he was sick with either pneumonia or dyspepsia in December of 1862, exhibits this ability. This particular episode occurred near the end of the Battle of Fredericksburg in the midst of a skirmish while burying their dead. Walkup explained that, "on Sunday night, we got entrenching tools with logs, rocks & dirt, threw up a pretty substantial breastworks." After marking the headstones of fallen comrades Walkup said, "we made a ditch about 2 ½ feet deep & 4 to 5 feet wide & felt ourselves quite safe for another fight." They stayed there all night,

[149] Williams ed., "Kinchen Carpenter" 2 July 1862, 8.
[150] Williams ed., "Kinchen Carpenter" January 1862, 10.

most falling asleep where they lay. Then Walkup said, "at night a bush fire was opened about the time we lay down, upon our working party, and the Minnie balls flew thick and fast around us, but we got into a hollow & escaped danger…Then we broke into a laugh & went back to bed."[151] To some, this may suggest that soldiers were becoming accustomed to combat, and this certainly could be the case due to the consistent nature of soldiering having raised men's awareness to the dangers of combat. However, individual responses in situations such as these do not fully demonstrate the importance. Instead, recognizing how common reactions emerged expresses their full importance. Walkup's reflection indicates the abilities of men to quickly work together toward a common goal. Unfavorable conditions forced soldiers to use whatever means possible in order to cope with their natural surroundings. In the midst of bullets flying from all directions, social differences did not play a factor, as soldiers' goals were simply to survive.

## VI. Surrounded By the Fog of War

As citizens became soldiers, men found their place among comrades, as Confederates exchanged stories, created bonds, and recognized shared ambitions. The apprehension concerning battle far outstripped the roll of excitement of engaging in a fight, though. Joseph Hoyle said in 1862, after a good day of drilling, "All our boys seemed in good spirits at the prospect of a fight, and to tell you the truth, I felt cool and very willing to meet the foe." This became especially apparent for Confederates in the final years of the Civil War as they endured sieges and defended trenches.[152]

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[151] S. H. Walkup Diary, 14 Dec., SHC.
[152] Portions of Lisa Brady's work focuses on trench warfare in Petersburg, *War Upon the Land: Military Strategy and the Transformation of Southern Landscapes during the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012).

Combat itself and the devastation of a battle left lasting impressions on soldiers. In the midst of a battle, soldiers witnessed comrades die, landscapes destroyed, and animals killed. The cloud of smoke or canopy of trees made it hard for soldiers to navigate a battlefield.[153] At times, natural conditions required them to march or fight in knee-deep mud that impacted morale, safety, and strategy. Kinchen Carpenter said, "To move an army of many thousand men with their…implements of war over a road in the darkness of night with mud very, very deep was almost an impossibility."[154] While natural surroundings acted as cover, they also quickly aided in shelter, sometimes for hiding. Samual H. Walkup at times mentioned "cowards" shirking behind rocks or trees. Overall, the battle experience had a tremendous impact soldiers. William Cline said in October 1862, "the times is harde hire [here] now it is giting cold hire now  we er [are] looken hire ever day for a nuther[another] fite but I have got a nufe[enough] of fiten to dew me but I spect [expect] we will hefto go in to a gaine."[155]

Even though battle itself exposed soldiers to the terrors of combat, one of the worst results was the landscape following the train of war. When in 1863 Samuel H. Walkup visited the location where the Battle of Seven Pines took place one year before, the scenes he saw moved him. He reflected in his diary, "The houses were generally burnt down & fencing gone. Tents had been for miles all over the country & awful desecration of the dead visible in skulls & other bones lying exposed on the surface, mostly Yankees, weather exumed or never buried."[156] This description characterized many scenes left in the aftermath of battle, and Confederates were forced to consistently

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[153] S.H. Walkup Dairy, SHC.
[154] Williams ed., "Kinchen Carenter," July 3rd, 1862, pg. 8.
[155] "Dear Wife" from William P. Cline, 19 October, 1862, SHC.
[156] S H. Walkup's Diary, 28 June, 1862; July 30, 1862; & August 27, 1862, Virginia, SHC.

confront this new form of death. To some this jarring experience unsettled their mental foundations. It again questioned the "good death" just as deaths in Camp Mangum undoubtedly had done. The aftermath of combat continued to force soldiers into confronting the idea that they were losing control of how to conduct the rituals of death, such as funerals and burials, which were part of a strict religious tradition of the Old South.[157]

As North Carolina Confederates coped with the emotional confusion rendered by battle, they struggled to find meaning of their antebellum traditions. According to historian Reid Mitchell, soldiers endured a "moral transformation" from their war experiences, which led to serious emotional changes within a soldier's mind. It was hard enough adjusting to life away from home; however, surviving the horrid camp conditions, exhausting marches, and horrific images of battle significantly altered men. It detached them from their old patterns of life and forced them to create new identities. The unfamiliar interactions with men, nature, and war encapsulated their transition from citizen to soldier. Their mental and emotional worlds changed as a result, scraping away the citizen consciousness. This psychological shift within men, Mitchell insisted, lowered their self-esteem.[158] However, evidence within reveals the parallel of this identity change with the transition into soldier, and indicates how they learned to adapt to each new encounter they faced. The evidence herein suggests men did not lose confidence as Mitchell claimed; rather, in midst of war, these North Carolina Confederates attempted to reinvent themselves by learning to kill and regaining control of their situations.

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[157]Schantz, *Awaiting The Heavenly Country*; for more on "The Good Death" refer to Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*.
[158] Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 56, 57, 64-75.

## Chapter 4: Enduring the Campaign

In the summer of 1862, A. C. Myers of the 52nd North Carolina wrote to his wife, "we have a beautiful place to drill on a field of a bout two hundred acres." He continued to describe it as a "very healthy place" with "good water" where he and his comrades were able to dig deep wells for water. Myers closed his letter, "I am in good spirits in regard to going through the Battles safe…my dear I don't want you to be troubled so much about me  I don't feel that I am in any great danger."[159] His portrait of camp life revealed beauty, safety, survival, and tranquility. More importantly, his letter conveyed a sense of emotional stability fostered by his physical surroundings. Yet, only by considering Myers' previous military experience in the summer of '62 can we understand why this site meant so much to him. That summer he had experienced his first taste of combat and endured the demanding march from North Carolina to Virginia. He yearned for the comforts of home, yet the emotional connection to his family grew more distant the further he travelled. This particular statement by Myers reveals his regard for the site where his regiment camped while on campaign. The manner of his reflection is completely different than the tone used upon leaving Camp Mangum. There is a new sense of clarity that was absent earlier. Ultimately, his reflections reveal the importance of military encampments to this sample of North Carolina soldiers.

A parallel emerges between this sample of North Carolina Confederates and a sample of British World War I veterans analyzed in *Landscapes of the Western Front*.

[159] "My Dear Wife" from A.C. Myers, 27 July 1862, Camp Campbell, Virginia, NCDA&H.

According to historian Ross J. Wilson, British troops endured the "nightmarish" conditions in World War I through a "complicated system." Ross explained this system through the relationship men had with their surroundings, in particular the trench system, and their abilities to "humanise" spaces for survival. Everything, including buildings, objects, and landscapes held particular meaning to troops, and helped men understand place and regain a sense of purpose. He argues soldiers' abilities to react and adjust to the conditions in World War I were from their capability to engage with different landscapes and material objects. By understanding how physical and material matters changed over time, he gauges how soldiers' perceptions of war changed.[160]

As in Wilson's collection of British troops, this sample of North Carolina Confederates reveals how war compelled men to work together to interact with, even conquer the natural environment. Indeed, Confederates were required to construct breastworks, erect tents, drill, and do battle together. Just as the British soldiers materially altered landscapes to fit their needs during World War I, so too did this sample of North Carolina Confederates engage their natural environments. This chapter posits that the culminating moment in white North Carolinians' transition from citizen to soldier was marked by their abilities to engage landscapes together for personal needs once on campaign. The previous two chapters demonstrated how new perceptions of survival within camp and combat emerged from interactions with nature, trauma, and other men. These interactions jolted Confederates at the war's onset, however, these North Carolinians showed tremendous resolve as the war unfolded by engaging in the basic

[160] Ross J. Wilson, *Landscapes of the Western Front: Landscapes of the Western Front: Materiality During the Great War* (New York: Routlege, 2013), 1-9.

duties of soldiering. This form of agency demonstrates the ways in which soldiers were able to regain control of their lives in the midst of traumatic experiences.

The approach herein, deeply influenced by the concept of *militarized landscapes*, blends environmental, military, cultural and social histories to understand how North Carolina Confederates were able to function together under the strains of war.[161] These North Carolina Confederates, in particular, offer reflections that indicate how interactions with nature impacted the relationships among Civil War soldiers, and reveal it was within the confines of *militarized landscapes* that their understandings of war emerged. It was through encampments that soldiers reflected, anticipated, decompressed, and discussed war. This chapter also contends that the common ambitions among these Tar Heels were molded within *militarized landscapes*, thus setting the path for their campaigns.[162] Constructing military encampments and then engaging with fellow comrades within camp for the purposes of survival strengthened *esprit de corps*. Their stories indicate the abilities of regiments to function and work together to endure the traumas associated with the Civil War. The interactions with fellow soldiers as well as interactions with nature to change landscapes for personal needs fostered new levels of commitment to both the Confederate cause and their comrades.

This study sample requires attention because the depictions offered throughout this thesis provide crucial insight from both slaveholders and non-slaveholders who

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[161] As scholarship developed over the past century, more attempts were made to use the environment as an angle to further understand war. Scholarship turned its attention to war's impact on nature indicating the destructive effects warfare had on landscapes. Scholars such as Edmund Russell identified just how quickly war can turn a landscape into rubble. Scholarship also emerged bringing new insight into nature's impact on the soldier. Primarily, scholarship turned to the diaries left by soldiers who experienced combat in the trenches of World War I. The veterans themselves then produced works discussing natural elements such as terrain, weather, smells, sounds, and filth to under the negative impact the environment had on the trench experience, Russell, *War and Nature*, 37-52, 95-118.
[162] Peason, Coates, Cole, *Militarized Landscapes,* 21-38.

served in the Confederate ranks. By using the natural environment as an angle to understand the Civil War, these North Carolina Confederates provide examples of how social tensions were mitigated through soldiers' engagement with physical landscapes. Environmental conditions certainly impacted Civil War soldiers in a number of ways, yet most ranks of men experienced conditions differently. Further, as we learned in chapter 1, middle and upper class soldiers had access to equipment that lower class troops did not. The evidence herein, though, strongly suggests relations among soldiers were eased because of environmental factors. As discussed in chapter 1, historian Paul Fussell's groundbreaking work on World War I unmasked to readers the "Troglodyte world," which Fussell used to describe "the common world" soldiers faced in the trench world of World War I. It is necessary to understand (as stated in Chapter 1) the trench warfare of World War I and the military landscapes North Carolina Confederates encountered in the Civil War were much different. It is also important to understand that slave labor was responsible for a lot of the duties required in constructing *militarized landscapes.* Officers rarely were involved in that duty, however, reflections such as Joseph Hoyle's and Benjamin Little's provide insight on the activities of their respective regiments, and they express moments of accomplishment through particular examples indicative of men working together and galvanizing an *esprit de corps*. Further, the construction of bivouacs or small campsites involved all men, and examples within of men, despite class, working together support this claim. The "common world" these North Carolina Confederates described began with the natural conditions of camp, eventually changing and expanding with the freedom of movement and sight. The evidence in this chapter indicates how soldiers' common worlds expanded when they took advantage of

opportunities afforded to them and utilized basic methods of survival. Camp practices took on new meaning through time, and a new purpose was instituted through each space encountered. Consequently, social tensions were mitigated as worlds expanded and troops of similar mindsets reacted similarly to new problems.

The previous chapters offered evidence of soldiers reacting alike to new interactions with nature, war and other men. War trauma, as seen in chapter 2, certainly played a crucial role to the Confederate soldier, and the question remains how citizen-soldiers handled the "shell-shock" of their soldiering experience. The evidence herein points specifically to North Carolinians' interactions with natural landscapes as fundamental to their survival. Although war's role destroyed landscapes and nature increased the difficulty of war for North Carolina Confederates, this chapter shows positive relationships between humans and the environment from the engagement of natural landscapes.[163]

## I. "We Are Faring Like Soldiers Now"

Civil War soldiers were required to construct long-term winter quarters, fortifications along rivers, logistical camps for organization, and bivouacs for campsites. For North Carolinians, this took focus from the battlefield and placed their attentions on altering a landscape to fulfill personal needs. As men together materially altered the environment into a landscape for shelter, survival, and relief, these locations afforded soldiers' opportunities to step away from the miserable marches and shocking battles. It

[163] John McNeil advocated for more environmental histories to consider positive relationships with humans, J.R. McNeil, "The State of the Field of Environmental History", *The Annual Review of the Environment and Resources,* August 2010, 335-374.

also demonstrated how common ambitions among men from diverse backgrounds brought them together under the banner of war.

Camp life served as the arena where men were able to decompress together from the horrors of war. The first chapter introduced readers to Camp Mangum, and the horrific conditions soldiers experienced while training, which marked their entry into the soldier's world. This samples' reflections over time provides understanding behind why the meaning of camp changed after encountering their first experiences of soldiering and first episodes of combat. Instead of writing letters agonizing over the horrific conditions prevalent in camp, soldiers' attentions shifted to the battlefield. More men commented on friends dying or traumatic experiences. Men still expressed desires to be home with loved ones, but there was a stark contrast in comparison to Camp Mangum in how they discussed camp life. Soldiers' letters reveal that they were much more likely to engage in camp activities such as religion, camaraderie, and games. Some continued to dabble in the vices prevalent within camp, but the important point to grasp is men interacted and engaged in activities together. A sense of solidarity had emerged within camp, one much stronger than what was first felt in Camp Mangum.[164]

In *For Cause and Comrades,* James McPherson argued group cohesion, peer pressure, and tests of manhood were key to motivating soldiers for four years.[165] These same ideas can be found within the lens of a military encampment, and provides understanding as to why *militarized landscapes* proved to be so important to this sample of North Carolinians. Basic military camp duties, such as working together to create a

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[164] Jim Broomall discusses the atmosphere of a Confederate camp, one that came with a "new set of social relations." More importantly, it was from the constant interactions in tight spaces that changed encouraged a new set of social relations much different than the antebellum world, *Civil War History* 279-283.
[165] McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 13.

campsite, involved group effort. Importantly, relying on antebellum habits, soldiers sought respect from their peers by demonstrating a strong work ethic.[166] However monotonous and tedious the daily routine of camp life was, soldiers constantly worked hard not only to prove themselves among their mates, but also to reap the reward of hard work. William Dixon Carr of the 43rd NCST wrote, for instance, "We are tolerably well We have our camp pretty comfortable fixed up." This came at an exhausting price, though, as he continued to explain, "we have to work on the breastworks about every day. Have to work 2 hours in the fore noon and 2 hours in the afternoon. Work one hour and then rest one."[167] Joseph J. Hoyle echoed similar sentiments to his wife, "we are working on breast works to-day. Extensive fortifications are being put up around here, and we will soon be prepared."[168] The tedious duties of camp life encouraged cohesion among regiments as men demonstrated work ethic and achieved common goals. At this stage in the war, the duties of soldiering were different than when encamped at Mangum, however, men during the campaign stage voiced opinions about camp activities in much different manners, often times gauging the success of a day based on personal or group achievements.

Fiddling, singing, and games were carried on to a considerable extent. Kinchen Carpenter explained his winter fortification in January of 1863, "while here we had a good time, considering being in VA. We drilled some, did picket duty, played ball, built log cabins for tents."[169] Elements such as these brought soldiers together. They helped

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166*The Journal Of Southern History*, "Work Ethic of Plain Folk," 726-752

[167] "Dear Mother" from William Dixon Carr, 7 September, 1862, Camp near Drewry's Bluff, Virginia, in Herman W. Pop Taylor Papers, P.C. 1606, NCDA&H,

[168] Girvan, Joseph Hoyle to wife, *Deliver Us from This Cruel War,* 29 April, 1863, 53.

[169] Williams ed., *Diary of Kinchen Carpenter,* pg. 9

men continue to overcome their personal struggles and find the daily motivations to endure the harsh conditions.

In addition to hard work and camaraderie within a camp atmosphere, new relations among men played a crucial role in boosting morale within a regimental campsite. Historians have recently recognized how the Civil War fostered new levels of male companionship. This was certainly the case for these North Carolinians. A.C. Myers wrote home to his wife describing his tent. He claimed, "I have a tent to myself and I am intitled to hold it for my own use only." "Though," Myers revealed, "I have taken John Nelson to sleep with me  he is all that stays with me  it makes our bed more comfortable to have our fawn blankets together." Myers went on to explain that Nelson had a larger trunk. So to make room for more men to join in the tent, Myers kept his belongings with Nelson's. In the next letter to his wife, Myers announced that he and John Nelson took another soldier into their tent, and he indicated that their tent was quite popular among other soldiers. Myers closed that letter by saying, "the mess mates and I get along very well."[170] Examples of male companionship such as this indicate new forms of solidarity grew within these groups of men.[171] Perhaps, too, it suggests that new levels of empathy developed throughout entire regiments. According to historian Jim Broomall, "the emergency of war and the unbending structure of the army melded men into a collective whole." Thus, the consistent interactions among men resulted in the creation of new relationships within regiments. Once soldiers understood their issues were similar to other men, they were then better able to empathize with one another. New relationships such as this made it easier to lend a hand to those less fortunate. No matter how difficult

[170] "My Deatest Wife" from A.C. Myers, 4 August, 1862, Camp Campbell, Virginia, SHC.
[171] *Civil War History*, "We Are a Band of Brothers: Manhood and Community in Confederate Camps and Beyond," 270-309.

the stress of combat was to men, camp life became a community; and for these North Carolinians it was home away from home.[172]

The change in camp atmosphere is indicative by the fact regiments were growing tighter and soldiers were more open to one another than at the war's onset. One experience described by Benjamin Franklin Little created great excitement throughout the entire camp. In responding to a prior letter from his wife, Franklin excitedly wrote, "As soon as I opened it, I exclaimed [to the rest of the camp] 'look at my little boy's hair.'" Benjamin went on to explain "the boys who were sitting around…took it & handed it from one to the other, all screaming to view it with interest. How the sight of it affected me."[173] A.C. Myers described to his wife similar circumstances of messmates interested in home affairs. He implied it was often hard to write home because, "there is so many [soldiers] standing over me looking."[174] On the one hand, this may be a result of close quarters, which we have learned at times posed problems. On the other hand, it brought men together on an emotional level. Close quarters forced soldiers to interact, and many were exposed to one another's business. Letters from the home front were such an exciting moment that many men, as seen with Benjamin Franklin's example, were as excited to hear other's tales from home. Scenes like this are telling to just how important camp communities were to these men when away from loved ones. Moreover, it shows the communal yearning for comfort as men wished to be home with families, and were forced to recreate their home within the boundaries of war.[175]

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[172] Ibid, 290-291.
[173] Girvan, *Deliver Us From This Cruel War,* Joseph Hoyle to wife at Camp Mangum, M.C. May 23rd, 1862, 54; Benjamin Little to "Flax" 28 June, 1862, SHC.
[174] "Dear Wife" from A.C. Myers, 5 July 1862, Camp Johnson, SHC.
[175] Sheehan-Dean argues that the yearning to be home strengthened soldiers commitment to the cause in order to protect their families and communities, in *Why Confederates Fought* 5, 9-10.

Religion was another key component found within Confederate camps. Civil War scholars Bell Wiley and Gerald Linderman, believed war eventually drained the emotions of men and, as a result, religion's influence declined within the Confederate ranks. However, Drew Gilpin Faust and James Silver both support the idea that Christian Evangelicalism galvanized Confederates lending enough morale to support the cause through 1865.[176] North Carolinians' words demonstrate the depth of religious commitment and illustrate cohesion in military camps. Encampments provided locations for rituals and group meetings where men could discuss personal experiences and overcome fears as a unit. Religion also provided an outlet for personal relief—soldiers who were troubled by the war's events used their faith to find the required strength to endure. The fervor of religious practice not only provided the necessary glue to keep these North Carolina regiments together during their toughest days, but the pride and fulfillment created within the fellowship of camp gatherings relieved the pressures of class divisions.

Both Joseph J. Hoyle and William A. Collins provide examples of how religion was used differently in camp. In the summer of 1862, Hoyle explained "We have prayer in two or three of our tents every night, and regimental prayer every morning and evening."[177] Even in the midst of the tedious routine of military life Hoyle claimed to his wife, "we are trying to serve the Lord the best we can, though there is so much disturbance that it is a hard matter to compose one's mind." He frustratingly continued,

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[176] Refer to historiography of religion as a motivating force *Journal of Military History*, "Religion and Combat Motivation in the Confederate Armies," 29-55; *Journal of Southern History*, "Christian Soldiers," 63-90; Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda,* 8, 42-46, 54-55; Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 8-16, 216-240; Bell Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb,* 174-191. For discussions on religion and the Confederacy, I refer to Donald G. Matthews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977) xi-xvii, 82, 247. Anne C. Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order: 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), 1-6.

[177] Girvan, *Deliver Us from this Cruel War*, "Joseph Hoyle to his wife", 30 May, 1862, 55.

"we drill four hours a day, besides dress parade and guard duty." Yet, in spite of the tedium Hoyle proudly boasted to his wife, "all our boys seemed in good spirits at the prospect of a fight, and to tell you the truth, I felt cool and very willing to meet the foe."[178] William Collins contended, "I thank God that I am enjoying great peace of mind and have no fears in regard to the future but feel willing to be disposed of according to God's will," to friends and family concerning any fears of sickness or death.[179] Collins was sick throughout his time as a Confederate soldier, and his reflections provide examples of an individual finding solace through faith. In another episode Collins wrote to his mother, "though I be sick wounded or dead you can console and comfort yourself that I died at my front and in full reliance on God who is ever my trust and comfort." Both Hoyle's and Collins's reflections provide insight as to how religious practice impacted camp life differently once on campaign, and there was a distinct change over the course of the Civil War. When analyzing the transition from citizen to soldier, this shift in religious influence is noticed, and becomes one of the most important elements within camp for not only bringing men together but also helping soldiers cope with trauma.

Joseph Hoyle's keen observations about camp life point to a prevalence of religious activity among the 55th North Carolina regiment throughout 1862 and 1863. The letters to his wife describing his camp activities indicate the vocal and active religious leadership he brought to fellow soldiers, which suggests comparison to the role of

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[178] Girvan, *Deliver Us from this Cruel War* "Joseph to wife", 23 May, 1862, 54; "Joseph to wife", 1 Aug., 1862, *Deliver Us From this Cruel Wa*r, 61.
[179] "Dear Father" from William A. Collins, 1862, Chimboraza Hospital, Richmond Virginia, SHC.

Southern ministers during the antebellum South's Great Awakening.[180] Hoyle never stooped to camp's temptations, he claimed, but instead passionately urged faith-based activities among his comrades and sponsored many of the group sessions himself. Further, he never let the hard times get to him, and his letters indicate that he insisted on finding happiness in the simplest of things. By 1863, Hoyle's efforts had generated considerable support. His love and admiration for his wife permeated every letter home, and he ended each letter to his wife reaffirming his commitment to both she and God. Joseph prayed not only for the protection of himself and his regiment, but he also prayed God would reunite him with his wife. On August 30, 1864, Joseph J. Hoyle wrote his "dearest earthly friend", "May God do all right. Sarah come and see me. My love to mothers & all...As ever yours in hope and love." Joseph would die two days later on September 1, 1864 from a wound he sustained leading a charge.[181]

The same can be said of William A. Collins. In spite of his sickness, which he often described with symptoms such as "a very bad head ache and boils," Collins was deeply involved in the activities of the 48th Regiment.[182] Not only did he convey his personal thoughts on religious faith through letters home, but Collins also wrote letters home for comrades who were not able to do so themselves. These letters were sent to soldiers' families relaying news of location as well as reassuring families that they were safe. It seems Collins took great pride in this duty and implied in one letter to his sister that it was a privilege to write so many letters to "dear friends before self."[183]

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[180] *Journal of Southern History*, "Christian Soldiers", 70-73; Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order*, 1-4, 31.
[181] Girvan, *Deliver Us from this Cruel War*, "Joseph to wife", 17 April, 1864,166; "Joseph to wife", 20 March 20, 1864, 164; "Joseph to wife", 30 August, 1864, 186, 187-188.
[182] "Dear and Affectionate Father" from William A. Collins, 10 July, 1862, Davis Hill, Petersburg, Virginia, SHC.
[183] "Dear Sister" from William A. Collins, 6 March, 1862, SHC.

Unfortunately, Collins was wounded in the shoulder, which only compounded the pain he felt from boils that rose "as fast as one boil sinks away."[184] The infectious problems Collins endured eventually spread to his spine. Yet, he still had the moral strength to write home to his family with reassuring statement such as, "I am getting tolerable well again I have yet to able to handle my musket again and I am redy to march to meet the enemy."[185] Collins constantly reassured his family through his faith in God that he had the strength to continue. Though he was sick, and at times unable to fight, he constantly discussed his contributions to the Army. While stationed at Camp Stonewall in Virginia, for example, he stated "we have plenty to do. The work that we have to do is throw up breastworks and it is hard work." Collins did his duties despite his conditions. Soldiers close to Collins undoubtedly admired his strong character, which might explain why so many sought him out to write letters home. The argument can also be made that soldiers who interacted with Collins spread their observations among one another. The last words Collins wrote to his family were, "Therefore you must look to him [God] for comfort and trust in hom to restore one to health  May God bless you all. Good Bye."[186]

Historian Samuel J. Watson suggests that religion was the essential element fueling men's courage for battle, and that "there were compelling incentives for conversion in the maelstrom of combat." He stresses this through the lens of community, and the comforts men found in practicing religion within a group. Watson deems it "self worth-cohesion," and he insists faith among others dispelled "loneliness, uncertainty, and anxiety." James McPherson reinforced religion's communal dimensions arguing how

[184] William A. Collins, "Dear Father," Camp Lee, Petersburg, July 21, 1862.
[185] William A. Collins, "Dear Father, Petersburg, Virginia, July 10, 1862.
[186] William A. Collins, "Dear Father," Chimboraza Hospital, Richmond, VA, 1862.

important it was in the maintenance of courage and central to endurance in battle.[187] Together, both scholars provide insight into the combat motivations for soldiers as a group. Yet, more still can be said to explain the source of this courage and importance of relationships glued together by admiration for one another. Edward R. Crowther suggested evangelical religion gave a common vocabulary for antebellum men to interpret their world, thereby resulting in a tighter ideological bond among all Southerners. He insisted on a symbiotic relationship among the secular and sacred worlds of the Old South. Furthermore, like other scholars of the Old South have noted, evangelical movements promoted that hard work translated into salvation for the afterlife.[188] Military encampments were an extension of the soldier's home, and just like their antebellum worlds, working hard among fellow soldiers in military encampments for respect created unity and mitigated social divisions within camp life. Practicing religion fostered similar results. Evangelical faith promised salvation from hard work, and the emergence of faith in the Confederate Army resulted in soldiers seeking salvation in the afterlife. However, it was the relationships fostered among men from the communal interactions of camp life elements, such as religion, that present *militarized landscapes* as a unique and meaningful setting in the Civil War. Camp life had changed, and its new meaning to citizen-soldiers offered a new perspective on war. Soldiering never got easier for Confederates but their reflections on camp activities provide understanding as to why these arenas proved to be so crucial to men coping with struggles.

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[187] "Religion and Combat Motivation in the Confederate Armies", *The Journal of Military History*, 31-35; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, x, 3, 12-13, 24, 77.
[188] Edward R. Crowther, "Holy Honor: Sacred and Secular in the Old South" *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Nov. 1992) p: 619-625. Also, refer to Matthews, *Religion in the Old South*, xiv, 82, 247.

II. Confederate Landscapes

In January 1863, Kinchen Carpenter wrote, "While we were so well fixed in our log cabins, orders came to get ready and march. We were made sad by the order, we had become so much attached to this place."[189] After two dreadful years in the Confederate Army, Carpenter seemed to find peace and comfort within the confines of the winter cabin he constructed with his comrades. Moreover, this particular description by Carpenter was much different than his tone when discussing Camp Mangum. Carpenter had more often than not wrote in his diary bemoaning the miseries associated with soldiering. However, in the fall of 1862, when Carpenter's regiment was ordered to construct their winter lodgings he reflected, "While here we had a good time…and wished to stay here until the War closed."[190] Keep in mind winter quarters went up during periods of little fighting so it makes sense that Carpenter reflected with this tone. However, soldiers still were away from home and families. The requirements of soldiering expected them to still carry out tedious military duties. Nevertheless, the environment promoted within the confines of an encampment provided emotional comfort for Carpenter. Carpenter's reflection reveals evidence explaining how a renewed sense of individualism emerged within the encampment. The freedom to construct lodging, plays games, and act freely offers one example of how men found composure in the confines of a *militarized landscape*.[191]

Common practices from Camp Magnum reemerged during the campaign season to help soldiers cope with combat, but they assumed new meanings. As soldiers' worlds

[189] Williams ed., "Kinchen Carpenter," January 1, 1863, 9-10.
[190] Ibid, 9-10.
[191] Williams ed., "Kinchen Carpenter," December 1863, 9.

expanded and changed, so too did soldiers' understandings of their purpose. By adopting practices used in Camp Mangum, this sample of North Carolina Confederates illustrates how military encampments during the campaign season were used for survival. Moreover, their experiences in combat put perspective on how important a campsite was for relief. This demonstrates raising levels of awareness among a group of soldiers from different regiments and backgrounds, and presents *militarized landscapes* as the communal areas in which soldiers were ultimately able to find a common voice for the struggles of war.

In some cases, encampments were haphazardly put together. Joseph Hoyle described to his wife, "We have no tents yet, and it would amuse you to see our little shanties dotted through the woods this morning." However, according to Hoyle, "You would properly infer that the boys would be cut down in spirits at these kind times, but I tell you the opposite spirits forbade our men. All is life and glee among us, and every body seems satisfied the best in the world."[192] Others, though, were strategically placed for conducting war and soldiers conveyed the purpose of doing such work. "We are throwing up breast works to defend our country  I think we have got some three or four miles complete  we were on pcket last night and today we are working," wrote James Lineberger.[193] Soldiers embraced these landscapes and the evidence herein indicates how they overcame rough terrain, focused on survival, and showed purpose when attempting to recreate atmospheres whenever possible.

Nostalgia, or homesickness, was one of the hardest realities North Carolinians faced when encamped. Some cases were much more serious than others, as seen with

[192] Girvan, *Deliver us from this Cruel War,* "My Dearest Wife" from Joseph Hoyle, 97.
[193] Pitts ed., "Dear Wife" from James Wellington Lineberger, Camp Near Kinston, May 1863.

A.C Myers and William Cline. When revisiting these two after tracking their experiences in combat, and their constant battles with homesickness, a shift in identity is noticed as these two men expressed newfound purpose through the duties of soldiering. Their responses revealed inward shifts to their respective regiments that resulted in renewed commitment. Myers' frustrations culminated in the fall of 1862 when his wife abandoned an opportunity to see him while stationed in Richmond. This impacted Myers throughout the rest of his wartime experience. After that episode, he often wrote to her about his "confusion" from her lack of communication.[194] Though his family remained his primary concern, his future letters questioned their commitment to him. As the war unfolded he began addressing other subjects instead of family matters, and he began specifically describing the construction of military encampments or performing duties in camp.[195]

In the summer of 1862, Myers and the 52nd NCST worked on constructing Camp Campbell. "We have a beautiful place for a camp," Myers wrote to his wife, "we have an open view of the river  the lands is all cleared for two or three miles along the river & from this camp a mile or two on the other side there is not a tree." Myers' explained how his tent was "in the woods in beautiful shade." Commenting on the duties of the regiment Myers wrote, "The regiment has been at work this morning putting up breastworks ever since they have been here in[and] this hole country is well fortified…there are 26 pieces of cannon all of which will throw a shell five miles."[196] Although Myers does not specifically explain morale, his manner most certainly conveys confidence. Two months

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[194] In a letter addressed "My Dearest Wife" written from A. C. Myers in November of 1862, he confessed to her "the expectation of seeing you for so long and then it did not come it has thrown me in such confusion that I have not seen any satisfaction since." "My Dearest Wife," 11 November 1862, Black Bridge, Franklin, Virginia, NCDA&H.
[195] "My Dear Wife" from A.C. Myers, 8 April 1863, Hills Bluff, Tar River, North Carolina, North Carolina, NCDA&H.
[196] "Dearest Wife" from A.C. Myers, 20 July 1862, Camp Campbell, NCDA&H.

had passed since his wife's absence from their meeting. Though he continued to write her, expressing both patience and love, the tone of Myers writing was much more positive as he addressed both purpose and tranquility. Myers endured his situation with more resolve than any other moment of his Civil War experience up to that point.

In 1863, when Myers was involved in building fortifications along the Tar River in North Carolina, he was even more assertive about his duties. "Since we have been here we have been working day & night on breast work  we have gotten this place well fortified." Myers complimented the breastworks for they repelled Yankee boats eighteen separate times. The objective was to regain control of Washington, North Carolina. The 52nd successfully surrounded the Union forces occupying the city. Myers said of the Union forces nearby, "we do not fear them if they come…the thought that I will never get home had never entered my mind." He showed new purpose within one year. His wife and family were paramount, however, his ambitions were stemming from new purpose. His ominous tone was gone, for he told his wife "I have no other thought but that I will get home again…I may be some time before I get hone…you must not give up the idea of seeing me ever."[197]

William P. Cline's Civil War experience was tumultuous from the start, and his nostalgia turned to anger early in the war upon receiving letters while stationed at Camp Mangum from his wife. At times he conveyed pleasure over the prospect of fight, and this may have stemmed from the anger he felt over communications from home. In spite of this, Cline found himself as a Confederate soldier. He was a yeoman farmer from Catawba County, North Carolina. As many North Carolinians of his status explained, soldiering was a horrible experience, yet his transition into soldier culminated in July of

[197] "Dearest Wife" from A.C. Myers, 8 April 1863, Camp Vance, Franklin, Virginia, NCDA&H.

1862, when he discussed being involved in a skirmish near Petersburg, Virginia. "The yankes is in a bout nine miles of [off] us tha [they] tride to come up the river last Friday but tha [they] mist dare ame (missed their aim)," he explained to his wife. "Our men fired one (on) thar boats and the [they] went back," Cline described. He claimed "dire[there] I wod a ben in a fite rite off bit I don't think that da (they) can land dire for I have canians (cannons) _____ all along the river for nine miles  I have been digen brest works all dis[this] week  I think that I can giv the Yankees sut if the come up hire."[198] Cline's personal satisfaction is glaring throughout this letter. He conveyed a new sense of honor and confidence about himself that had been absent in his letters up to that point. To a man of Cline's status, this was a tremendous achievement. After that moment, Cline referred to "boys" when describing his regiment. His letters discussed troop movements and achievements, and he even discussed excitement in performing his duties. "I was close to the yankes  I was redey to fire on them but they fond us out and the[they] went back," he explained to his wife.[199] He also expressed confidence in the Confederacy. Instead of constantly writing letters filled with hopeless visions of the future, he began reassuring his wife with messages of optimism. "I think that we will git the yanks all after while," Cline wrote to his wife when stationed outside of Winchester, Virginia. Even though the conditions of soldiering and the prospect of death still impacted his morale, his letters home were more self-assured, especially when discussing his contributions to regimental success. Interestingly enough, Cline deserted in 1863, but retuned in '64 for reasons unknown and fought until his death came at the Battle of the Wilderness.[200] One might

[198] "Dear Wife" from William P. Cline, 22 June 1862, Camp near Drewry's Bluff, SHC.
[199] "Dearest Wife" from William P. Cline, 10 August, 1862. Petersburg, Virginia, SHC.
[200] 1860 Catawba County Census; Noe, *Reluctant Rebels,* 182.

suspect Cline went home to kill "Markis Huitt," the man who fabricated stories about Cline and never joined the cause.

Myers and Cline are but two examples of men who reinvented themselves within the company of their respective regiments by engaging in the alteration of environmental landscapes. Both men exhibited the ability to adapt to the traumatic situations they encountered. Each gained new perspectives on war by regaining control of their lives through the basic duties of soldiering. Neither man hailed from the aristocracy and both joined after the initial excitement fever of 1861, yet by 1863 they shared very similar outlooks as those diehard rebels fighting to protect slavery and the antebellum Southern way of life.[201]

Others soldiers in this sample expressed similar reflections as well. Samuel Walkup's descriptions of soldiers adapting to unorthodox locations speak volumes to the abilities of men to adapt to unfamiliar landscapes for shelter in order to conduct war. "We camped after dark…the night was cold and sitting in negro huts," Walkup revealed in his diary. Using slave quarters for shelter makes perfect sense for the purpose of protection from inclement elements—Walkup continued to describe conditions outside as cold and rainy. Joseph Hoyle told a similar story about living conditions in a letter to his wife, when he wrote "I was at the depot drawing provision and when I came back all were gone except a few; every place was crammed full, and we found shelter in a negro kitchen," explained Hoyle. He continued, "I never thought I would have to stay in a negro hut, but I tell you I was glad of the chance this time for it rained tremendously."[202] Kinchen Carpenter explained a similar situation of how quickly armies adapted to

[201] Ibid, Kenneth Noe argues soldiers who joined after the initial enlistment excitement were as committed to the cause by the end of the war as those who enlisted in 1861 and Spring of 1862.
[202] Girvan, *Deliver Us From This Cruel War,* 61.

unorthodox locations during war when he became ill and was forced to go to the hospital. Carpenter remembered, "I was taken very sick while here with bilious fever . . . and was sent to the Hospital at Petersburg; the old fair-grounds with its buildings was used for the sick."

All three examples shed light on historian Megan Kate Nelson's research. She points out in *Ruin Nation* how Civil War soldiers were able to redefine meanings of place by using ruins. The first example describing the use of "negro huts," and the abilities of soldiers to live in slave quarters during combat without hesitation, which speaks to broader events coming into debate during the Civil War. Nelson offers numerous examples of troops transforming entire clusters of slave quarters into shelters and headquarters. Locations such as fairgrounds, old homes, and hotels that were used as hospitals or military headquarters support the claim that a new awareness of survival emerged within many troops.[203] Soldiers recognizing slave quarters as livable structures and accepting their effectiveness for protection speaks to the shift that occurred in many men.

"Self-care" tendencies also indicated troops abilities to adapt for survival. Joseph Hoyle's descriptions of troops engaging landscapes for protection display men's abilities to quickly adapt. Topographical hurdles often times caused problems, although Hoyle's reflections of the 55th Regiment reveal their abilities to navigate through problems. "This is very marshy country," moaned Hoyle to his wife. He pointed out though, "we can get water any where by digging 2 or 3 feet deep," which to Hoyle was adequate considering their current predicament. Grounds such as this caused issues for tents as well. To counter this problem they made, "shanties by setting up poles and then throwing earth upon

[203] Samuel Walkup Diary, 27 May, 1863, SHC; Nelson, *Ruin Nation*, 87-96.

them."[204] More importantly, this provides an example of a large group of troops not as prone to lose morale when encountering predicaments as was the case earlier in the war.

Hoyle's reflections recognized soldiers repeatedly working together to persevere despite significant obstacles. Morale certainly dropped due to excessive marching and constant fighting, but they were able to find some kind of equilibrium by materially engaging landscapes. While situated in the marshes of Camp Green, and constantly fighting skirmishes near the Blackwater Bridge, Hoyle confidently wrote to his wife, "we are faring like soldiers now, you may be sure." "Yet," he continued, "our men are all cheerful and in good spirits. We have got so used to shooting that we pay little attention to it any more."[205]

During the transition from citizen to soldier, the emotional and physical distance from home stretched to great lengths. At war's onset, nostalgia angered men, for they yearned for frequent replies from home. Then soldiers encountered the face of battle where they witnessed death in horrible fashion. Throughout the war, the natural elements broke men down. Rough terrain, freezing rain, sickness, and filth discouraged soldiers. The construction of campsites, however, and the changing perceptions toward activities within camp encouraged new levels of commitment within a regiment. Distinctions emerged among units and men's new identities as Confederate soldiers solidified solidarity and promoted *esprit de corps*.

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[204] Girvan, *Deliver us from this Cruel War,* "Dearest Wife" from Joseph Hoyle, 96.
[205] Girvan, *Deliver us from this Cruel War,* "Dearest Wife" from Joseph Hoyle, 103.

III. Sustainability

Between the experiences of combat, nostalgia suffered, and strenuous duties of soldiering, North Carolina Confederates desperately sought relief. Their transitions into soldiers were chaotic. As emotional confusions emerged within men's outlooks, their sense of control was undone. However, natural landscapes provided outlets for this sample of soldiers to regain control of their lives. As citizens' worlds changed, they turned into soldiers. As a result, material and spatial contexts changed meaning, which they recognized in order to survive it was necessary to perform duty. By adopting methods of survival when encamped, such as personal attentiveness, writing, religion, and hard work, soldiers found new outlets for respite. The meaning of military encampments changed for these men. Soldiers understood encampments as areas of safety and comfort.[206] Evidence within this chapter indicates North Carolina Confederates materially altered landscapes to fulfill these personal needs. Military encampments therefore provided the arena soldiers depended on for emotional relief from the traumatizing stresses of war. These locations afforded soldiers' opportunities to step away from the miserable marches, shocking battles, and harsh conditions of war to find shelter, survival, and relief. By engaging in soldiering duties that required the erection of *militarized landscapes,* new forms of agency in their cause and survival were shown, thus providing the endurance necessary to fight in the Civil War.

[206] Bell I. Wiley and James McPherson among others indicated this as well in their studies of Civil War soldiers, James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought In the Civil War,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, 4th printing (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

The North Carolina Confederates examined in this study continued to fight in the Civil War until death or surrender. They remained committed to the Confederacy despite all issues such as homesickness, death, fear, and uncertainty that plagued them during their transition from citizen to soldier and also continued to affect them during the later war years. The social tensions that were characteristic of the Antebellum South, and certainly impacted regimental harmony at the beginning of the war, were eased. The reflections within this thesis provide examples of how men learned to depend on one another in the common world of war, and this common world mitigated many of the social tensions that plagued the antebellum South. The emotional divide between home front and warfront continued to widen, and consequently the world soldiers existed within was much different than the civilian world. These men came to define themselves as Confederates and their purposes to fight were to protect region, family, and comrade. These new perceptions of war and motivations to fight were molded by the interactions within military encampments, issues with the home front, experiences on the battlefield, and the engagement of *militarized landscapes*. Within these realms soldiers faced and overcame the stresses of soldiering.

Camp, combat, and campaign are the three transformational stages these men went through during the Civil War to become soldiers, and each stage form the backdrop of this study's framework. By using military encampments as a foundation of this study new light is shown on the transition from citizen to soldier. These Confederates' personal reflections, spanning the spring of 1861 and summer of 1863, offer new examples of how

war's meaning changed over time, and how new levels of commitment developed within a soldier's consciousness establishing a foundational motivation to remain in the army.

The duties required of soldiers is first seen through the lens of Camp Mangum. Their reactions reveal how many men struggled in the first transitional stage of the Civil War. Expressions indicate how soldiering shook prewar foundations and overwhelmed men use to living independent lives. Individuals witnessed comrades suffering from similar symptoms such as fatigue, sickness, nostalgia, fear, and anxiety. Men wrote home reflecting to loved ones on issues not only impacting themselves, but also reporting on those comrades around him. As the mold of the soldier's common world was created within Camp Mangum, a foundation for their entire soldiering experience was established. Since life in the army forced men to consistently interact with one another, new relationships were created. This sample reveals how many men learned to adapt to the conditions of Camp Mangum by using "self-care" techniques. This brought men together in new ways. They shared remedies for personal survival and well-being. These remedies would be applied again during their soldiering experience, and ultimately strengthened the *esprit de corps* within regiments.

The prospect of combat was on the horizon for these men as they left the confines of Camp Mangum. Not one soldier in this sample had prior combat experience, so none were mentally prepared for deadly contact. The orthodox definition usually associated with the term, combat, is expanded to also include anticipation and reflection. Combat's traditional definition simplifies the overall experience, and in order to understand how this arena fully impacted a soldier, this thesis looks at the complete experience of combat to understand the extent to which it impacted citizen-soldiers. Once in this arena, soldiers

were thrust into a horrific atmosphere where they were expected to kill. Their reflections reveal how killing impacted their overall perception of war, and forced them to question political as well as home front opinions. Even though, these North Carolina Confederates were greatly shaken by their military experiences, they showed tremendous resolve. By engaging fellow comrades and recognizing the common world of the soldier, new identities emerged. Citizen-soldiers applied skills, adapted through training and time, to their day-to-day survival. Examples of men working together for survival and comfort are first seen within this transformational stage. Although scholars mentioned within such as Ried Mitchell believe combat experiences sparked psychological shifts ultimately lowering self-esteem, this sample of North Carolina Confederates offer examples of men adapting to war by learning to kill and engaging the duties of soldiering in order to survive.

The final stage in the citizen to soldier transition is campaign, and once North Carolina Confederates experienced deadly combat and the constant struggle of homesickness, specific examples of how soldiers from different backgrounds together existed within the confines of a camp are seen. Men engaged the duties and requirements of soldiering in a new manner when compared with their initial experiences in Camp Mangum. Human interaction rose to new levels as camp-life activities such as religion, music, letter writing, and wardship fostered new levels of *esprit de corps.* The examples within show how soldiers, consequently, committed themselves to duties including encampment and breastwork construction with a renewed sense of purpose, because their perception of encampments changed. The positive reflections of soldiers, who materially altered landscapes into large encampments, bivouacs, breastworks, or winter lodging,

expressing satisfaction, provide examples of new forms of agency emerging during campaign.

Each transitional stage from citizen to soldier sparked a shift in perception, and change plays a major role throughout this entire thesis. Men learned to function together on the battlefield, and exist together in the Army. Horrid conditions, nostalgia, death, fatigue, fear, and combat influenced men to view camp as an arena where rest from the stresses of soldiering could be achieved. Although many of the interactions with nature produced negative environmental results, this sample's engagement with natural landscapes shed light on what we can learn about soldier solidarity and survival through environmental history. This example of cultural environmental history indicates how *militarized landscapes* were able to mitigate social tensions and relieve the stresses associated with soldiering.

Appendix 1

Study Sample:

The study sample used in this thesis derived from a random collection of soldiers who were mustered into Confederate service at Camp Mangum in Raleigh, North Carolina. The fourteen soldiers used span all three regions of the state. Although, only two come from the Appalachian Region, the soldiers who hail from Iredell, Catawba, Stokes, and Cleveland Counties lived on the boarder of the Appalachian and Piedmont Regions.

I began with a fifty-six North Carolinians, which was based on soldiers who were stationed at Camp Mangum between 1861 and 1863. That number, however, dropped to thirty-eight due to source availability. I assigned each soldier a number, and through a random number generator (http://www.randomizer.org/form.htm) was able to come up with one set of fourteen soldiers. From there, I gathered data on each man. Much of the information gathered on these men is from personal letters and diaries. However, I also refer to census records accessed through online resources. Also, in order to understand the social structure of North Carolina and the regional sketch of the state, I refer to Bill Cecil-Fronsman, *Common Whites: Class and Culture in Antebellum North Carolina* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky, 1992).

Soldier Biographies:

Beavans, William: He is one of two in this sample to join the Confederacy before North Carolina officially seceded in 1861 from the Union. He was a soldier from Halifax County, North Carolina. Having served with the 1st North Carolina Regiment, he was involved in the Battle of Bethel Church. He was then mustered into service with the 43rd North Carolina Regiment after the state officially seceded from the Union. He died in 1864 from a cannon blowing off part of his leg.[207]

Calton, John Washington**:** A native of Rutherford County, North Carolina, Calton enlisted in March 1862 and was appointed second sergeant in Company I, 56th Regiment.[208]

Carpenter, Kinchen Jahu**:** After losing his brother in 1861 to fever, Carpenter joined the Confederacy at twenty years old. He was from Rutherford County, North Carolina, and his home was located 12 ½ miles Southeast of the city of Rutherfordton near Floyds Creek, North Carolina. Having never left his home prior to the war, he was shocked by the scene at Camp Mangum. Carpenter was assigned to the 50th North Carolina State Troops where he served as a private. In his post war memoir, Carpenter admitted to

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[207] "William Beavans Diary and Letters," processed 1958, *Southern Historical Collection at the Louis Round Wilson Speical Collections Library Universit of North Carolina Libraries*, http://www2.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/b/Beavans,William.html; "Lieut William Beavans in the U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-current," *Ancestry,* http://search.ancestry.com/cgibin/sse.dll?indiv=try&db=FindAGraveUS&h=54509691; Wade, *Rebel Boast*.

[208] "John Washington Calton Letters, 1862-1863," processed 1963, *North Carolina Digital Collections State Library of North Carolina,* http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm/ref/collection/p16062coll15/id/167; "John Calton in 1860 Census," *Ancestry*, John Washington Calton (Hyperlink).

having little education when he entered the war. Based on census records, he was a farmer with very little assets to his name.[209]

Carr, William Dickson**:** W.D. Carr was out of Duplin County, North Carolina in the Coastal Region of the state. He served as a Private in the 43rd NCST throughout his Civil War experience. He was very close with his family at the start of the war. He would eventually die on April 2, 1865 during the evacuation of Richmond, Virginia.[210]

Cline, William Pickney**:** A blacksmith from Catawba County, North Carolina, William Cline joined the Confederate Army at twenty-seven in March 1862. He was assigned to the 46th North Carolina Regiment and fought with Company K, known also as the "Catawba Braves." Cline and his wife, Mary, had four children at the time of the war. According to the 1860 Catawba County census, Cline's real estate assets were valued at $50 and his personal estate was valued at $300. He deserted in August 1863. However, he returned to service in the spring of 1864. His whereabouts during the hiatus from service are unknown. Since, he returned to combat in 1864, it makes sense that his time away was spent at home helping his family. There is also the possibility that he went to kill "Markis Huitt" the man who constantly irritated Mary Cline and started rumors of Cline's cowardice. Once Cline did return to combat, however, he was killed in the Battle of the Wilderness in 1864.[211]

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[209] Williams, *The War Diary of Kinchen Jahu Carpenter*; "Hicken Carpenter in 1860 Census," *Ancestry,* Kinchen Jahu Carpenter (Hyperlink).
[210] "The Civil War Letters of W.D. Carr of Duplin County, North Carolina," *Civil War Era North Carolina, NCDA&H* http://history.ncsu.edu/projects/cwnc/items/show/509; "William D. Carr in Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861- 1865," *Ancestry,* W. D. Carr(Hyperlink); 1860 Census.
[211] "William Pickney Cline Papers," *Southern Historical Collection at the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library University of North Carolina Libraries*

Collins, William A: He was a resident of Statesville, North Carolina, and he served as a Private in Company C of the 48th North Carolina Regiment. Collins was a very religious man with strong penmanship. Prior to the war, he was a farmer in Iredell County, North Carolina. He was involved in a series of engagements including City Point on the James River and the Battle of Antietam. He died in December 1862 from a leg injury.[212]

Hoyle, Joseph J: He was a well-educated teacher out of Cleveland County, North Carolina. At twenty-five, he enlisted in the Confederate Army despite his exemption from service. Hoyle was a devout Christian with goals of becoming a minister once his duty was up. He constantly read when encamped during his spare time on campaign and was admired by comrades for his religious faith and education. He served in Company F of the 55th North Carolina Regiment. He worked his way up the ranks from Private through Sergeant until he was promoted to Lieutenant. He saw action in North Carolina and Virginia. He was wounded in the right leg at Globe Tavern and died on September 1, 1864 from the wound.[213]

Lefevers, Isaac: A native of Catawba County, North Carolina, Lefevers served in Company K of the 46th North Carolina State Troopers. He enlisted at 30 as a private and eventually earned the rank of Lieutenant. Prior to the war, Lefevers was a potter with real

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http://www2.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/c/Cline,William_Pinkney.html ; "William C. Cline in 1860 Census," *Ancestry,* William Pickney Cline(Hyperlink).

[212] "William A. Collins Papers, 1862-1865," *Southern Historical Collection at the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library University of North Carolina Libraries,* http://www2.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/c/Collins,William_A.html; "Collins Family Tree," *Ancestry,* William A. Collins (Hyperlink); ibid, 1860 census.

[213] Girvan, *"Deliver Us From This Cruel War,"* 9-11; "Joseph J. Hoyle Family Tree," *Ancestry,* Joseph J. Hoyle (Hyperlink); ibid, 1860 census.

estate assets valued at $1000 and personal assets worth $500. Lefevers died in Richmond, Virginia in 1864.[214]

Little, Benjamin Franklin: He was a planter from Richmond County, North Carolina. After receiving an officer's commission in 1862, he was assigned Company E of the 52nd North Carolina Regiment. His arm was amputated after the Battle of Gettysburg. Little then received a field promotion to Lieutenant Colonel. In 1864, he was captured and then imprisoned at Fort McHenry, Maryland. Upon his release, he served in the North Carolina legislature.[215]

Linberger, James Wellington: He was a deeply religious man and heavily involved in Gaston County, North Carolina community activities. He was a farmer before the war and was formally organized into the Confederate Army in April 1862. However, three weeks before the state officially seceded, him and a group of volunteers from Gaston assembled at Brevard Station, and they called themselves the "Gaston Rangers." Their purpose was to curb any Union advances from the coast. Once the state officially seceded, though, Lineberger and the "Gaston Rangers" were mustered in Company H of the 49th North Carolina Regiment at Camp Mangum. All of Lineberger's brothers fought for the Confederacy as well.[216]

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[214] "Isaac Lefevers in the American Civil War Soldiers," *Ancestry*, Isaac Lefevers (Hyperlink); ibid, 1860 census.
[215] "Benjamin Franklin Little Papers, 1806-1935," processed 1992, *Southern Historical Collection at the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library University of North Carolina Libraries,* http://www2.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/l/Little,Benjamin_Franklin.html; "Col. Benjamin Franklin Little," *Find a Grave,* http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=55024198; 1860 Census, *Ancestry.*
[216] Hugh Dougals Pitts ed., ***Letters of a Gaston Ranger:*** *2nd Lt. James Wellington Lineberger, Company H, 49th North Carolina Regiment, Ransom's Brigade, C.S.A*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1991).

McSween, John Murdoch: "Long grabs" is only mentioned briefly in this thesis. His involvement in Camp Mangum is very significant, however, for at one point he was a drill instructor. He was also very skilled at writing, and his keen observations of Camp Mangum make him a crucial resource in understanding the nature of the encampment. McSween was an ardent secessionist, and a well-educated individual. He was from the Coastal County, of Cumberland, where he wrote for the *Fayetteville Observer.*[217]

Myers, Anderson C: A.C. Myers was a middle class farmer from Germanton, North Carolina. He owned a small amount of property in Stokes County including several town plots, eleven acres of land, two slaves (taxable property according to census records), and a pleasure carriage valued at forty dollars. According to his letters home during the war his farm grew corn, wheat, and tobacco. His rank at enlistment was Private with Company D of the 52nd North Carolina Regiment. He eventually was promoted to First Sergeant of Company D, and remained there until 1864 when he was mustered out of service.[218]

Penney, Joseph James: His rank at enlistment in 1862 was Private, however, J.J. Penney was quickly promoted to Full Sergeant of Company D in the 50th North Carolina Regiment. By 1863, he was a Full Lieutenant. He served in several different regiments including one in Georgia. Penney was the son of a successful North Carolina family, with

[217] E.B. Munson ed., *Confederate Incognito: The Civil War Reports of "Long Grabs," a.k.a. Murdoch John McSween, 26th and 35th North Carolina Infantry* (McFarland: 2012).
[218] "Anderson C. Myers in Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865," *Ancestry,* A.C. Myers (Hyperlink); ibid, 1850 census; ibid, 1860 census.

business dealings spanning both Wake and Johnston Counties. Johnson would survive the war and live until his death in 1916.[219]

Walkup, Samuel Hoey: A native of Union County, North Carolina, Walkup was an attorney and politician prior to the Civil War. Walkup also served as the Brigadier General of the 11th Regiment, North Carolina Militia. Although, he had military experience, Walkup knew nothing of combat before his Civil War duties. At forty-four, Walkup joined Company F, 48th North Carolina Regiment. After serving in multiple engagements, Walkup was promoted to Colonel. He was severely wounded twice, yet never left his unit's side. As a result, Walkup was well respected by the men in his unit. He stayed by their side until the surrender at Appomattox in 1865.[220]

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[219] "Penney Family Papers, 1815-1940," processed 2002, *Southern Historical Collection at the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library University of North Carolina Libraries,* http://www2.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/p/Penney_Family.html; "Joseph James Penney in Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861- 1865," *Ancestry,* J.J. Penney (Hyperlink); ibid, 1860 census.
[220] John L. Cheney ed., *North Carolina Government, 1585–1979* (1981); Daniel L. Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina* (1924); "S.H. Walkup Papers, 1858-1876," *Southern Historical Collection at the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library University of North Carolina Libraries,* processed 2007 http://www2.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/w/Walkup,S.H.html.

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# Vita

Peter Thomas was born . He was raised by his two parents—Peter and Karen. Peter attended high school where he was involved in numerous activities including varsity football and track and field. Upon graduating high school, Peter attended Emory & Henry College in Virginia where he played NCAA football and earned Bachelor of Arts degrees in Economics and History.

Peter worked in the corporate sector as a property manager and financial representative before embarking on his career as a historian. In 2012, he enrolled in the Master of Arts program in American History at the University of North Florida. There, he focused on the American South and Civil War era America under the guidance of Dr. James Broomall. While at UNF, Peter presented his research on North Carolina Confederates at several conferences across the Southeast including the Florida Conference of Historians and University of Alabama at Birmingham History Conference. He worked on various projects for the Jacksonville Historical Society, and he was also involved with the Norman Studios Silent Film Museum where he helped organize a crowdfunding project that was part of the One Spark Festival. In 2015, Peter and two other colleagues from UNF began working on the development of a smartphone application that creates self-guided history tours of Jacksonville, and they hope to have a beta model ready by 2016.

This coming year, Peter is attending Auburn University to pursue his Doctorate in American History and plans to teach once he completes his PhD.