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CAROLINA CHAMELEONS: NORTH CAROLINA CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS WHO JOINED THE UNION ARMY

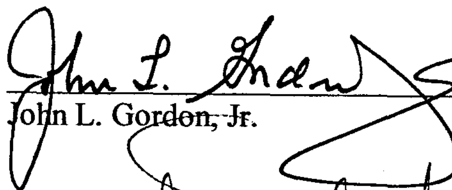
By: David E. Arthur
Master of Arts
University of Richmond
2000
Thesis Director: Robert C. Kenzer

This thesis traces 862 North Carolina Civil War soldiers who fought for the Confederacy, deserted or were taken prisoner, and then enrolled in the United States army. The pre-war lives, Confederate and United States military service, and post-war experiences of these men are examined to discover why they chose to enlist in the Union army. A sample of 226 soldiers was compiled by selecting every fourth county in the state in which these "Carolina Chameleons" lived. Their pre-war lives were revealed in the 1860 Population Census and their Southern service in Confederate military records compiled in Louis H. Manarin and Weymouth T. Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865, A Roster,* 13 vols. (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Archives and History: 1966-1994). The military service records of the First through Sixth U.S. Volunteers revealed their Northern service and the 1870 Population Census, 1890 Veterans Census, and U.S. Military Pension Records their post-war lives. Most of these soldiers were young men who volunteered early in the war for Confederate service. A significant majority served the South for over one year before being captured by Federal forces. Most were imprisoned for less than one year before joining the Federal forces. After the war, nearly two-fifths of the men returned to North Carolina to reside permanently with a majority again living in the state at some point in their lives. While some men were conscripted or forced into Confederate service despite their opposition to

the Confederacy, most were loyal soldiers to both sides. Their decision to switch sides was dictated by the greater probability that they would die of disease in prison than in combat. For most Carolina Chameleons, expedience superceded political or ideological motivations for changing sides.

I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Advisor



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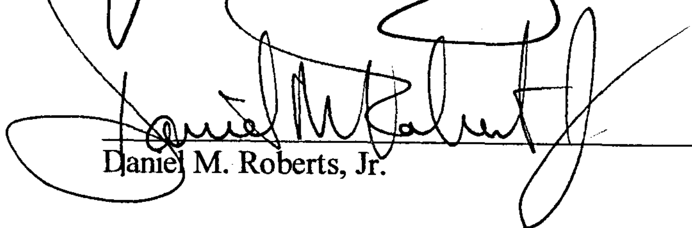

Daniel M. Roberts, Jr.

CAROLINA CHAMELEONS: NORTH CAROLINA CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS WHO JOINED THE UNION ARMY

By

DAVID E. ARTHUR

B.A., The College of Wooster, 1995

A Thesis

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PREFACE

I wish to express my appreciation to the faculty and staff of the University of Richmond Department of History. I want to thank Professor Robert C. Kenzer for his counsel on this thesis and on my educational and career path in the field of history. I also want to thank Professor John L. Gordon, Jr. and Professor Daniel M. Roberts, Jr. for serving as additional readers. Thanks also are due to my father William Arthur, Jr. and to Richard Farrell for their advice regarding this project and for sharing and fostering my interest in history. For instilling in me a high regard for the value of education I owe a great debt to my mother Janet and to the late M.W. and Mabel Weaver. My gratitude is extended to my sister Carol Arthur for being both a sister and a friend. And, most importantly, I owe my wife Christine more than I can ever put into words for her support. She has been with me every step of the way and without her support and encouragement this thesis and my graduate education would not have been possible.

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INTRODUCTION

On July 15, 1862, Ransom J. Hinnant, a 22-year-old farmer born in Johnston County, North Carolina, enlisted in the Confederate army in neighboring Wake County. He left behind his 44-year-old father, a successful farmer who owned $1,854 in real estate and $1,389 in personal wealth. Also on the farm were his father's 34-year-old wife Lucinda, seven younger siblings, and a 25-year-old farm laborer. Hinnant joined Company C of the First Regiment North Carolina State Troops for the duration of the war. After being wounded at the Battle of Antietam, Hinnant was furloughed from the hospital for 40 days beginning October 8, 1862. Although the cause and severity of his wound are unknown, Hinnant was apparently hospitalized again in Richmond in early May 1863 with a gunshot wound to the thigh. Surprisingly, he returned to service by the end of the month. He was captured at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863 by the victorious Federal forces. First imprisoned at Fort Delaware in Delaware, Hinnant was subsequently transferred to Point Lookout Prison in Maryland in October of 1863. On January 26, 1864, he was released from prison not for exchange to the South, but to shed Confederate gray and join his captors' cause in the First Regiment U.S. Volunteer Infantry. On May 1, 1864, Hinnant donned the blue uniform when he was officially mustered into the Federal service at Portsmouth, Virginia near Norfolk. Shipped westward to the Dakota Territory, Hinnant would provide faithful service to his adopted army. In August of 1864 he was admitted to the hospital in St. Louis for illness and then in September 1865 he again

convalesced at Sioux City, Iowa where he was discharged in November 1865. Returning home to North Carolina, by 1870 Hinnant had established himself as a dry goods clerk amassing modest savings of $225 in personal estate and $350 real estate. He was married to 22-year-old Adelaine and shared his household with 25-year-old Sarah Thompson and 2-year-old Charles Thompson, perhaps a sister and nephew of his wife. Also living with them was a teamster, Isaac Starling, who may have worked in the dry goods business as well.

Ransom Hinnant was one of 862 Confederate North Carolinians who were recruited into the Union army out of Federal prisons. Taken prisoner in combat or in the process of desertion, these "Carolina Chameleons" were part of a group of approximately 6,000 former Confederates who switched sides, the majority of whom became Indian fighters on the Western frontier.[1] Upon their arrival in the West the local population dubbed them "Galvanized Soldiers," members of a "Galvanized" unit, and finally, a name that stuck, "Galvanized Yankees."[2] Smaller numbers of these men joined heavy artillery, cavalry, and naval units. While other North Carolinians served in loyal Union units that were mustered on the occupied east coast of the state, they are not discussed here because their service took place exclusively in North Carolina and their story, which has been told elsewhere, differs from that of the Galvanized Yankees who went west.[3]

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[1]Dee Brown, *The Galvanized Yankees* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1963; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books, 1986), (page references are to reprint edition).

[2]Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 5. Richard Nelson Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 111. Current noted that the term Galvanized Confederates would have been more precise.

[3]For a discussion of the creation of the First and Second North Carolina Union Volunteers in the coastal region see Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists*, 61-73.

Early in the war the few prisoners taken in battle were held only briefly in makeshift prisons while informal exchanges were arranged. As the number of prisoners increased, the Confederacy began pushing for a formal exchange cartel in order to avoid the burden of housing and feeding thousands of additional bodies that required twenty-four hour guard. The Federal government had initially been skeptical of negotiations with the South because they might have been viewed by Great Britain and France as diplomatic recognition of the rebels. In order to dissuade foreign countries from allying with the South the Northern government was insisting that the rebellion was an internal problem with which outsiders had no right to interfere. In the aftermath of fighting at Fort Donelson and the Seven Days, however, the increasing volume of Northern prisoners resulted in a ground swell of public opinion urging the Lincoln administration to bring home as many troops as possible.

In a deft splitting of hairs, a formal exchange cartel was agreed to on July 22, 1862 between the Union and Confederate armies. With no governments involved, just armies, the Lincoln administration could continue to argue to potential Southern allies overseas that the war was an internal matter because the Confederacy was not a legitimate government.[4] What ensued was an en masse exchange of prisoners. From a military standpoint this system benefited the Confederacy far more than the Union. The exchange cartel helped stem the tide of attrition that would later strangle the South as the larger population of the North swelled Federal armies to twice the size of their Southern

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[4]James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 791-793.

counterparts. Initial arrangements for exchange maintained notions of chivalrous, Napoleonic warfare that prevailed in the early days of the war when both sides believed the conflict would be a short-lived affair. Excess prisoners who had no counterparts to change sides with were paroled after giving their word that they would not take up arms again until their government had formally exchanged them for their opposite number in the enemy army.

In December 1862 President Jefferson Davis allowed notions of Southern dignity to overshadow practical diplomacy when he stated that black Union prisoners, their white officers, General Benjamin Butler and Butler's commissioned officers, if captured, would not be treated as prisoners of war but as criminals. The use of black troops against the Confederacy clearly infuriated a nation predicated on the notion of racial inequality and engaged in a war for the preservation of slavery. Butler was targeted as revenge for his edict in May 1862 as commander of occupied New Orleans that Southern women who insulted Northern troops would be arrested as prostitutes. Although the women of New Orleans had gone so far as to empty a chamber pot over the head of Federal Fleet Captain David Farragut from a balcony, Butler's countermeasure went too far for Southern notions of honor and chivalry. Davis's proclamation prompted the Federals to suspend the exchange cartel that had existed since July and had better served the Confederacy in the first place. Subsequently, on both sides, prison populations again ballooned beyond

capacity and the search for useful ways of handling the excess population was initiated once more.[5]

The standard studies of the experience of the common Civil War soldier in both the North and South remain Bell I. Wiley's *The Life of Johnny Reb* (1943) and *The Life of Billy Yank* (1952). Wiley's descriptive works provided a vivid account of soldier life, but they lacked analysis of the ideological and psychological motivations that made soldiers fight. Wiley underscored how long periods of monotonous camp life tempered the excitement of participating in a major battle. Although battles were dangerous the soldiers realized that they were inevitable and were likely eager to get them over with rather than languish in camp. The reality was that many more soldiers died of illnesses contracted in camp than from wounds suffered on the field of battle.

While Wiley only briefly touched on the existence of turncoats, two more recent authors have addressed the issue more comprehensively. In *The Galvanized Yankees* (1963), Dee Brown traced the military operations of the former Confederates who composed the First through Sixth U.S. Volunteer Infantry. Stationed on the Western frontier, these men held the Native American population at bay while war raged to the east. Brown's study, however, viewed their Union service in a vacuum, failing to address the pre-U.S. service and post-war lives of these individuals. He did not discuss their motivations for fighting and the impact of their decisions to switch sides. More recently, Richard Nelson Current's *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy*

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[5]Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists*, 111. For an account of the Farragut incident and Butler's reaction, see McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 551-552, 623.

(1992) studied the phenomenon of Southerners who fought in the Union army. Current offered a chapter on the Galvanized Yankees who fought for the Union only after becoming prisoners of war. Current's excellent account highlighted the efforts of Ulysses S. Grant to prevent the new enlistees from fighting against rebel troops. Fighting in proximity to their home state could and did lead to the desertion of some men, while others risked the hangman's noose if recognized by their former comrades in arms. In a gesture that was at the same time benevolent and prudent, Grant transferred units composed solely of former Confederates to the West, freeing loyal Federal troops to return eastward while protecting the new recruits from retribution. This arrangement had the added benefit of discouraging desertion by Southerners who found themselves in the desolate and unfamiliar territory of the West. Current, however, did not discuss why the soldiers may have chosen to switch sides or what became of them in later years.[6]

This study is based on the thirteen-volume roster, *North Carolina Troops 1861-1865* (1966-1994), which contains information on every man who served in Tarheel State organized Confederate military units. While the extent of information varies from man to man, entries typically include information on their counties of birth and residence, occupation, age, date of Confederate enlistment, unit served in, wounds received, date and place of capture, and for Carolina Chameleons, a closing sentence that read "released after joining the U.S. Army." Many, but not all, records indicate the Northern unit to which the soldier was assigned. The compilation and statistical analysis of this wide range of information immediately makes possible a general examination of the Confederate soldiers

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[6]Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists*, 118-126.

who chose to switch sides. Were these men young or old? Were they from cities or the country? Did they enlist early in the war or were they conscripted? Was their Confederate service lengthy? How long did they stay in prison before seizing the opportunity to switch sides, and what factors affected their decision?

Carolina Chameleons hailed from all but six North Carolina counties. The greatest number, however, came from a band of counties creating a continuous geographical loop beginning in the north central piedmont region known as the "Quaker Belt," then turning northwest toward the border with Virginia, before bending south again through the mountain counties. The only anomalies to this pattern were Wake County, containing Raleigh, which contributed 21 Carolina Chameleons, and the counties of Nash, Wayne, Union and Cumberland, which provided between ten and nineteen men to the U.S. service (see Table 8).

Every fourth county that was home to Carolina Chameleons was chosen to create a sample of 225 of the 862 total soldiers (see Table 8). These men were searched for in the 1860 and 1870 Federal manuscript censuses in order to discover who they were and what they shared in common. Census takers recorded information on each member of a family including name, age, gender, occupation, place of birth, whether they had attended school or married within the year, were literate, or were "deaf, dumb, blind or insane." Residents were surveyed in districts that in some cases had formal names and in others were descriptive, such as "south of the river." The level of information available on an individual varies with the thoroughness of the particular census taker. More than one person could be responsible for the collection of information within a certain county,

particularly when it contained a large population. Their writing, though sometimes difficult to read, is usually legible, but the ink in some of their pens has not withstood the test of time, causing some residents to fade into oblivion. No substantial portion of the census schedules, however, was so badly faded as to engulf more than few participants. A complicating factor is that enumerators invariably missed some households and residents. The 1860 census is estimated to have under enumerated approximately 10 percent of the white population.[7] The factors primarily responsible for under enumeration were poverty and mobility, which were more prevalent in rural areas and particularly in the sparsely populated mountain region of western North Carolina. In other cases, soldiers cannot be positively identified because of their common names. Many John Smiths might live in a particular county. In some cases a small leap is necessary to identify a particular person. Ages vary widely between census and military records. This can be accounted for by bookkeeping errors, the possibility that some men did not know their exact age, and the likelihood that some underage enlistees inflated their ages to join the Confederate army in the idealistic rush to fight characteristic of the early days of the war.

Next, the United States military service records of the First through Sixth United States Volunteers were examined to provide additional insight into Dee Brown's description of the soldiers' military service. The records indicate when soldiers were sick, wounded, deserted, or otherwise did anything out of the ordinary. They allow us to determine whether the Carolina Chameleons were faithful soldiers regardless of the army,

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[7]Peter S. Bearman, "Desertion as Localism: Army Unit Solidarity and Group Norms in the U.S. Civil War," *Social Forces*, 70 (December 1991), 327.

or whether their Southern ideology simmered beneath the surface, causing recalcitrant behavior during their Federal service.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the odyssey of these men was their assimilation back into postwar civilian life. Such a transition can be difficult for any soldier, but must have been particularly so for men whose military careers had carried them so far from home and into the service of the victorious army that now controlled the fate of their communities, friends, and families. The 1870 census and United States Military pension records provide a barometer of how many Carolina Chameleons returned home after the war and serve as a basis for speculating how well they were received. Did their friends and relatives know of their military careers? Further, did they care that they had deserted the Confederacy? Neighbors, family members, and former comrades testified in pension applications regarding the health, habits, and sectional loyalties of the men before, during, and after the war. While in many cases thirty years had passed since the war, the legacy of the conflict still made issues of loyalty and regionalism paramount.

These sources provide a glimpse into the personal lives of a group of unwealthy and largely anonymous citizens who are not well represented in the historical record. By doing so, this study reveals who these men were, why they chose to switch sides, and the ramifications of their decisions.

CHAPTER 1:
PUTTING ON THE GRAY

North Carolina held a unique position on the eve of the Civil War. While the political fire eaters of the Deep South were extolling the virtues of king cotton and lambasting the abolitionist tendencies of the "black Republicans," North Carolinians faced a complex political picture that would dictate their entry into and participation in the coming conflict.

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in 1860 sent the cotton growing states of the Deep South into a fit of secession fever. These economically similar states were controlled solely by the Democratic party, whose leaders recoiled in horror at the thought of being ruled by Lincoln. They believed the new president was sure to challenge the right of Southern states to expand the institution of slavery into new Western states, or worse, the right to continue holding slaves in the slave states. The disgust of pro-slavery Southerners was compounded by a feeling of helplessness that Lincoln had won the election exclusively by carrying the North.[1] He had not won a single Southern state and was not even on the ballot in many of them, including North Carolina. The election of Lincoln, however, while sufficient to begin the Southern defection, was not enough to dislodge North Carolina and her Upper South neighbors from the Union.

While North Carolina held certain geographic and agricultural characteristics in common with neighboring Tennessee and Virginia, her political structure set her apart

[1]Daniel W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 193.

from nearly all other Southern states. A two-party political system survived in North Carolina as Whigs maintained a foothold against the Democrats at a time when the Whig party was virtually defunct nationwide. Whig sympathies were greatest in the mountainous west where slaveholding and wealth were low, as well as in the "Quaker Belt" of the central piedmont represented most prominently by Guilford and Randolph counties. The large Quaker and Moravian populations in these two counties opposed slavery and violence as tenets of their religion.

The North Carolina legislature of 1860 was one of the more aristocratic in the nation. Only South Carolina was dominated to a greater extent by the wealthy. A dated and anti-egalitarian state constitution that had changed little since the Revolution required that state legislators own property. Further, despite universal suffrage for white men, voters frequently elected the wealthy to office in large part because of their influence in the constant battle for such regional perks as railroad construction and other infrastructure. As a result, 36 percent of the legislature was composed of planters (defined as owners of more than 20 slaves), a group which represented only 3 percent of the state population. In addition, more than three-fourths of the legislature owned slaves compared with less than one-third of the overall population.[2]

North Carolina's reluctance to join the Confederacy stemmed from a significant and diverse Unionist movement. Wealthy slaveholding Unionists believed that keeping the

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[2]Paul D. Escott and Jeffrey J. Crow, "The Social Order and Violent Disorder: An Analysis of North Carolina in the Revolution and the Civil War," *The Journal of Southern History*, 52 (August 1986), 378-379. For a comparison of the consistent levels of slaveholding in the legislature between 1850 and 1861 see Marc W. Kruman, *Parties and Politics in North Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 46-50, 202, 206.

Union intact for as long as possible would provide the best chance of preserving the peculiar institution. They feared prophetically that secession would lead to a war that, if lost, would end the right to own slaves. An additional foresight was that a centralized wartime Southern government would be controversial since it might threaten the very liberties that the Washington government was ostensibly guilty of trampling.

Among die hard Unionists lay a variety of motivations. Their skepticism was validated to a degree by political battles that had raged since the 1850s. Whig party proposals for *ad valorem* taxation of slaves at a specified percentage of their worth, just as other property was, had been met with opposition by the aristocratic slave owning Democrats who dominated the state government. Democrats supported a flat tax on slaves that would have prevented the taxation of additional value that accrued over time. The self-serving nature of this stance infuriated Unionists and non-slaveholders who saw that the wealthy planters who would have the most at stake in a war to defend slavery were attempting to withhold additional income from a state that would become financially strapped if it opted for secession.

Many North Carolina Unionists initially advocated the "let alone" policy wherein the Lincoln government was expected to wait out the Lower South as it struggled and failed to create an effective government and fighting force. Such speculation was realistic because so much of the manufacturing capacity and manpower of the region lay in the Upper South. While the Upper South Unionist perception of the "let alone" policy and its

suspicion of the Deep South's inability to field an effective fighting force probably would have proved accurate, this speculation was never tested.[3]

The debate over secession ground to a halt when Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina was attacked on April 12, 1861 by Confederate forces under General P.G.T. Beauregard. President Lincoln promptly requested that the states remaining in the Union provide troops to quell the Deep South secessionists. The reservations of all but the most ardent Upper South Unionists fell by the wayside when they heard Lincoln's request. This change of opinion was epitomized by Zebulon B. Vance who would serve as the colonel of the 26th North Carolina Regiment before his election as Whig governor of the state in 1862. Vance was addressing a crowd of western North Carolinians in his home county of Buncombe when he heard the news of Lincoln's call. He recalled that he was "pleading for the Union with hand upraised when news came of Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops. When my hand came down from that impassioned gesticulation, it fell slowly and sadly by the side of a Secessionist."[4]

On April 16, 1861 Governor John W. Ellis penned a defiant response to Lincoln's request to U.S. Secretary of War Simon Cameron.

> Your dispatch is received, and if genuine, which its extraordinary character leads me to doubt, I have to say in reply that I regard the levy of troops made by the administration for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South as in violation of the Constitution and a gross usurpation of power. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to

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[3]For further discussion of the "let alone" policy and the views of this group of Unionists see Kruman, *Parties and Politics*, 207-208, 215-220.

[4]Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *The History of a Southern State: North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 450.

> this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina.[5]

On May 1, 1861, Ellis called a special session of the legislature to convene a secession convention later in the month. Later that same day Ellis wrote to the President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, that the "Convention bill passed; also a resolution authorizing me to send troops to Virginia at once without limit."[6] So before the convention could put a rubber stamp on secession, North Carolinians began mustering supplies and volunteering for service as war fever took hold. Young men were especially eager to get in on the action lest the fighting be decided before they could get to a battlefield. Soldiers and civilians alike prepared for a war in which gallant men would prove their bravery defending the flower of womanhood, hearth, and home. As in so many other wars, these romantic sentiments would prove to be misconceptions.

In 1860 the men who were to become Carolina Chameleons already shared a great deal in common. The majority of these men were farmers, while the rest were primarily mechanics or artisans.[7] More than 60 percent of all the soldiers were under the age of 25 when they enlisted in the Confederate service (see Table 3). The 1860 census supports the notion that these young men largely lacked the family and business obligations that would have initially made them reluctant to fight or subsequently eager to return home in the face of explaining their unusual military careers. Ninety-five of the 226 sample soldiers were

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[5]*War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), ser. I, vol. I, 474-488. Subsequent references will be cited as OR I, I, 474-488.

[6]Ibid, 488.

[7]Richard Reid. "A Test Case of the 'Crying Evil,' Desertion Among North Carolina Troops During the Civil War," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* LVIII (July 1981), 258.

positively identified in the 1860 census, a 42 percent rate of discovery. Only 21 soldiers, or 23 percent of the sample, were identified as family heads in 1860 (see Table 9). Recorded as the first member of the household, these young men had already set out to create their own lives but had invariably been married only long enough to have one or two young children with their new wives. Just as their families remained small, these young men had had little time to amass wealth. Only five of the 21 family heads owned any real estate; fourteen had some personal estate. Only one had a total wealth over $500 (see Table 10).

Nearly three-fourths of those found in the census were single men who typically still lived with their parents and a large number of siblings (see Table 9). They came from the same socioeconomic background as their counterparts who were family heads. Only three extended families held total wealth greater than $3,500. In general, the men who went to war left behind extended families in which fathers and brothers remained, leaving their consciences unburdened by the notion that women and small children would be affected by hunger or the violence of invaders.

One exception to this pattern was James L. McRae, a 29-year-old school teacher from Montgomery County. In 1860 James lived with a widow Frances McRae, presumably his mother, whose total wealth of $8,650 accounted for the largest family fortune of any Carolina Chameleon in the sample. Also living in the McRae household were four other adult family members including a 39-year-old male listed as the manager of the farm. The family also employed an 18-year-old hireling. Their wealth seems extravagant in comparison to the poor dirt farmers that dominated the ranks, but

nonetheless pales in comparison to the wealth commanded by leading planters. Making a comfortable living and perhaps lacking the idealized view of war that teenagers seemed to have, James avoided service until March 1863 when the draft presumably caught up with him.

Four soldiers were artisans or craftsmen who appear to have been living with families to whom they were not related. In three cases their employers commanded at least $1,700 total wealth, ensuring that they could afford the help. The fourth, 18-year-old William F. Ozment, resided on the Guilford County farm of John and Nancy Moore. His occupation was listed as buggy maker and it seems likely that the Moore family, with only $800 total wealth, retained Ozment as a boarder.

Lastly, Henry Latham of Randolph County was probably already developing an aversion to life behind bars. His residence in 1860 was the county jail where he served time for house breaking.[8]

Most turncoats were not draftees into the Confederate service; indeed, the greatest percentage had enlisted during the first three months of the war. Further, the majority of soldiers enlisted prior to the implementation of conscription in April 1862 (see Table 4). About three-fifths of the soldiers were below the age of twenty-five when they enlisted (see Table 3). In addition, nearly nine-tenths of the soldiers served the Confederacy for a minimum of one year, with the greatest number serving for at least two years (see Table 2). Such lengthy service is evidence that most soldiers were loyal to the Confederacy to a

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[8] U.S. Census MS., Randolph County, 1860, Schedule 1.

great degree and only joined the Union when they felt they had no other choice but to face long imprisonment or death.

Seventeen percent of the soldiers had been wounded at least once before their imprisonment (see Table 1), proving, at least, that they were in the front lines of the South rather than skulking at the rear as conscripts and substitutes did later in the war. Furthermore, they opted to once again face combat by entering the Union army rather than rot in prison.

In comparison, Jason Phillips's study of 199 Galvanized Yankees from Virginia found greater levels of apparent dedication to the Confederacy than among North Carolinians. Two-fifths of the soldiers in his study enlisted in the first three months of fighting as compared to one-quarter of the North Carolinians; and while twice as many Virginians enlisted in 1861 as in 1862, North Carolinians enlisted in almost equal numbers throughout the first two years of fighting. Nearly as many Carolinians enlisted prior to conscription as Virginians because more than half of the 1862 enlistees from North Carolina enlisted prior to the draft in April of that year. This number would support the later testimony of men who claimed after the war that they were convinced to join before the draft so that they could determine the unit they would fight with, perhaps joining friends and relatives in the ranks rather than being assigned by the government. In both studies the majority of soldiers enlisted in the Confederate army before they were twenty-five years old, although the Virginians were most likely to be between fifteen and nineteen while the greatest number of Tarheels were between 20 and 25. In duration of Confederate service more than four-fifths of the Virginians served for over two years

while only half of the North Carolinians did, reflecting in part the greater number of later enlistment dates among the Tarheel soldiers. While a majority of North Carolinians seem to have been faithful Confederates from the start, their numbers seem to indicate less unity of purpose than among the Virginians. Once imprisoned, the length of time that men chose to remain confined is similar between the two states. A greater percentage of Virginians were imprisoned for one to five months, while Tarheels were more likely to serve less than one month in prison or more than half a year. While the North Carolinians do not seem to reflect the level of initial dedication to the Confederacy that the Virginians did, there is nonetheless ample evidence that reluctant or coerced Confederates were the exception rather than the rule among the Carolina Chameleons.[9]

While they might have been the exception, reluctant, or just plain recalcitrant Confederates have remained proof of a paradoxical egalitarianism that ran through a people otherwise dedicated to their Southern identity. The 26th and 52nd Regiments North Carolina Troops each provided 40 or more men to the Union cause while 66 members of the 22nd Regiment joined the U.S. service after being taken prisoner (see Table 1). Eleven members of the 22nd had been previously captured in battle and exchanged at least once before, while eighteen soldiers had been previously wounded. Despite these apparent measures of dedication, 20 of these men had deserted and returned to the Confederate service at least once. Eight members of the 22nd also managed to be court martialed and returned to duty in the Confederate army before they switched sides.

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[9]Jason Phillips, "They Wore Gray, Then Blue: An Analysis of Virginia Confederates Who Joined the Union Army," *Douglas Southall Freeman Historical Review,* (Spring 1997), 183-217.

Three companies of the 22nd, as well as one in the 52nd, hailed from Randolph County in the central Piedmont portion of the state.[10]

Considered the eastern portion of the "Quaker Belt" of Piedmont counties, Randolph County developed a reputation as a bastion of Unionism before hostilities were even under way. Randolph supplied 53 men, the most of any county, to the Federal army. It was home to a large antislavery Quaker population as well as pacifist or anti-Confederate Moravians, Dunkards, and Lutheran Germans who had been amongst the first settlers in the counties of Alamance, Chatham, Guilford, and Randolph, with a lesser presence in neighboring Davidson, Stokes, Davie, Forsyth, Yadkin, and Surry counties.[11] The slave population in Randolph accounted for slightly less than 10 percent of residents.[12] While secessionists were organizing throughout the South and other parts of North Carolina, in Randolph County 800 to 1,000 people gathered on December 28, 1860 to denounce secession as "unwise and suicidal." Representing Randolph County, North Carolina State Senator Jonathan Worth opposed secession as well as the secession convention in an open letter to his constituents. While many Unionists supported the convention in hopes that it would vote down secession, Worth, an unconditional Unionist, vehemently opposed both.

> Every artifice will be employed to make you believe that a convention is to be called to *save* the Union. Believe it not. It is true, many members who are Union men voted for submitting it to a vote of the people whether they would have a convention or

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[10]William T. Auman, "Neighbor against Neighbor: The Inner Civil War in the Randolph County Area of Confederate North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, LXI (January 1984), 69.

[11]Ibid., 60.

[12]Ibid., 69.

> not, throwing upon you, with little time to consider, a responsibility which I think they should have met themselves. Believe not those who may tell you that this convention is called to *save* the Union. It is called to *destroy* it. If you desire to preserve the Union vote "No Convention," and at the same time, be careful for whom you vote as delegates.[13]

Indeed, the voters of Randolph County heeded Worth's call voting 2466 to 45 against holding the secession convention.[14]

Members of the 22nd who hailed from this county, described by the historian William T. Auman as "intensely Unionist," at first glance seem to represent a class of soldier who had little ideological faith in the Confederate cause from the earliest days of the war. The Carolina Chameleons were not the only Randolph soldiers who defied the Confederacy. Randolph County became infamous within North Carolina and amongst Confederate officials for the difficulty of locating the large number of deserters within its borders. As early as 1862 large numbers of Randolph County troops were fleeing the Confederate service with the desertion rate believed to be as high as 22.8 percent for Randolph's eight regular army companies.[15] Unlike the mountainous counties of western North Carolina, the flat piedmont landscape afforded little natural cover for men who were hiding out. Instead, deserters were literally forced underground, living in burrows they

[13]W. Buck Yearns and John G. Barrett, eds., *North Carolina Civil War Documentary* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 15-17.

[14]Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates*, 154.

[15]Auman, "Neighbor Against Neighbor," 69, states that 42 percent of wartime desertions in the county took place in that year. Auman based his desertion figure on an examination of the service records of all troops in these companies. His result refutes the drastically lower 9 percent rate identified by Richard M. Reid, "A Test Case of the 'Crying Evil,'" 249. Using a statistical sampling of 4.3 percent of North Carolina's enlisted troops taken from 30 regiments and 10 battalions as listed in *North Carolina Troops*, Reid projected desertions across the entire length of the war. He concluded that "Political dissent, or what was sometimes called 'Holdenism,' does not seem to have manifested itself in desertion in the Guilford area." While some of Reid's conclusions and his methodology are valid, in this case, the projection of a small state wide sample seems not to have allowed for local nuances.

carved from the earth in wooded areas where entrances could be concealed by foliage. Elaborate systems of warning were created which allowed Unionist sympathizers to warn deserters of approaching patrols through the use of yells, imitation animal calls, and even the hanging of laundry on the line of a home in a certain pattern. As a result, men resorted largely to hiding alone or in small groups that could unite if necessary for their defense.[16]

During the fall of 1863 and through the later stages of the war the situation in Randolph County became increasingly desperate for the Confederate government. The reputation of the area became notorious in Richmond and in Raleigh, where Governor Vance received complaints from loyal Southerners about the depredations of deserters who stole from and terrorized them both for sport and to support themselves in hiding. Vance's reaction was to launch three major wartime campaigns by Home Guard and regular army troops in search of deserters. The skill of the deserters and the aid they received from sympathetic Unionists was exemplified by the failure of all three expeditions to produce results. Indeed, civilian Unionists were many and prominent. William Woods Holden, the editor of the *Raleigh Standard*, was a vocal peace advocate throughout the war to the extent that he ran and lost the 1864 gubernatorial election to Vance. Holden's newspaper and agitation for peace influenced soldiers and civilians alike throughout the war, and eventually led to his service as governor of the state during Reconstruction.[17]

Perhaps affecting soldiers more directly was Bryan Tyson, a Randolph County native and Unionist, who wrote anti-secession tracts. After serving briefly in jail for draft

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[16]Yearns and Barret, *North Carolina Documentary*, 102-103.

[17]William C. Harris, *William Woods Holden: Firebrand of North Carolina Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

dodging, Tyson got himself released with the help of influential friends. Soon afterward he joined the Heroes of America or Red Strings, a group of Southern militant Unionists who engaged in espionage, sabotage and aid to deserters and escaped Federal prisoners of war. The group sought to influence imprisoned, furloughed, and active Confederate soldiers to desert the South. Tyson wrote that "I, with others, visited the Southern army, and I co-operated with said persons in influencing desertions."[18] Tyson was subsequently arrested for the distribution of anti-Confederate literature which he had written during his previous stint in prison. He was again released, this time by Governor Vance who extracted a promise from Tyson that he would cease his subversive activity. In 1863 Tyson, having continued his anti-war activities, fled to federally-occupied New Bern for fear of another, less lenient arrest by the Confederate authorities. From New Bern he made his way to New York and then Washington, D.C. In the Northern capital he tried and failed to influence President Lincoln's political agenda for the war. Though Tyson, like many other self-appointed political advisors, had been ignored by the president, his efforts to undermine the Confederacy continued. Tyson and another Tarheel Quaker in Washington, Benjamin Hedrick, worked to communicate with and support North Carolina Unionists in Federal prisons and to convince Confederate prisoners of war to take the oath of allegiance.[19] With the aid of leaders such as Holden and Tyson, a small war developed throughout the "Quaker Belt" and mountainous western counties between neighbors with

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[18]Bryan Tyson, "To the editor of the chronicle," July 2, 1869 cited in William T. Auman, "Bryan Tyson: Southern Unionist and American Patriot," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, LXII (July 1985), 261-263.

[19] William T. Auman, "The Heroes of America in Civil War North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, LVIII (October 1981), 340. Auman, "Neighbor Against Neighbor," 61.

a difference of opinion in which theft, arson, torture, and rape were used to extort information and revenge.

Despite the governor's support of the Confederate cause, he was fair-minded and particularly concerned about the individual rights of the residents of North Carolina in their dealings with the Confederate and state governments. Indeed, investigation on behalf of the governor into potential abuses by Confederate authorities was undertaken by Judge Thomas Settle of Rockingham County in the central and western portions of the state in the fall of 1864. Settle relayed to the governor the account of a Confederate recruiting officer, Colonel Alfred Pike, who encountered the wife of a man who was evading conscription. In his testimony to Judge Settle, Colonel Pike noted that during initial questioning of the wife, the woman claimed her husband was dead and cursed her Confederate interviewers. Pike added,

> Some of my men told me that if I would hand her over to them they could or would make her talk. I told her to go some twenty steps apart with them, she seized up in her arms her infant not twelve months old & swore she would not go - I slaped (sic) her jaws till she put down her baby & went with them, they tied her thumbs together behind her back & suspended her with a cord tied to her two thumbs thus fastened behind her to a limb so that her toes could just touch the ground, after remaining in this position a while she said her husband was not dead & if they would let her down she would tell all she knew. I went up just then & I think she told some truth, but after a while I thought she commenced lying again & I with another man (one of my squad) took her off some fifty yards to a fence & put her thumbs under a corner of the fence, she soon became quiet and behaved very respectfully. The rails were flat and not sharp between which I placed her thumbs. I dont think she was hurt bad. this (sic) is all I have done Sir, and now, if I have not the right to treat Bill Owens, his wife & the like in this manner I want to know it, & I will go to the Yankees or

> anywhere else before I will live in a country in which I cannot treat such people in this manner.[20]

After noting Pike's account Judge Settle went on to state,

> Allow me Governor in this connection to call to your attention a matter in which you certainly must be misunderstood although your orders on their face bear the interpretation which the officers gave to them. I found in Chatham, Randolph and Davidson that some fifty women in each county & some of them in delicate health and five advanced in pregnancy were rudely (in some instances) dragged from their homes & put under close guard & left there for some weeks. The consequence in some instances have been shocking. Women have been frightened into abortions almost under the eyes of their terrifiers.[21]

Letters from home of such ill treatment of family and neighbors with whom reluctant Confederates sympathized could only have contributed to the likelihood of desertion or defection. When confined to a Northern prison together the men of the "Quaker Belt" may have determined that they had been given the opportunity not only to escape death in confinement, but to make turnabout fair play by joining an opposition with whom they sympathized.[22]

The greatest number of Carolina Chameleons were captured by Federal forces between July and September 1863 (see Table 6). Almost half of the soldiers were captured during General Robert E. Lee's ill-fated Gettysburg campaign or in its aftermath. The 26th and 52nd Regiments both took part in Pickett's Charge on July 3rd as a part of General James Pettigrew's force where they were bloodied and repulsed with appalling

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[20]Yearns and Barret, *North Carolina Documentary*, 103-105.

[21]Ibid., 103-105.

[22]For an account of the Unionist tendencies of Randolph county during the secession controversy, see Auman, "Neighbor against Neighbor."

casualties. In Pickett's Charge alone the 52nd saw 77 men killed, 63 wounded, and 206 captured.[23] These same units were called upon to protect the rear of Lee's army as it retreated back to Virginia. The river crossings at Falling Waters, Maryland, had been washed out by the raging Potomac River. This required a defensive stand while new bridges were fashioned from the wood of nearby warehouses. With his unit already battered by the fighting at Gettysburg, Pettigrew himself was shot in the groin during the repulse of a contingent of Federal cavalry and died a few days later in Virginia.[24] Pettigrew's stand allowed the partial escape of the General Scales' brigade of the 22nd Regiment under the command of Colonel William Lee J. Lowrance after the wounding of the general. Lowrance later chronicled the loss of men during the retreat.

> I filed directly to the rear, and struck the river some three-quarters of a mile above the bridge, and then marched down the river; but the enemy had penetrated the woods, and struck the river between us and the bridge, and so cut off many of our men who were unwilling to try to pass, and captured many more who failed from mere exhaustion; so in this unfortunate circumstance we lost nearly 200 men.[25]

The 52nd, already hammered on the last day of battle, saw 70 more men captured at Falling Waters.[26] During the entire campaign the 26th North Carolina had 86 men killed, 502 wounded, and 120 listed as missing.[27] Only the slow pursuit of General George Meade's Union forces saved Lee from total disaster.

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[23]Louis H. Manarin and Weymouth T. Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops 1861-1865: A Roster* (Raleigh, N.C.: State Department of Archives and History, 1973-1995), XII, 403.

[24]Craig S. Chapman, *More Terrible Than Victory: North Carolina's Bloody Bethel Regiment, 1861-65* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1998), 116-121.

[25]Manarin and Jordan, *N.C. Troops*, VII, 7-8.

[26]Ibid., XII, 403.

[27]Ibid., VII, 460.

CHAPTER 2:
CAGED CHAMELEONS

It would be tempting to argue that these Confederates saw the writing on the wall at this turning point in the war and sought refuge with their Northern captors. The service records of some Carolina Chameleons stated that soldiers "deserted to the enemy," "gave up," or were "mysteriously captured in battle."[1] Indeed, Confederate desertions increased dramatically in the aftermath of the campaign. Some units had been badly thinned in the bloody charges of July 2nd and 3rd, while other units that remained intact found themselves suddenly devoid of leadership. In some cases the local leaders turned officers who had raised units from among their neighbors and led them into battle had all been killed, leaving their comrades disillusioned. Lee was aware of the problem almost immediately. As the armies sat quietly on the battlefield on July 4th, as many as 5,000 unwounded men began slipping South along with the trains of supplies and wounded. Lee issued an appeal to deserters and stragglers on July 26th and notified Jefferson Davis of the problem while requesting that an amnesty policy be issued to lure men back.[2]

In North Carolina a peace movement spearheaded by the pro-reunion publisher of Raleigh's *North Carolina Standard* newspaper, William Woods Holden, in June 1863 received additional support when news of the Gettysburg and Vicksburg disasters reached

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[1]Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops*, IV, 176; VII, 122; and VI, 489.

[2]Richard Bardolph. "Confederate Dilemma: North Carolina Troops and the Deserter Problem," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, LXVI (January 1989), 84-85.

the state.[3] Further, only weeks after the battle, loyal North Carolinians would be dragged into a battle of words launched by the Richmond *Examiner* when Virginia partisans attempted to fix the failure of Pickett's charge on North Carolina soldiers. Whether this debate ever reached the men in prison is unknown, but it seems unlikely since prisoners had other worries. The debate between the states would rage on for years with vestiges of the name calling lasting well into the twentieth century.[4]

While Southern soldiers were surprised and angered by their defeat, they could not immediately ascertain that Gettysburg would be the beginning of the end for the Army of Northern Virginia.[5] If some soldiers were demoralized by the defeat, others maintained their confidence in Lee and in their comrades. Despite substantial desertions as Lee fell back to the Potomac, many Confederates insisted that they had not lost because they had spent July 4 on the battlefield awaiting a Federal attack that never came. They rationalized their failure by arguing that the impregnable position of the Union forces was the only thing that had prevented Confederate success. Further, setbacks at Vicksburg, where an entire army was lost, and at Charleston, had convinced many Southerners that Gettysburg was only a bump in the road. Lee the invincible still led, and he had taken the

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[3]Gary W. Gallagher, "Lee's Army Has Not Lost Any of It's Prestige," in *The Third Day at Gettysburg & Beyond*, Gary W. Gallagher, ed., (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 3-4.

[4]The state of North Carolina published a handbook in 1904 detailing and defending the role of the state at Gettysburg and throughout the war. Report of the Committee Appointed by the North Carolina Literary and Historical Society, *Five Points in the Record of North Carolina in the Great War of 1861-5* (Goldsboro, N.C.: Nash Brothers, 1904). As recently as 1986 a North Carolina "high water mark" monument was dedicated on the Gettysburg battlefield highlighting the advance of North Carolina troops nearer Union lines than any other troops during Pickett's charge because of the angle in the stonewall at the famous stand of trees.

[5]For the early reaction of Southern soldiers to Gettysburg, see Carol Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 31-32.

war to the North, giving Pennsylvania civilians a dose of their own medicine and bringing some welcome relief to the beleaguered Virginia countryside. Only in retrospect would Gettysburg be seen as the climax of the war.

For the men who would become Carolina Chameleons, differences of opinion over the outcome at Gettysburg were largely academic. Undoubtedly, those who had deserted had lost confidence in the war they were fighting while those who were forcibly taken prisoner were more likely to have remained loyal had they not been captured. Once in prison, either perspective was disheartening. Viewing Gettysburg as a Confederate defeat, soldiers were likely to join the Union in an effort to escape a doomed cause. When the battle was viewed as a temporary setback to the South, even the most optimistic Southerner was likely to realize that he would be imprisoned for a lengthy period. Such a realization undoubtedly challenged the loyalty and ideology of even the staunchest Southern soldiers.

As quickly as Confederate soldiers could begin contemplating their dismal futures as prisoners, Federal officials began conceiving plans to put them back into the army, albeit in blue uniforms. Colonel James A. Mulligan commanded the Camp Douglas prison camp at Chicago in February 1862 and made the first formal request to recruit former Confederates into the Union army. Some officers had previously been sneaking ex-Confederates into the army piecemeal with little notice from their superiors. Mulligan's request was forwarded by his superior, General Henry W. Halleck, directly to General George McClellan, where it elicited no response. Halleck subsequently gave the go ahead, allowing Mulligan to recruit and field the 23rd and 65th Illinois volunteers

composed of former Confederates. This action got the attention of Washington and prompted the War Department to prohibit the enlistment of prisoners. For the next year or so enlistments continued on a reduced basis as Secretary of War Edwin Stanton personally authorized individual exceptions to the rule. During this time 82 former Confederates enlisted at Fort Delaware for the First Connecticut Cavalry, which would later be renamed the First United States Independent Infantry. Over 400 men were also recruited for the Third Maryland Cavalry, which would serve in Mississippi and the western theater.[6] Finally, on June 20, 1863 Secretary Stanton issued a formal policy stating that, "when it can reliably be shown that the applicant was impressed into the rebel service and that he now wishes in good faith to join our army, he may be permitted to do so on his taking the oath of allegiance."[7] Stanton left the decision regarding the sincerity of the Southerners to the discretion of enrolling officers who invariably wanted credit for enlisting as many men as possible regardless of their fealty. A high rate of desertion amongst these soldiers convinced Stanton to once again review each case personally beginning in August.

The glitches inherent in the early stages of the concept of drafting former prisoners were perhaps best exemplified by Rock Island Prison in Illinois where the Amnesty Proclamation issued by President Lincoln in early December 1863 had also caused a surge in oath taking and a subsequent backlog of prisoners who wanted to enlist in the Union army. By mid-December 1,797 prospective enlistees from a variety of Southern states

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[6]Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists*, 113.
[7]Cited in Ibid., 113-114.

were crowded into separate barracks to protect them from unrepentant prisoners. Furthermore, since the ragged men were now neither prisoners nor officially mustered soldiers they were unable to draw clothing and provisions from either the prison stock or the quartermaster of the army. The number of men taking the oath and leaving Rock Island for Northern service in December 1863 so alarmed those who remained prisoners that they defiantly and futilely "re-enlisted" men for Southern service. Interestingly, the men who "re-enlisted" stipulated that should they actually be put in a position to bear arms for the South they would no longer serve in the infantry, where forced marches and grunt work was the rule, but only in the cavalry. By qualifying their re-enlistments in this manner the men betrayed their apparent belief that they had a realistic chance to see action again with the South. These inveterate prisoners held fast until the autumn of 1864 when the reality that the war would not end soon, and not likely in favor of the Confederacy, dawned on them and some of the men were finally lured away to the well-established program of western service. Those who still refused to defect went so far as to send a petition offering their services to Confederate President Jefferson Davis in February 1865. With the end of the war a mere two months later, these theoretical cavalrymen, of course, never saw active duty.[8]

The Federal prison at Point Lookout, Maryland unveiled a formal recruitment program in January 1864 that was destined for success because of its high profile sponsor. The effort was spearheaded, ironically, by General Benjamin "Beast" Butler, whose hard

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[8]T. R. Walker, "Rock Island Prison Barracks," in William B. Hesseltine ed., *Civil War Prisons* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1962), 55; Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 65.

line stewardship of occupied New Orleans and its Southern belles had triggered Jefferson Davis's misguided decision to end the exchange cartel one year earlier in December 1862. Butler, a prominent Massachusetts Democrat, was one of many political generals appointed by Lincoln in the early days of the war in an effort to quell opposition to the conflict. Butler engendered controversy everywhere he went and received the enmity of West Point military men who believed he and his ilk were dangerously incompetent on the battlefield. This belief would prove somewhat justified despite the competence of a select few politically appointed officers and the legitimate need to keep potential political opposition busy playing soldier instead of politician.[9] As part of an endless parade of transfers, by December 1863 Butler was serving as the commissioner for the exchange of prisoners as well as the commander of the Departments of Virginia and North Carolina. Butler appealed to Stanton on December 27, 1863, to try another recruiting effort. In a telegram to the Secretary of War he asked, "Is there any objection to my enlisting as many prisoners as may desire to do so – after they know they can be exchanged – either in the regular or volunteer force of the United States or that of any State?"[10] Stanton deferred this time directly to President Lincoln. On December 8, 1863, Lincoln had issued an Amnesty Proclamation designed to lure rebels willing to take an oath of allegiance back into the fold. One option for prisoners who took the oath was to enlist in the Federal army. The result was the enactment of a less strenuous enlistment process at Point Lookout that resembled the earlier efforts of Colonel Mulligan at Camp Douglas. A

[9]The Democratic presidential candidacy of General George B. McClellan in 1864 is an example of the type of political opposition Lincoln sought to quell. For discussion of Butler and the appointment and performance of political generals, see McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 286, 328-329.

[10]As cited in Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists*, 114.

simple test, composed by Lincoln himself and delivered to Butler at Point Lookout by the president's secretary, John Hay, was administered to prospective converts after the successful completion of which a Confederate could take the oath of allegiance and join the Federal forces. The questionnaire read as follows:

> 1. Do you desire to be sent South as a prisoner of war for exchange?
> 2. Do you desire to take the oath of allegiance and parole, and enlist in the Army or Navy of the U.S., and if so which?
> 3. Do you desire to take the oath and parole and be sent North to work on public works, under penalty of death if found in the South before the end of the war?
> 4. Do you desire to take the oath of allegiance and go to your home within the lines of the U.S. army, under like penalty if found South beyond those lines during the war?[11]

In a slow process every one of the 8,000 prisoners at Point Lookout was asked these four questions. By late March Butler had attracted enough prisoners, about one-of-every-eight at Point Lookout, to create a regiment that would serve for three years or the duration of the war. In his note to Stanton seeking final authorization for the creation of the regiment, Butler observed that he had "more than a minimum regiment of repentant rebels, whom a friend of mine calls *transfugees*, recruited at Point Lookout. They behave exceedingly well, are very quiet, and most of them I am certain are truly loyal, and I believe will make as efficient a regiment as there is in the service. I should like to organize and arm it at once."[12] On March 28, 1864, the unit was officially designated the First U.S. Volunteer Infantry.

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[11]Cited in Current, *Lincoln's* Loyalists, 115-116; Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 66-68; and *OR*, II, VII, 823.

[12]*OR*, III, IV, 191-92, 200.

Partisans during and after the war would argue over whether conditions in Northern or Southern prisons had been worse. To any one prisoner, however, his condition in relation to thousands of others was no doubt difficult to imagine as he suffered individually. A variety of prisons inspired these men to resume their military careers in different colored uniforms. The First through Sixth U.S. Volunteer Infantry were, however, primarily organized at Camp Douglas in Chicago and Point Lookout in Maryland with Rock Island, Illinois, and Fort Delaware, Delaware, contributing lesser numbers of converts. While some North Carolinians were recruited out of camps in the Midwest, three-quarters of those who entered the service were recruited at Point Lookout alone, with Fort Delaware a distant second (see Table 5). The First and Fourth U.S. Volunteers were raised primarily at Point Lookout while the Second, Third, Fifth, and Sixth Regiments were peopled mainly by former inhabitants of Camp Douglas, Rock Island, Camp Chase in Columbus, Ohio, and Alton in Illinois.

While many will argue that conditions in Federal prisons were better because of the higher quality and volume of the Northern food supply and provisions, under the best conditions prison was a miserable and deadly experience. Even camp life in the army was a filthy, disease-ridden business. Far more soldiers died of disease in the Civil War than as a result of combat. These difficulties were compounded in the prison environment where the men could not break camp when their environs became fouled. Instead, they were stranded in close proximity to sick comrades and unhealthy latrines.

Though not a North Carolinian, one Galvanized Yankee who achieved great fame in later life was Henry M. Stanley, the British-born newspaperman turned African explorer

who found David Livingstone on Lake Tanganyika in 1871. Stanley, whose real name was John Rowlands, had been born an illegitimate child. At age fifteen he fled Wales and sailed to New Orleans where he befriended a wealthy Southern businessman named Henry Stanley, who adopted Rowland and whose name the boy took. Living in the South when the war began, Stanley joined the Confederate army and was captured. Though Stanley was not a member of the First through Sixth U.S. Volunteers, he was captured two years prior to their organization, he was held at Camp Douglas outside Chicago before entering a regular Union unit in one of the piecemeal defections that preceded the formal program of later years.[13] While Stanley's extraordinary life has few exact parallels to those of the North Carolinians and he was given to overstatement, his compelling description of prison life is telling.

> The latrines were all at the rear of our plank barracks, and each time imperious nature compelled us to resort to them, we lost a little of that respect and consideration we owed our fellow-creatures. For, on the way thither, we saw crowds of sick men, who had fallen, prostrate from weakness, and given themselves wholly to despair; and, while they crawled or wallowed in their filth, they cursed and blasphemed as often as they groaned. In the edge of the gaping ditches, which provoked the gorge to look at, there were many of the sick people, who, unable to leave, rested there for hours, and made their condition hopeless by breathing the stenchful atmosphere. Exhumed corpses could not have presented anything more hideous than dozens of these dead-alive men, who oblivious to the weather, hung over the latrines, or lay extended along the open sewer, with only a few gasps intervening between them and death. Such as were not too far gone prayed for death, saying, "Good God, let me die! Let me go, O Lord!" and one insanely damned his vitals and his constitution,

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[13]Brown, *Galvanized Yankees,* 54-55.

> because his agonies were so protracted. No self-respecting being could return from their vicinity without feeling bewildered by the infinite suffering, his existence degraded, and religion and sentiment blasted.[14]

Life at Point Lookout must have been as dismal as Stanley's description of Camp Douglas. Located on a narrow spit of land between the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River the camp served as a prison and hospital. Inmates lived in tents in a large outdoor stockade surrounded by a fifteen foot high board fence that was overseen by armed guards. A November 1863 visit to Point Lookout by an inspector of the United States Sanitary Commission provided an apparently balanced view of the prison. Hammond General Hospital occupied the same ground as the prison camp and housed both Union and Confederate soldiers. The institution housed fifteen wards radiating outward like the spokes of a wheel. Within the hospital conditions were good. Patients were under the care of Federal surgeons and the Sanitary Commission found that at mealtime "rebels sat down at the same time and in the same room with our own men." However, conditions in the camp were far worse. Many men who were not deemed sick enough for admittance to the general hospital resided in a camp hospital housed in field tents. Under the care of fellow Southern prisoners with medical backgrounds, sick men were described by the commission to be in "a filthy condition; faces and hands apparently strangers to soap and water and hair seemingly uncombed for weeks." The report deemed their Southern caretakers guilty of a "lack of sympathy" or "indolence." Chronic diarrhea was by far the

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[14]Henry Morton Stanley, *Autobiography* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co., 1913), 208-210 as cited in Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 57.

most prevalent disease. Men almost certainly became sicker in the environs of the field hospital. Examiners found that "Filth is gradually accumulating, and the sinks are not at all thought of, requiring a little extra exertion to walk to them." Prisoners were found to "void their excrement in the most convenient place to them, regardless of the comfort of others." The Surgeons of the Second New Hampshire Volunteers who oversaw the field hospital were singled out for "a lack of system and want of discipline."[15] When the condition of a man became desperate, he was removed to the general hospital. Examinations of those who died of diarrhea in the general hospital indicated that most men had also suffered from pneumonia. While commissioners found the food prisoners received was generally adequate and the tents were of good quality, they noted that clothing and blankets were in short supply. They wrote that

> ...the great mass are in a pitiable condition, destitute of nearly everything, which, with their filthy condition, makes them really objects of commiseration. Some are without shirts, or what were once shirts are now hanging in threads from their shoulders. In others the entire back or front will be gone, while again in some you will see a futile attempt at patching. Their clothing is of all kinds and hues - the gray, butternut, the red of our zouaves and the light and dark blue of our infantry, all in a dilapidated condition.[16]

Making matters worse, firewood was not distributed to prisoners in winter, but they were permitted to collect fallen wood from the area. The supply of wood was, however, taxed by the number of men and the fact that they were not permitted to cut down additional trees on the already barren sands of the coastline. The commission found,

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[15]OR, II, VI, 577.
[16]Ibid.

> ...it is impossible in this way for them to get enough to keep them warm, and as they are poorly supplied with blankets they must have suffered severely from the cold, more so where they are, for it is a very bleak place.... Generally they have one blanket to three men, but a great many are entirely without.... The interior of the tents are in keeping with the inmates, filthy; pieces of cracker, meat, ashes, &c., strewn around the tent, and in which they will lie.[17]

The inspector concluded,

> After stating the above facts, giving the condition of the camp and its inmates, some might say it is not our fault that they are in this condition. As far as clothing, it is not; but it is our fault when they neglect to enforce those sanitary rules which keep camps and inmates in a cleanly condition and thus try to prevent disease.... As regards medicine and clothing, they are sadly in want of both, and would suggest that the commission send them.... I know that they are our enemies, and bitter ones, and what we give them they will use against us, but now they are within our power and are suffering.[18]

What was given would ironically, in some cases, be used for the benefit of the United States. As we have seen winters on the waterfront were harsh, and summers proved equally miserable under the relentless unshaded rays of the sun. Prisoner A.M. Keiley wrote in his memoir of prison life of summers "whose severity during the day is as great on the sandbarren as anywhere in the Union north of the Gulf" while winters were "more severe at that point than anywhere in the country south of Boston." He added that under those conditions the men were "confined in open tents, on the naked ground, without a plant or a handful of straw between them and the heat or frost of the earth."[19] A North Carolina private who remained loyal to the South recorded in his diary the demise

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[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid, 579.

[19]A. M. Keiley, "In Vinculus, or the Prisoner of War," 55-67 as cited in Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 67.

of five men who froze to death, as well as hunger so extreme "that they caught a Rat and cooked him and eat it." Malone also alleged that at times prison guards shot indiscriminately into prisoners' tents. His only comments on the Galvanized Yankees were on June 14, 1864 when he noted that "500 rebels taken the Oath and went outside."[20]

Faced with a form of hell on earth, it is no wonder that men chose to enter the opposing army, sometimes in short order. This was particularly the case later in the war as the futility of the Southern cause became increasingly evident. One quarter of all the North Carolinians who switched sides were imprisoned for three weeks or less while over 60 percent were captive for fewer than six months (see Table 7). As the war dragged on many men undoubtedly saw the futility of Confederate resistance and sought to ingratiate themselves with the victors at the earliest opportunity.

The motivations that informed the Carolina Chameleons are undoubtedly similar to those that influenced deserters from the Southern forces. In Civil War history North Carolina has long been dogged by a reputation for having produced the most deserters from the armed forces. This view extended in part from events at Gettysburg. The mass of deserters who abandoned the army during or after the battle included many men who became Galvanized Yankees. Their flight attracted the attention of General Lee, President Davis, and Governor Vance. After Gettysburg, Lee noted in a letter to Secretary of War John C. Breckinridge that North Carolinians, and to a lesser extent Virginians, were deserting and therefore threatening the chances of the army in the field. One year later as

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[20]Bartlett Y. Malone, "Diary," 45-49 as cited in Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 67.

the fortunes of the Confederacy were fading fast, Lee wrote Davis that the desertion of western North Carolinians was of great concern.

Many historians who have studied desertion have attributed the greatest number of Southern deserters to North Carolina. Traditional figures have attributed one-fifth of all Confederate deserters to North Carolina. These figures are now acknowledged to be inaccurate, but the story of desertion in North Carolina reflects the dichotomy of allegiances within the state.[21] An early and somewhat legitimate rebuttal to accusations of desertion was that North Carolina contributed the greatest number of soldiers to the Confederacy and therefore naturally contributed the most deserters. Ironically, despite her reputation for pockets of Unionism and high incidences of desertion, North Carolina was estimated to have provided one-fifth of all Confederate troops during the war although the state contained only one-ninth of the military eligible population of the Confederacy.[22]

Several schools of thought have dictated the scholarship of desertion. Many historians have highlighted individual characteristics as the primary cause of desertion. One early interpretation suggested that the heroic farmers of the South deserted to assist their families with the harvesting of crops only when the odds of battle seemed remote. As soon as the work was done at home they rushed back to defend the front lines. This

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[21]Ella Lonn in *Desertion During the Civil War* (Gloucester, Mass.: American Historical Association, 1928; reprint, Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books, 1998) used the traditional figures of 23,000 deserters among enlisted men and 428 deserters among North Carolina officers. Richard Reid in "A Test Case of the 'Crying Evil,'"concluded that the numbers were closer to 14,000 deserted enlisted men and 100 deserted officers. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 694-695 acknowledged that the traditional numbers are inflated but found that Reid's method of broad sampling when coupled with an emphasis on units recruited early in the war tended to underestimate desertion. As such, the real figures probably lie somewhere in between.

[22]North Carolina Literary and Historical Society, *Five Points in the Record of North Carolina*, 76.

interpretation was a somewhat romanticized view which may have been in part a rationalization for the perceived abandonment of the cause by foot soldiers in the later years of the war.[23]

Others have highlighted class antagonisms, suggesting that foot soldiers deserted because they lacked interest in winning the war. Among many of the yeoman farmers and laborers turned soldiers who dominated the state population there was a perception that secession served only to protect the interests of wealthy slave owners. In short, they were tired of the rich man's war but the poor man's fight.[24] The extent of such class-based divisions, however, is debatable. Indeed, many yeoman and poor white farmers believed the rhetoric of secessionists who insisted that the supremacy of the white race across class lines was more meaningful than the economic divisions highlighted by slave ownership.[25] This interpretation seems to fly in the face of the evidence collected regarding Carolina Chameleons. It seems unlikely that large numbers of men would volunteer to fight in the early days of the war if they intensely resented their socioeconomic status. Even if disaffection with the course of the war did breed class differences during years in the

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[23]In *Desertion During the Civil War*, Ella Lonn espoused this view.

[24]Reid, "A Test Case of the 'Crying Evil,'" argues that the large percentage of laborers and mechanics and the low number of professionals among North Carolina's Galvanized Yankees and coastal Union volunteers is evidence that class stratification was a significant factor in producing desertion. Such a conclusion seems oversimplified since the vast majority of enlisted men in both armies were not professionals.

[25]George C. Rable, *The Confederate Republic: A Revolution Against Politics* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 24-25. Robert C. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 29, argues that in Orange County, which produced only nine Galvanized Yankees, the caste division based on race, when combined with kinship ties, prevented or overcame class antagonisms.

army, the prospect of death in combat or in prison must have remained a more immediate motivation for joining the Northern army.

Another school of thought has argued that localism, rather than class differences, eventually tore the Confederacy down. Throughout the war men from particular communities were likely to go to war together. Early in the conflict notable politicians, planters or businessmen were likely to raise a regiment of men from their community and lead them to war. As the conflict wore on Confederate President Jefferson Davis vehemently insisted that units which were thinned by casualties not be blended with those of other states, but grouped with men from their home state. As such, men who had known each other for their entire lives enlisted and served together in the Confederate army. In turn, many of these men may have chosen to desert together, or in the case of the Carolina Chameleons, escape prison together.[26] Motives of self-preservation as well as localist or class based tendencies may have played a role in supplanting abstract concepts of duty and nationalism amongst the soldiers. Once confined, the prospect of joining the opposition army, for men who had otherwise been loyal Confederates, must have seemed daunting.

The ability to endure imprisonment was largely a matter of personal will. Each man based his decision to switch sides on the degree to which he was able to withstand tremendous physical and psychological discomfort. Perhaps more sobering was the realization that a prisoner was highly likely to die of disease, and essentially had no input

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[26]For discussion of the connection between desertion, kinship ties, and localism, see Robert C. Kenzer, *Kinship and Neighborhood in a Southern Community: Orange County, North Carolina, 1849-1881* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 82-83.

in his body's efforts to resist infection. In the Victorian era social pressures and notions of honor, bravery, and loyalty were paramount. The decision to switch sides could not be taken lightly if friends and family were likely to disapprove. In addition, soldiers had their own ideology and consciences to deal with. They had pledged themselves to fight for the Confederacy but prison camps undoubtedly challenged their intellectual convictions. Perhaps many still believed in the Confederacy but saw no choice. Historians debate whether ideology or experience is the greater motivation of soldiers. The question is not, though, an either-or proposition. Different men experience different feelings. Some remain loyal at all costs, while others fight reluctantly, or only by force to begin with. Still others find their ideology challenged as their experiences wear away at idealism. For many men the experience of combat and imprisonment was the breaking point of human endurance at which abstract ideology gave way to personal necessity. [27]

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[27]Peter S. Bearman, "Desertion as Localism," 323-342. Gerald F. Lindermann, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987) argued that the ideology of men was broken down by the trauma of combat while James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought In The Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) found in a study dominated by Northern officers that ideology remained paramount. Obviously, the reaction of Northern officers might differ drastically from that of Southern enlisted men. In a sense, Northern soldiers may have displayed greater ideological fervor since they could simply have stayed home and theoretically had their lives change very little. Southerners, in contrast, had something to lose.

CHAPTER 3:
GRAY TURNS TO BLUE

While North Carolinians served in a variety of Federal units, the majority of Carolina Chameleons served in the First through Sixth U.S. Volunteer Infantry. Smaller numbers of men served in the U.S. Marines, the U.S. Navy, the First Connecticut Cavalry, which was renamed the First U.S. Independent Infantry and joined the First through Sixth on the frontier, the Third Maryland Cavalry, which fought in Mississippi and other parts of the western theater, Ahl's Independent Delaware Heavy Artillery, which remained stationed at Fort Delaware from which its prisoner members were recruited, and the Third Regiment Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery. Once a prisoner took the oath of allegiance and decided to join the Federal forces he was removed from the general prison population and placed in a nearby camp. There he underwent a physical examination which required him to meet the requirements of loyal volunteer recruits. Many men who volunteered for service were rejected because medical examiners believed they were physically unfit for the rigors of campaign and combat. These men could not be returned to prison where they would likely be victimized by former comrades who had remained loyal. Most became teamsters and laborers for the Northern army. The majority of Carolina Chameleons who served in the First and Fourth U.S. Volunteer Infantry mustered at Point Lookout while only a few served in the Second and Third Regiments that were recruited at western prisons. North Carolinians also served in the Fifth and Sixth Regiments which

were recruited later in the war with the primary purpose of replacing the First and Fourth (see Table 12).

The First U.S. Volunteers were commanded by 23-year-old Colonel Charles Dimon, whose position arose from his connections with the program's benefactor, General Benjamin Butler. The first active duty of the First U.S. Volunteers was to serve as military police in Norfolk, Virginia, beginning in late April 1864. Their duty was no doubt routine and some men soon found their way to the hospital. Whether they fell ill on duty or had managed to slip their ill health past recruiting examiners is unknown, but both possibilities are likely. William Wells of Brunswick County died of dysentery at the Norfolk Hospital after little more than a month of service. Likewise, William Cooper of Alamance County died in August of pneumonia. James Spencer of Stokes County remained bedridden in Norfolk from August 1864 until March of 1865 when he was transferred to Grant Hospital in New York Harbor. He finally received a convalescent discharge in May of 1865. Still others were hospitalized briefly and returned to duty. Also while in Norfolk, David West of Gaston County was confined ten days in the Norfolk city jail on unknown charges before he was returned to duty. Likewise, George Pope of Cumberland County was briefly arrested for disobedience of orders.[1]

It was not long, however, before Butler and Dimon felt the need to test their troops in the field. An expedition to Elizabeth City, North Carolina was mounted on July 27, 1864. Anytime an army campaigns there will be stragglers, deserters, and acts of

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[1]George Pope, Compiled Service Records of Former Confederate Soldiers who served in the First through Sixth U.S. Volunteer Infantry, Regs. 1864-66, National Archives Microfilm Publication M1017, National Archives, Washington, D.C. All subsequent service record references are to this publication.

insubordination. These men were undoubtedly being monitored closely by their superiors to assess their true worth as soldiers. Their feelings must have been powerful as they reentered their home state in the uniform of their former enemy. Some may have been proud that they were now fighting against a cause they had never supported while others harbored thoughts of desertion to their former comrades, or perhaps back home to their families and a civilian life. Three men of the 226 sampled escaped while on maneuvers. William A. Pounds of Randolph County had mustered into the Confederate service as a sergeant in Company M of the 22nd Regiment. After being captured at Falling Waters, Maryland on the retreat from Gettysburg, Pounds languished at Point Lookout for nearly seven months before joining Company D and being appointed corporal in the U.S. service at his May 1864 muster in Norfolk. On July 27, the first day on the march, Pounds deserted at Ballahack, North Carolina. Then on August 1st Franklin Brady, like Pounds a resident of Randolph County who was captured at Falling Waters with Company L of the 22nd, and James Wilson of Gaston County, escaped in or around Elizabeth City. All three men had joined the Confederate service in the first two months of the war. All three men were still far away from their homes in the central part of the state, but the Dismal Swamp region north of Elizabeth City afforded plenty of hiding places until the men could plot their next moves whether they be homeward or back to the Southern army. Last, somewhere between New Bern, North Carolina and Norfolk, James Baker of Ashe County stabbed his commanding officer. His service record fails to indicate any punishment, but the recalcitrant Baker was still with the First U.S. Volunteers on the

frontier in 1865 when he launched a failed bid at desertion.[2] The volunteers seized some animals and supplies, fired a few shots at local guerrillas, and returned to Norfolk seemingly none the worse for wear. A few desertions had probably been expected, but the unit had performed well, and no worse than might have been expected from a loyal unit, something that Butler and Dimon must have taken pride in.

The expedition had nonetheless raised the concern of a reluctant General Ulysses S. Grant, who harbored doubts about the loyalty of the former Confederates as well as the potential for their mistreatment if captured by the enemy. Indeed, Confederate General George Pickett had captured 22 members of the First and Second North Carolina Union Volunteers among 300 prisoners taken at New Bern in January and February 1864. Recognized as former Confederates who had joined Union units mustered on the occupied east coast of the state, the men were treated as deserters by their former comrades. The prisoners were hanged in groups throughout early and mid February. When word reached the North the killings were widely condemned as cold blooded murder. Among loyal Southerners, Pickett's actions were seen as sending a message to men whose will to fight might be flagging.[3] On August 9, 1864 General Grant, compelled in part by Pickett's actions six months earlier, issued an official statement ordering the First U.S. Volunteers transferred to the northwestern frontier because "It is not right to expose them where, to

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[2]Ibid.

[3]Yearns and Barrett, *Civil War Documentary*, 58-61; Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists*, 119-123. Pickett would face Federal scrutiny of this incident in October 1865 and January 1866. While Pickett was found eligible at an army board hearing to be tried for war crimes, he managed to avoid proceedings in part because General Grant, a prewar friend and old army comrade, applied to President Andrew Johnson in 1866 for clemency on his behalf under the terms of the Appomattox surrender. While Johnson refused to sign the documents, Pickett was eventually cleared by the "amnesty for the offence of treason" declaration by Johnson on Christmas Day 1868.

be taken prisoners, they must surely suffer as deserters." This humanitarian solution also conveniently addressed Grant's concern that many of the recruits would attempt to desert back to the Confederacy. Marooned on the northwestern frontier, the enlistees would be too far from home to contemplate an easy escape.[4]

On August 15, 1864 the 1,000-member First U.S. Volunteer Infantry left Norfolk aboard the transport ship *Continental* for New York. Under orders from General Grant the unit was destined for Milwaukee, Wisconsin. After landing in New York on August 17 the troops marched through town, first to the wrong train station, and finally to the appropriate destination where they boarded a 29-car New York Central train. Amongst the confusion of the city roughly twenty men escaped. Captain Richard Musgrove rode herd on the men during the 24 hours they were in town attempting to keep whisky peddlers away from them. He was not surprised by the desertions but recalled in his autobiography that the First Regiment was composed of many North Carolina Unionists who had been "forced into the Confederate service."[5] While Musgrove's observations reflected the 40 percent of the regiment that was from North Carolina, he may have overstated the extent of their impressment by Confederate authorities. Indeed, after the war Musgrove wrote the pension department on behalf of several former soldiers to verify that they had been coerced into Confederate service. While Musgrove was surely quite earnest in his desire to be honest, the Carolina Chameleons may have done little to correct his altruistic assumptions. Hiram Tomlinson of Ashe County was one soldier who

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[4]Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 68-69.

[5]Richard W. Musgrove, *Autobiography* (n.p., n.d.), 156, 158 as cited in Ibid, 72.

Musgrove vouched for as having been forced into the service. Records show that Tomlinson enlisted in April 1861, well before a reluctant soldier would have been conscripted.[6] Indeed, more than half of all North Carolinians who later switched sides enlisted before the Confederate government began conscripting men into service (see Table 4).

In New York, Dimon received a change of orders that would split his unit at Chicago, sending companies A, F, G, and I on to Milwaukee under Lieutenant-Colonel William Tamblyn while Dimon took the remaining six companies to St. Louis.[7] Events in Minnesota had played a significant role in convincing Secretary of War Stanton that paroled prisoners could play a vital role in the Union war effort. Under the leadership of Little Crow, the Sioux Indians in the late summer of 1862 had launched attacks along the Minnesota frontier, prompting Governor Alexander Ramsay to beg the War Department for troops. With their fighting men facing the Confederacy, defenseless Minnesota settlers had suffered the loss of 1,500 of their number. Initially, in the months before prisoner exchanges ceased, Stanton and Governor Ramsay had developed a plan to use paroled soldiers of the Third Regiment Minnesota volunteers as Indian fighters. These soldiers had been captured by the Confederacy and released, but not formally exchanged. Stanton and Ramsay reasoned that since the men would not be fighting Confederates they would not be in violation of their parole. Their legal theory remained untested, however, as the men were exchanged before they could begin fighting on the frontier. But Northern

[6]Hiram Tomlinson, Civil War and Later Pension Files, Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15, National Archives, Washington, D.C. All subsequent references to pension files are to this record group.

[7]Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 191.

leaders soon decided that this would be an ingenious way to utilize hundreds of paroled Union soldiers who were housed at some of the same prison camps as Confederate prisoners, albeit under separate and better conditions. As parolees were sent to Camp Chase in Columbus, Ohio, which served as a staging area, the Union men deduced their destination. Many, logically, protested the prospect of being placed in harms way while they were ostensibly exempt from combat in a war in which they had volunteered to fight. Further, Confederate authorities became aware of the situation and immediately attempted to place a "no Indian fighting" clause into their parole agreements since they relished the prospect of Native American attackers drawing Federal troops away from the Confederate fighting front. Further, the existing language of the agreements specifically barred work as military police, prison guards, or any other position that, although not directly involved in combat, would provide services to the U.S. Army. President Lincoln asked the War Department to further examine the matter in order "to avoid violations of law and bad faith."[8] Stanton and Halleck, not surprisingly, found that service against the Indians would not violate parole, but again the point was moot because General John Pope had marshaled enough militia and volunteers to put down Little Crow. By 1864, however, another, larger Indian war had broken out. With the cessation of the exchange cartel in December 1862, there were no parolees to shift west and sporadic attempts to enlist former Confederates into the Federal service had conditioned officials to the idea.[9]

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[8]Ibid, 63.
[9]Ibid, 61-63.

Life in Minnesota would provide a somewhat deceptive beginning for the men in the four detached units of the First U.S. Volunteers who would ultimately serve for a longer duration than any other Galvanized Yankees. From August 1864 until July 1865 Company A served at Fort Abercrombie, F at Fort Wadsworth, G at Fort Ripley, and I at Fort Ridgely.[10] Although life was more civilized and safer in Minnesota than for the rest of the regiment in the Dakotas, the garrisoned soldiers found their duty enlivened only by courier service between forts. They experienced a lower frequency of attack by Indians and eluded the increased incidence of disease prevalent in the primitive and poorly supplied forts further west. This was reflected in a lower overall rate of death by disease in comparison to their Dakota comrades. In an anomaly, however, all three of the North Carolina sample members who served in the First Regiment in Minnesota died at Fort Ripley. Alfred Walker of Randolph County succumbed to pneumonia in January 1865. Likewise, William Ozment of Guilford County died of pneumonia on April 13, 1865. Three days earlier Ozment had submitted a letter requesting a discharge from the service based on his ill health. And, in unusual fashion, Jacob Canoy of Randolph County, died in June 1865. His service record stated that he "committed suicide by drowning."[11]

In July 1865 Lieutenant-Colonel Tamblyn received orders to consolidate his men at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, for mustering out. The first unit to arrive at Snelling was Company I. The commanding officer, Captain Richard Musgrove, prepared the mustering-out roles and on presentation of them to the mustering officer in late July was

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[10]Ibid., 191.

[11]Jacob Canoy, Compiled Service Records of Former Confederates, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

informed that orders from General Pope would extend their service. Musgrove wrote in his autobiography that "Some of my men were sorely disappointed, but made no trouble."[12] Eventually, the other three Minnesota companies would congregate at Snelling. Despite Musgrove's initial lack of trouble, the aggravation of the soldiers was compounded by the fact that no new orders for them arrived at Snelling until early October. This gave the men two months to sit and think about the fact that the Civil War was over and they were not going home. Of the 36 total desertion attempts recorded in the U.S. Army service records of the sample group, seventeen were Minnesota-based members of the First Regiment (see Table 13). Three men had deserted en route to their posts in September of 1864, deserting at Camp Reno in Milwaukee and at Redwood, Minnesota. Three others deserted at Fort Ridgely, where one, Dawson Johnson of Wake County, voluntarily returned to his unit less than a month after he deserted in September 1864. Whether he had simply gone for some rest and relaxation or had thought better of an attempt to return South while the war still raged is unknown. Ten of the seventeen deserted at Fort Snelling.[13] More than half of the deserting sample members in the Minnesota garrison had been faithful soldiers and chose to desert only after the prospect of mustering-out had been dangled before them and rescinded. Then, their hopes dashed, they had been forced to sit in camp awaiting orders. Those orders finally came in late October when they men learned that they were to guard the Butterfield Overland Despatch stage line in western Kansas. The men marched westward to establish Fort

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[12]Musgrove, *Autobiography*, 178 as cited in Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 191-192.

[13]Compiled Service Records of Former Confederates, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Fletcher, later called Fort Hays, as their base of operations in Kansas.[14] En route Thomas Karnes of Randolph County deserted and, a few days later on November 7, 1865, Dawson Johnson, who had ended his own desertion by returning to Fort Ridgely a little over a year before, abandoned his unit again and this time declined to return.[15]

Any tedium that companies A, F, G, and I had experienced in Minnesota was soon counterbalanced by providing security services to stagecoaches running amongst hostile Cheyenne Indians. Besides combat with the Indians and the frequent discovery of murdered and mutilated travelers and settlers, many of the men would face winter in makeshift dugouts that they constructed at intervals along the line. Between January and March of 1866 inclement weather ground stage service to a halt. Marooned along the line, the men found that blizzard conditions were leaving them dangerously low on supplies. Ultimately, the garrisons fell back from west to east in an unceasing search for food. Some men marched over 100 miles in blinding snow until troops from Fort Wallace and Monument Station joined the garrison at Fort Fletcher. Things looked grim by the end of January when the only option remaining for survival was an 80-mile march east to Salinas with small rations of parched corn the only sustenance. Furthermore, Cheyenne raids were continuing through the weather and the odds were that Salinas had little more than enough to support its own garrison. Then a miracle happened as a supply train arrived in early February. The western units stayed on at Fletcher until late February when stagecoaches resumed operation and the men pushed westward again in the face of

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[14]Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 192-193.

[15]Compiled Service Records of Former Confederates, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

resistance. The hostile conditions, however, had steadily taken their toll on the men and also on the solvency of the Butterfield line, which would fold within months. In May 1866 the last of the First Regiment would muster-out in St. Louis.[16]

As the detached companies had arrived in Minnesota in 1864, Colonel Dimon upon reaching St. Louis was immediately dispatched to Fort Rice in Dakota Territory to replace the 30th Wisconsin which would be sent east. After the few defections in New York perhaps a dozen more men deserted in St. Louis, including George Rufty of Rowan County, who was never to be seen again by the Federal army.[17] Still others would go over the railing of the riverboat *Effie Dean's* as the unit ascended the Missouri River or made routine stops along the way. These developments would cause Colonel Dimon to take a draconian action to prevent the escape of men whose allegiance to the North was one merely of convenience. In transferring the unit west General Pope had written to Brigadier-General Alfred Sully, commander of the Northwestern Indian Expedition, that the six companies "consist of refugees and rebel deserters, and whilst many of the men are excellent, I do not doubt there are also many who will require strict discipline."[18]

With the expectations of his superiors high, Dimon was alarmed by the desertions, and even more so by the possibility that 600 of the former enemy far outmatched the handful of loyal officers who accompanied them on the boat. Dimon would set an example by court-martialing and executing William Dowdy, a 22-year-old Tennessean, whose only crimes were a rumored utterance that he would desert when he got the chance

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[16]Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 191-204.

[17]Compiled Service Records of Former Confederates, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[18]Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 73.

and who had the misfortune to be spotted near the railing of the boat one evening. While Dowdy may well have intended to desert, he was found guilty of inciting mutiny and deserting his unit without ever leaving the boat. As such, any reluctant turncoats had impressed upon them early in their career as Federals the magnitude of their situation. Headed to an isolated frontier populated only by wildlife and potentially hostile Indians they realized that their superiors meant to control them by any means necessary. Dimon had far exceeded his authority as a regimental commander in the incident, though he was probably aware that with this group of men his actions would not only be tolerated, but expected by the high command. Indeed, Butler was watching Dimon carefully because the colonel had a reputation for drinking and carousing. Although the men never knew it, Dimon had written to his sweetheart before he had ever heard of Dowdy that one of his men would die as an example to the others.[19]

After their boat ran aground in dry river conditions the First Regiment marched 272 miles northward to Fort Rice on a haul that conditioned them to life on the frontier. Their rations were spare and they encountered Native Americans, albeit friendly ones, at the Crow Creek Agency where they re-supplied themselves along the way. Upon reaching Fort Rice the men completed construction on the buildings that composed the fort and fell into a routine. They soon discovered that while the Dakota frontier was fascinating and isolated, it was at the same time potentially deadly. Both friendly and hostile groups of Native Americans frequented the area, but soldiers always had to be on their guard outside of the fort against sudden and savage attacks. Colonel Dimon led a few "raids" which

[19]Ibid, 74-78.

were designed to detect and recover white female settlers that were rumored to have been captured by hostile Indians. While no women were found, the colonel's fruitless efforts nonetheless occupied the time of his men. Within the fort men kept busy by drilling, taking classes on army tactics, and maintaining the structure itself. Perhaps worse than the occasional attacks was the freezing winter weather and accompanying illnesses that had begun soon after their arrival. Diarrhea, the old soldier's disease, struck right away, while soon after his arrival 19-year-old Tarheel Thomas Hobbs fell in the river and drowned while performing his duty as ferryman.[20] As fall turned to winter temperatures dipped well below zero, no doubt shocking the systems of men who were used to the temperate climate of the South. Ultimately, eight First Regiment members of the sample group would die during their stay at Fort Rice from diarrhea and scurvy when winter cut off supply routes and depleted stocks of medicine and healthful food. General Alfred Sully in command of the Dakotas would express his concern over conditions at Fort Rice in a spring dispatch. As he wrote, the diseases of winter had only abated somewhat and their ill effects had been supplanted by fierce Indian attacks that inflicted significant casualties. Sully noted that

> Eleven percent of the command have died this winter.... The soldiers of that garrison are comprised of rebel prisoners; men who have been a long time confined as prisoners of war. And of course they are now predisposed to such sickness as scurvy and diarrhea.[21]

Those who survived bouts of illness literally fought for their lives throughout the winter. As spring crept slowly onto the plains Dr. George H.W. Herrick sent bands of men to pick

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[20]Ibid, 82.
[21]Ibid, 92.

wild onions, the only source of nourishment available for men who were without vitamins and other natural sustenance.[22] The effects of the winter would come back to haunt these men later in their lives. Injuries, wounds, and illnesses would resurface, exacerbated by old age and the demands of manual labor by which most of the men and their families were destined to make a living after the war.

During the winter doldrums Colonel Dimon created a theater in which the men could perform skits and the troops began publishing a newspaper, *The Frontier Scout,* with a printing press found in storage. They recorded daily events, obituaries, anecdotes, jokes, and reminiscences of civilian life. On March 19, 1865 news arrived from the east that General William T. Sherman had captured Charleston, South Carolina and was invading North Carolina. The officers of the unit arranged a thirteen-gun salute for noon and sunset, but the enlisted men from the South must have feared for the safety of loved ones back home.[23] The taskmaster Dimon was eventually relieved of his command by General Alfred Sully, who felt that the aggressive tactics of the young soldier failed to take into account the subtleties of Indian diplomacy. In late August news arrived that the unit was to be mustered out and replaced by a Wisconsin regiment and the Fourth U.S. Volunteers who had been recruited at Point Lookout subsequent to the First. While the men anticipated their mustering out, rumors swirled that Dimon was returning to the fort and that they would not be allowed to leave. The result was much the same as it had been with their Minnesota counterparts. Previously rare desertions increased, but were largely

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[22]Ibid, 90.
[23]Ibid, 88.

ignored by officers who knew the unit was soon to be disbanded.[24] Five sample members deserted Fort Rice, all during September 1865. Eventually the First reached Fort Leavenworth, Kansas where they again feared the fate of their four brother companies from Minnesota that had passed through Leavenworth one month before. But their luck was to be better and they were mustered-out in late September.

As the First Regiment performed its duties on the plains, the Fourth Regiment United States Volunteer Infantry was recruited at Point Lookout. The Second and Third units were mustered primarily at Camp Douglas and points west and were composed of few North Carolinians. The men of the Fourth, like the First, included many Tarheels. The unit, however, was not to compile the admirable record of the First. Organization was hampered by delays and the unit was never recruited to full strength. General Butler was able to recruit six companies that were stationed at Norfolk from October 1864 until the end of the war in April. Ironically, more than one North Carolinian was injured in the efforts of the U.S. Volunteers to quell the rioting of drunken loyal Union soldiers in Norfolk on April 13, 1865, who quite likely were celebrating the surrender of General Lee's army at Appomattox four days before. In later years John Eaton of Stokes County would cite in his pension application a gunshot wound he suffered that day at the hands of one of his new comrades. He had already been wounded near Berryville, Virginia while in the Confederate service in September 1864 and his bad luck would continue after leaving Norfolk when the train carrying the Fourth U.S. Volunteers to the west wrecked in Ohio

[24]Ibid., 109-110. Brown notes eleven desertions from Fort Rice in this period, a number that seems conservative. Five men alone deserted from the 25% of the Fort Rice garrison examined here. Brown added that the assumption on post was that the men were going to try their luck in the Montana gold fields.

injuring his back.[25] At that point troops were being shifted west urgently as the army dwindled to prewar levels of enlistment. As the men made their way westward and encountered rumors of the experiences of the men they were to replace one-tenth of the command deserted. Many men were recaptured, however, and were fortunate merely to do time in the guard house before being put back into service. Dee Brown attributed the desertions to the lower quality of character among the men recruited in the second wave as well as to the rumors that the veterans of the First would do little to dispel that they had suffered greatly in their service at Fort Rice. A greater morale destroyer was likely that the men, undoubtedly much to their dismay, found themselves transferred to the frontier just as the Confederacy foundered and their former Southern comrades headed home. But unlike state volunteers the members of the Fourth Regiment were in the service of the Federal government and were therefore obligated to serve the entire length of their enlistment regardless of whether the country was at war.

As if to further their concerns, the Battle of Fort Rice took place within one month of the arrival of the Fourth in Dakota Territory on July 28 when Indians attacked the fort. It was quickly impressed upon the soldiers that the Native Americans would not relinquish their land easily, and many of the soldiers had little interest in dying to take it from them. Soon, the companies of the Fourth were broken up and distributed to garrison duty at a variety of smaller forts. Two forts, Sully and Randall, were south of Fort Rice on the route to Fort Leavenworth. These outposts had only rudimentary supplies or creature

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[25]John Eaton, Compiled Service Records of Former Confederates, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

comforts. To the north at Fort Berthold, an old fur trading post, conditions were little better. The men found their duty monotonous although luckily free of intense combat. A smallpox outbreak at Fort Sully in March 1866 threatened briefly, but a strict quarantine by the post surgeon contained the disease. A lack of will among the men and a lack of discipline among most of their officers led to a thorough breakdown in military custom and habits. An inspection tour of the garrisons in March 1866 left General Delos B. Sackett shocked at the unsoldierly demeanor of officers and men alike. He found the physical plant equally wanting, noting that "Fort Randall should be abandoned" and that "The only structure I saw in and around Fort Sully of the least value was the flag staff, and it was only a tolerable one." Sackett's final report on the inspection foretold a future of treaties that would be made, broken, and made again with the Native Americans who were being pushed westward. Sackett wrote, "This Territory of Dakota, north of the Vermilion River, never will be settled by the white man, and it will make a very good and cheap donation on the part of the government to the Indians."[26] In June 1866 the men received orders sending them to Fort Leavenworth where they were all mustered out by early July. They left behind them a frontier that was just a few years shy of explosive growth. For many of the men this would not be their last visit to the West.[27]

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[26]Brown, *Galvanized Yankees.*, 116-117.
[27]Ibid, 112-118.

CHAPTER 4:
GRAY AND BLUE BENEATH STARS AND STRIPES

As their terms of service came to a close, the Carolina Chameleons mustered out of the United States Army at places including Fort Leavenworth, St. Louis, and Salt Lake City. The men had survived what would be perhaps the defining experience of their and the nation's lives.

The reception these men received, or expected to receive, from their families and communities upon their return to North Carolina undoubtedly played a role in the lives they chose for the future. Finding themselves at a crossroads, these former soldiers saw a variety of paths open before them. Some chose to strike out and seek their fortunes in the West, leaving their pasts behind them. Those who did were typically men who had been younger siblings in large families, or hirelings, before the war. Still others returned home via transportation provided by the army to communities they had not seen in years.

Men whose wives and children waited for them at home were almost certain to return and remain for the rest of their lives. Indeed, the majority of men, not just those with families, did return and stay in North Carolina for good. Another significant portion returned and lived in the state for at least five years before moving on. Among those who returned, however, were a group of men who once again left North Carolina within five years of the end of the war.

The men who did move on did so for a variety of reasons. Some may no longer have been comfortable in the state because of their wartime allegiances. Others simply

saw opportunity in the growing west. Regardless of where they went, these men and their families found that their pasts would never fully leave them. The Galvanized Yankees shared a common legacy for the remainder of their lives. Haunted by the physical and mental scars of their service, many of these men never resumed normal lives and struggled to make ends meet. Typically, they earned a living performing manual labor, sometimes in the face of painful injuries and illnesses that had their roots in wartime military service. When such infirmities became too much, many veterans, families, and widows battled destitution, in some cases relying on the charity of extended family and to a great degree the community. As such, the United States government pension applications available to veterans were viewed as a means of salvation to the individual and community alike and were of concern to many parties. The sworn testimony of family, friends, and acquaintances in these pension applications reveals the varied reactions of North Carolinians to the fact that these men rendered service in the Federal army.

Though the 1870 census finds some men settled back in North Carolina, as a barometer the census is lacking. Just as some men could not be found in the 1860 census, even fewer are shown in the 1870 edition. While 42 percent were found in 1860, only 16 percent were discovered in the 1870 census (see Table 14). On the surface this seems to reflect the possibility that most men failed to return to their former communities upon being discharged from the army. The 1870 census, however, is considered unreliable in part because of under enumeration. Further, in some cases men who were not found in the 1860 census were found in the 1870, highlighting the inconsistency of census data based in part on the thoroughness or lack thereof with which the enumerators did their

jobs. Complicating matters, many Southern families had lost all of their financial means with the collapse of the Confederacy causing them to roam away from their previous places of residence.

The limitations of the 1870 census, however, are compensated for by the examination of United States military pension records which provide a better measure of the whereabouts of the men in the postwar era. Surveys included in many applications queried soldiers on, among other things, their places of residence since the end of the war. While such surveys were not found in every application, the travels and residences of the former soldiers can also be deduced from the testimony of those who provided affidavits to the government regarding the soldiers. The actual application process for a soldier and his family through the years could be exceedingly frustrating and bureaucratic. Federal investigators typically adhered strictly to the requirements imposed upon them in investigating claims. When soldiers applied for pensions it was necessary to record their date of birth, and many men were not sure exactly how old they were. To complicate matters, the birth certificates and family bibles so often used to verify claims had not infrequently been destroyed or lost in the war. When widows applied for their husband's pensions they had to prove that the soldier had died, that the widow and soldier had been married, lived as husband and wife, and never been divorced. For dependent children under the age of sixteen to receive funds their date of birth had to be verified. The search for these answers usually entailed sworn statements from the widow and any paperwork that was available. For the men who died in the twentieth century, death certificates were

common. But in the nineteenth century examiners frequently resorted to eyewitnesses. Doctors and neighbors who had attended the dying man swore that they had been present.

The 1890 Veterans Census compiled in June of that year provides some corroboration or clarification of information in pension records. Certainly, many men had died by 1890, but again the census is suspect. With only one month to compile information, enumerators were bound to miss some men, particularly those living in remote rural areas. Further, they were probably most likely to visit men who were already on the pension roles or were well known in their communities as veterans. Any men who had been reluctant to reveal their pasts were likely to be missed by enumerators. Evidence of the difficulty they faced in quickly tracking down and interrogating a group of now elderly men is included throughout the records. Many men had forgotten details of their service as basic as the unit they belonged to. Union veterans included members of the First through Sixth U.S. Volunteers, the loyal Union units raised on the North Carolina coast, and Northern veterans who had moved to the state after the war was over. It appears that enumerators had difficulty weeding out former Confederate veterans from their visits. In some portions of the records full pages of names are crossed out with the notation that the men had been Southern soldiers. Enumerators in North Carolina recorded information on sixteen Galvanized Yankees included in the sample of 226 men.

The pensions reveal that far more than five percent of the men returned to their home state and communities in the five years after the war. Of the sample of 226 soldiers, 104 veterans, or widows and dependents of veterans, applied for U.S. pensions. Of those 104, 92 applications could be located in the National Archives (see Table 17). The most

common postwar experience is represented by the 41 men who returned to North Carolina immediately after they mustered out and remained there for the rest of their lives. In many cases, the men remained in the communities they had come from and resumed their lives as though the war had never happened. Some within this group eventually relocated within the state for a variety of reasons. This in part explains the low return in the 1870 census. Even among the large group of men who returned to the state, there was no guarantee that they could be found by census takers in the same place of residence or county in which they had resided before the war. Although he moved well after the 1870 census, John W. Riley of Johnson County provides an example of this phenomenon. After the war he returned to Johnson County where he married in 1881. After the death of his first wife, he remarried. In 1891 he and his family were living in neighboring Wilson County. By 1900 he was living at Rocky Mount in Nash County. The impetus for his relocation is not explicitly stated, but one assumes he sought steady employment. Once Riley began working for Rocky Mount Mills in Rocky Mount, a cotton yarn producer, he never again changed jobs. After his death in 1909 Turner Bunn, secretary of the mills, wrote to the government on behalf of Riley's widow to assist her in the application process. His advocacy spanned more than twenty years, and in July 1934 he sought an increase to aid the elderly and failing Mrs. Riley.[1]

Only 16 of the 92 men whose pensions were examined never returned to North Carolina (see Table 17). They may have left for any of a variety of reasons including personal problems, no remaining ties to the state, ideological differences with the South,

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[1]John W. Riley, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

or the belief that North Carolina would lack opportunity in the devastating aftermath of the war. In perhaps the rarest of situations there is evidence that some men did not return to North Carolina even though they did have families there. The strange tale of Hiram Tomlinson was not fully resolved until after 1910. Special examiner H. L. Williams wrote to the commissioner of pensions in November 1911 with the facts of the case and the understated quip that "There is more matrimony connected with this case than with any other I have ever handled." Hiram Tomlinson was born in Wilkes County and married his second wife, Charity, there in September 1860, his first having died well before the war. The new couple resided in Ashe County until Hiram enlisted there for the Confederate Army on August 27, 1861. At 28 years of age Hiram was older and ostensibly more committed to family life than the average early recruit. His Southern military record indicates that he was wounded on December 13, 1862 at Fredericksburg and returned to duty by January 1, 1863. In early May 1863 Tomlinson was wounded at Chancellorsville and by August 4 was listed as a deserter. But by February 9, 1864, he had returned to duty and was captured by the Federals at the Wilderness or Spotsylvania Courthouse in early May 1864. By the end of the month he had liberated himself from Point Lookout by joining Company I of the First U.S. Volunteers. Made a Corporal in July 1864, Hiram was stationed with the Minnesota contingent at Fort Ridgely where he became commissary sergeant. While counting stacked flour barrels in the execution of his duties, he was crushed by the collapse of the stack and injured in 1865. His record of faithful service continued until he was mustered out at Fort Leavenworth in May 1866. But instead of returning home to his wife and child, he began to wander the Midwest.

Between 1866 and 1904 he lived in five different counties in Iowa before finding his way to South Dakota where he settled in the community of Scotland. Between 1866 and 1900 Hiram never contacted his wife. Whether he saw or contacted her during the war is unknown, but Charity testified in 1911 that "I had information after the war that he was mustered out of U.S. service at Leavenworth, Kansas, this information was received through the pension department, Washington, D.C. and I was never able to hear from him, and I presumed he had died and I married one Loggins."[2] We do know then that when the war ended, Charity waited for Hiram's return to no avail. In June of 1889, 24 years after the end of the war, Charity married Simeon Loggins in Johnson County, Tennessee, under the assumption that Hiram had somehow been killed nearly a quarter century before. After a few months of marriage, Loggins deserted Charity. In 1899 Charity applied for half the pension of Loggins, also a Union veteran. In her application she noted her previous marriage to Hiram, which elicited a government response that Hiram was alive and on the pension roles. Attempts by Charity to reach Hiram elicited no response, though he drew a pension before his death in 1907. Charity was eventually pensioned as Hiram's widow, with her marriage to Loggins disregarded since he was dead and she had made a reasonable assumption previously that Hiram was dead. Further investigation by the pension department had shown that Loggins, although a Baptist minister, had three wives living at one time. The only clue to Hiram's motives were a few sentences scrawled in the lower margin of a pension questionnaire he returned to the government in 1898. In answer to no particular question, Hiram lamented that, "there was a man by the name of

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[2]Hiram Tomlinson, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

George Hopkins that caused a division. I had a good woman but she listen to other people insted of me."[3]

Jesse Coffey was an unmarried 18-year-old farmer who lived in Caldwell County in the mountainous western section of North Carolina when he enlisted in July 1861 to fight in Company F of the 26th North Carolina. Two years of campaigning and the Southern defeat at Gettysburg may have caused Coffey to grow disenchanted with army life by July 15, 1863, when he deserted the army at Winchester, Virginia. He returned home, where he was married. Between March and May 1864 he returned to the Southern army although it is unknown whether he reentered the ranks voluntarily to escape troubles at home, or was forced back by Confederate authorities. By June 11, 1864, he had deserted to the enemy, where he was confined at Point Lookout. Coffey's desertion indicated a skepticism towards the Confederate cause that is characteristic of western Carolinians. His Union service record was unremarkable. After the war Coffey returned to his lifelong home where he and his wife separated. After a brief foray to Tennessee he returned to the North Carolina mountains and remarried. Before he died, Jesse expressed to his brother a desire that his second wife receive his Union pension. A feud, however, broke out regarding the dispensation of his pension. A letter dated June 13, 1892 was sent to the Bureau of Pensions by Jesse's brother S.C. Coffey in an apparent effort to prevent Jesse's first wife Elisabeth from claiming the widow's pension. He wrote that

> knowing the unjustness and illegality of the matter, I take the occation to inform you of the same, they lived together some years then she left him or in fact drove him off from

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[3]Ibid.

> home, she has not lived with him for 15 years and would not let him come inside the primises, she has fought him with knives, rocks and clubs, he went to his grave with scars of the wounds upon him, all without a cause on his part. She also taken another man and left the country was gon 12 months. her and her daughter is living together keeping the worst house in the world her daughter has 4 bastard children and is like for another, they are regular keeping a crowd of men about them drinking and disturbing the neighborhood.[4]

Coffey went on to declare that Jesse's marriage to Elisabeth had never been legal and that no records existed which could prove it had been, while his second union had been legitimate.

A few days later on June 18, 1892, Elisabeth wrote the Bureau of Pensions to insist that Jesse had left her to go to Tennessee before returning to Watauga County where he remarried. She suggested that his family had failed to report his death to the bureau in an effort to continue receiving his checks. She added that S.C. Coffey "is an ex-Rebel and a vile partisan." Years later in a 1906 deposition Elisabeth, still claiming that her split with Jesse had been justified, insisted that upon his return from the service, "his mind was all out of shape and he was shot three times one place on top of the head and another place on the arm and another place on the side."[5]

By 1895 a federal investigator had been dispatched to North Carolina to sort out the competing claims. Nancy Dellinger, Jesse Coffey's sister, testified that

> I do not know what service he was in. But have heard him say that the Yankees captured and give him choice to fight the side he was with or fight the Indians and he went and fought the Indians. I have

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[4]Jesse Coffey, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
[5]Ibid.

> heard him speak of being at Gettysburg and Point Lookout. Yes sir. I have heard him speak of being at Fort Rice and was under Col. Diamond at that place. I have heard him talk a great deal about Zeb Vance think he said Zeb was kind officer to him.... No, claimant and soldier were not living together at his death and had not for 16 or 17 years before his death. They disagreed and she sued him and they divided the property and separated according to agreement. I was at the trial at Lenoir, N.C. years ago. There was never any divorce proceedings.... She has the general reputation of a woman of lazy character and have heard of men running to see her. She curses like a man.... I have seen the claimant wink at W. P. Coffey in church.[6]

Indeed, the reputation of Jesse's first wife was a preoccupation for the entire mountain community which was composed of many members of a few extended families. In 1895 Mary Coffey, a 37-year-old housewife, testified that she had lived within a mile of Elisabeth Coffey for several years. Apparently not an immediate relation, Mary noted that

> She is a bad woman and has been living in adultery. I have seen her twice in the act of adultery. The first time was one night at her house. I had gone there to stay all night and after I had retired a man named Keith Blalock of Montezuma came there and he and claimant committed adultery on the floor and I saw the act myself. Claimant spread down a quilt on the floor and they lay down on it and went to work. This was 5 or 6 years ago. After this I saw her and James Hollinger down in the wood below her field in the act of adultery. I saw them as I was going to her house. She has had different men running after her and she is a notoriously bad woman and has led an unchaste life and she is and has been regarded and reputed as a notorious whore. I have no prejudice against her.[7]

In 1906 Jesse's brother J.C. Coffey, now 51-years-old, testified that Elisabeth,

> has the reputation of having been intimate with a great number of men, notably, Walter Dellinger, Keith Blalock & Abnor H. Boyd.... Blalock an Johnson Gragg were the cause of the separation of my brother and claimant. Blalock has been "a regular cat at the hole"

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[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

> ever since the War with Elizabeth....Claimant was so open with men even during my brother's life time that she would brazenly tell him that she was having sexual relations with men.[8]

The final report of the pension investigator in September 1906 concluded that despite the lack of a legal divorce on Jesse's part, Elisabeth had forfeited any right to a pension by her own admission that she had committed adultery, a violation of the pension act of August 7, 1882. The examiner summarized his findings in a compassionate yet frank report.

> Ever since the close of the Civil War claimant's reputation has been as bad as possible. She says that the only man she has ever sustained adulterous relations with since the death of soldier is Walter Dellinger but the general opinion is that she has done so with Keith Blalock, Ex Sheriff Abnor H. Boyd, and others. Her separation from her husband to a considerable extent was caused by her relations with Keith Blalock and he still at times spends the night at her house which consists of exactly one room to cook, live, eat and sleep in and if she and Blalock have ceased their relations it is probably more due to their advancing ages than to any reformation in their morals. So far as her financial condition goes and has gone since the death of her husband and even before that time one has but to view her mode of living and be fully convinced that she is about as poor as a human being can be to live at all. She has a little mountain land which is steril in the extreme and is so steep that it requires a fine acrobatic performance to reach her cabin. So far as I was able to learn there was but one redeeming feature about this old lady and that is her great devotion to her child, grand children, and great grand child. Her efforts to provide something for them has been heroic in the extreme. She has worked early and late and has broken five big steers from time to time and has plowed like a man from day to day. Her daughter has been absolutely worthless. She possessed the iniquity of her mother without her energy and physical ability and appears to have given herself up to a life of vice without profit. Her oldest daughter is following her and has given birth to one illegitimate child and is said to be pregnant with another. Claimant's other grand daughters are too young to be intimate with men but they will probably fall in the ways of their mother and grand mother as soon as they are large

[8]Ibid.

> enough. It seems pitiable that there is not an institution of some kind that would take those children and save them from a life of degredation. They are nice looking and bright and it is bad for them to be sacrificed.[9]

The examiner added that when he had read the depositions of the other witnesses to Elisabeth for her rebuttal that he had maintained a sense of decorum.

> In the deposition of J.C. Coffey I did not read to claimant the words "a regular cat at the hole" for inspite of her bad character a sense of shame prevented my doing so. I simply took it down because it was Mr. Coffey's exact language. I usually keep my depositions as clear of vulgarities as possible but in this case the subject matter was such that I could not keep my depositions free of all vulgarities and report the witnesses any where near verbatim.[10]

While the case of Jesse and Elisabeth may have been far from typical in its Hatfield and McCoy depiction of mountain marriage, it nonetheless proves in dramatic fashion that nineteenth century mores could be far from repressed.[11]

Seven other men returned to North Carolina immediately after the war and stayed until at least 1870 before moving, an indication that they were not afraid of the ramifications of anyone learning about their military service. Seven more men, however, returned to North Carolina soon after mustering out and then moved out of the state before 1870. While the motives of some for leaving North Carolina in the years immediately following the war may have related to disaffection with conditions and attitudes in their home state, others surely left for personal reasons. For example, Sillus Faulkner of Randolph County had returned to his home at Back Creek Township by 1866

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[9]Ibid.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Ibid.

after deserting the U.S. service at Fort Snelling in October 1865. He married Martha Holder, but their union was short lived as Martha died in North Carolina in January 1869. While we cannot know the intensity of his grief, there is no evidence that Sillus ever remarried. He left the state later in 1869 and settled in Indiana where he lived until 1890 when he moved to Texas. In July 1913, at or near 70 years of age, Sillus returned to North Carolina and filed for his U.S. pension. The charge of desertion was removed from his record and made a discharge from the day he disappeared under the act of Congress of March 2, 1889. By 1926 he was living in a Union veterans home in Virginia but making visits to North Carolina "on furlough" until his death in 1929.[12]

Eight men had resumed living in North Carolina after 1870 with their whereabouts immediately after the war unknown. Seven others were living out of state by some time after 1870 with their previous whereabouts unknown. Further, five applications were filed from states other than North Carolina but could not be located in the National Archives while seven applications were filed from North Carolina and could not be located.

Galvanized Yankees were initially subject to the same pension laws that governed volunteer soldiers who had been loyal to the North throughout the war. The first pension allowance of the Civil War was the general law of 1862. Federal soldiers who had suffered significant disability or bodily injury as a direct result of military service were eligible for payments from the government of up to $30 per month depending on the extent of injury. The widows, dependent mothers, sisters, and children under the age of sixteen of soldiers killed in the line of duty were eligible for the full disability rate. This

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[12]Sillus Faulkner, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

law remained in effect for seventeen years with only a few minor modifications. Allowance was eventually made for additional disabilities not incidental to service such as the total loss of sight. Originally, pensioners had to apply within one year of the soldier's discharge to receive payment from the date of discharge. If the application was made after one year the applicant received funds from the date the application was approved. In 1873 this limitation on claims was changed from a one-year to a five-year application deadline for receiving benefits from the date the soldier mustered out. This change primarily helped widows whose husbands had died since the end of the war, allowing many who otherwise would not have to receive a lump sum payment in addition to continuing monthly payments. Between 1866 and 1878 pension expenditures averaged $26.5 million annually and by 1878 nearly 225,000 names were on pension rolls. The Arrears Act of 1879 went further in providing back pay to soldiers who had waited more than one year after the war to apply by retroactively making the first payment date of all existing pensions and pensions applied for before July 1, 1880, the discharge date. By 1885 the arrears payments alone had cost the government nearly $180 million.[13]

In the 1880s, as the health of many former soldiers began to deteriorate, applicants for U.S. pensions filled out extensive paperwork testifying to their family status, military service, finances, and health before, during, and after the war. Pension applications were investigated and awarded or denied on the basis of medical need. Veterans or their families had to prove that the soldier had suffered a wound, injury, or illness while in the

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[13]Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 143-153.

service of the United States that was having lasting negative effects on his health and preventing him from earning a living by manual labor to a noticeable degree. For Galvanized Yankees the pension process would prove complex for a variety of reasons. First, they had to prove that the ills of their wartime service were the results of their Union service rather than Confederate. In addition to interviews and a medical examination, applicants were required to obtain affidavits from acquaintances testifying to their medical condition during various periods of their life and therefore the validity of their claims. These affidavits provide tremendous insight into the extent to which friends and family were aware of and accepted the Northern service of the soldiers.

Testimony found in pension applications provides us with images of their return home. We cannot know the exact number of soldiers whose families knew that they had switched sides during their Union tenure or upon their return from service, but must assume that the number increased through the years as evidenced in the testimony of neighbors and family in support of former soldiers' Federal pension applications. Indeed, William Beard of Wayne County wrote the commissioner of pensions in 1882,

> In the rapid Decline of health and the long train of afflictions and the great expense of Medical aid has reduced me down to the lowest Degree of poverty and desiring to know whether or not I am entitled to pension it will be very thankfully received. when it Does please your honor please send it. Ever your humble servant.[14]

Beard's medical examination was compelling on many levels. His attending physician, J.B. Kennedy, wrote that Beard was "captured and as I am informed & believe entered into the service of the U.S. Army...since his return to North Carolina I have been his

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[14]William Beard, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

regular physician. He is now unable to perform any manual labor & he is suffering from lung & heart trouble."[15] Kennedy's examination and testimony was proved all the more credible when he verified Beard's good health during his Confederate service in Company I of the 35th North Carolina because Kennedy had also served in the Southern unit. Beard's Federal service had not prevented him from functioning normally in his community once the war was over.

While Beard was assisted by a former comrade/foe, the case of Jacob Nowell of Hertford County conversely revealed pro-South resentment that lasted well into the 1880s. Hertford County, located in northeast North Carolina along the border with Virginia, lay in the ardently secessionist eastern piedmont. Prior to the war Nowell, a bachelor, worked as an overseer for a prominent local planter, Jacob Sharp, while also maintaining his mother's property. At age 27 in February 1863, Nowell found he was no longer able to avoid military service and was drafted into the Confederate army despite his status as an overseer. Captured a mere six months later at Hazel Run, Virginia, in late July 1863, Nowell was imprisoned at Point Lookout until February 1864. He volunteered for the Federal army and was stationed not far from his home county at Norfolk, Virginia. William Saunders, a Hertford County neighbor testified after the war that he saw Nowell during this duty and spent three days with him. One year later on February 21, 1865, Nowell died of scurvy at Fort Rice, Dakota Territory. His Federal service record indicated that "He was a good and faithful soldier." Sarah Miller, Jacob's mother, whose second husband had died before the war, found herself in dire straits with the loss of her

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[15]Ibid.

son. C.B. Miller, presumably Sarah's relative, reported that she applied for a pension in 1875 and found that a Sarah Nowell of Bertie County had posed apparently as Jacob's wife or mother and in so doing defrauded the government by receiving money under Jacob's name with the assistance of a corrupt justice of the peace. While the circumstances are unclear, by 1886 Miller reported that no charges could be filed in the fraud because the guilty parties were all dead. He went on to appeal on behalf of the 82-year-old woman that, "Said Jacob Nowell having volunteered while a Rebel prisoner, it don't seem reasonable should bar her, as he was as much a soldier as any in the army and was in active service."[16] By 1889 a Federal investigator had recommended Mrs. Miller for a pension. Twenty-four years after the conflict he wrote of lingering resentment over the war manifested in a local refusal to aid the elderly woman. The investigator stated that

> In the small community of Harrellsville N.C. where the history of the Nowell and Miller family is well known to all the old citizens it is not an easy matter to collect information outside of parties who have testified. The fact that the soldier deserted the Confederate army and enlisted in the U.S. Army is well known and in consequence of which there is a strong feeling of prejudice against the family and a disinclination to give information that in any way would benefit the widow.[17]

Clearly, the legacy of the war remained in the varied reactions which veterans and their families received regarding their Union affiliation.

The Dependent Pension Act of 1890 was the next significant piece of pension legislation. Tremendous political posturing by the pension attorneys who populated Washington and benefited most from a large number of pensioners urged the veterans

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[16]Jacob Nowell, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
[17]Ibid.

organization the Grand Army of the Republic, or GAR, to lobby for benefits for as many soldiers as possible. The 1890 bill allowed pensioning of men based on their inability to perform manual labor to earn a living regardless of the origins of the injuries or of the financial status of the soldier.[18]

During the 1890s, just as pension law for war veterans was being liberalized to an unparalleled extent in American history, the Galvanized Yankees found themselves singled out. Section 4716 of the pension law was passed in 1895 and, as interpreted by the commissioner of pensions, forbade the payment of former Confederates who had served time in the Federal army unless they could prove that their Confederate service had not been voluntary. Federal investigators intervened and forced applicants who had served in both armies to prove whether they had been forced into the Confederate service against their will. Not surprisingly, few of the men were able to establish such a case beyond a reasonable doubt. While some had undoubtedly been Unionists, they were hard pressed to prove it, particularly in light of the deception attempted by some men who had enlisted in the Federal army for strictly self-serving reasons and were willing to say anything for money. William Green of Caldwell County provided a rather dubious claim regarding his Southern service. Listed in Confederate records as a member of the 26th North Carolina from March 1862 until his capture on the retreat from Gettysburg on July 5, 1863, Green nonetheless denied in later years that he had ever served the South. In 1890 he wrote to George Lemon, the leading Washington-based pension lawyer of the day, insisting that

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[18]McConnell, *Glorious Contentment*, 143-153.

> I have to say that I never was enlisted in the Confederate Army nor never done any duty as a soldier in said army. I was a young man when the war commenced and was in the state of Mississippi on a visit at its commencement. I then went to the state of Kentucky to visit relatives there. I learned that my brother was in Lee's army on the march to Gettysburg, I overtook the brigade (Gen'l Pettigrew's) in which my brother was a soldier, when crossing the Blue Ridge into Maryland & on to Pa. I remained in the rear of the army during the fight at gettysburg and was staying with a citizen. Here I was taken prisoner by the U.S. troops and carried to point lookout, Maryland, as a prisoner.[19]

Green discounted the ability of U.S. investigators to check Confederate records and challenged credulity at the idea that a Pennsylvania resident would willingly house the guests of Southern foot soldiers.

As previously seen, the majority of men volunteered early in the war before conscription was enacted. Indeed, in many cases Federal investigators resorted to finding former Confederate officers and comrades of the men in order to determine whether or not those who professed Unionist sympathies had volunteered for or been coerced into Southern service. In many of these situations loyal rebels, to their credit, confirmed that Unionists had been conscripted even though they had disapproved of the man's desertion and knew that their honesty would help the Galvanized Yankee receive money from the Federal government.

John Holden of Caldwell County was one of the few veterans able to prove that his Confederate service had been involuntary allowing him to continue to be pensioned despite the stricter interpretation of section 4716. In a December 1896 deposition taken at Holden's residence in Terre Haute, Indiana, he stated, "I did draw a pension but it was

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[19]William Green, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

stopped because somebody reported I had been in the confederate army. I suppose that is the reason."[20] In contradiction to Holden's suspicions of an anonymous tip, the government seems to have ferreted out former Confederates of its own volition. Regardless, Holden set about proving his loyalty by noting that he had returned to North Carolina to secure the testimony of John Will Coffey, the head of the state militia contingent that had arrested him. Further, Holden addressed some confusion that surrounded his place and date of enlistment. He stated that "my name may have appeared on the roll of the confederate army in the fall [of 1862], but I was not there because I went from home and stayed with James Hartley (dead) most of the winter in order to avoid arrest. I went back home on a visit in the spring and was then arrested and taken to the Confederate service."[21] Two months later in February 1897 Special Examiner S. M. Arnell, Jr. interviewed the former Confederate recruiter J.W. Coffey at Patterson in Caldwell County. Coffey confirmed that he arrested Holden at his father's house in 1863 under the provisions of the Confederate conscription law. Coffey stated that he and the men who accompanied him were initially unable to find Holden. He explained further that "One of those with me happened to stoop down and look under the house where he saw

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[20]John Holden, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[21]Ibid. Holden's testimony that he may have appeared on the rolls when he was not present is telling. Later in the same affidavit he denies that he enlisted at Raleigh and maintains that he served in the 13th N.C. for only three weeks before deserting near Culpepper, Virginia while on picket duty. He goes on to deny that he has ever been known as John W. Holden, but that a number of his cousins including at least one by the same name were also in the service. This confusion on the part of the examiner remains with us today. The Galvanized Yankee who most closely matches Holden is listed as a John Holder who enlisted in Wake County in 1861 and was captured at or near Gettysburg. It seems likely that this is the same man and that a paperwork snafu, not at all uncommon in the Southern army, caused some of the confusion. Lastly, Holder's record is starred in *North Carolina Troops*, indicating the belief that he may not have been from Wake County as indicated.

him [Holden] hiding. He had pulled up the planks inside and crawled under the floor to try to escape detection. We called to him to come out and he obeyed." Coffey added that Holden "had the reputation of being a Union man. When I captured him his folks told me that he had his victuals prepared and was expecting to make his way through to the Union lines in East Tennessee."

On February 28, 1897 Special Examiner Arnell of the pension office reported to the commissioner of pensions that "from the evidence herewith I am satisfied that" Holden's "service in the Confederate Army was wholly involuntary. I do not believe he intended to actively support either side."[22] The testimony of numerous other neighbors and acquaintances supported Holden's claim to have been a supporter of the Union. It seems obvious, however, that the testimony of the arresting Confederate militia officer was the most important testimony on Holden's behalf.

Likewise, Caleb Roberson of Guilford County was a Unionist forced into the rebel army. His mother-in-law Jane Irwin testified in her daughter's 1897 widow's pension application that during the war

> Mr. Roberson was acting in the interest of the Union cause doing what we called bushwhacking or aiding the Union soldiers. We were loyal and ten Rebel officers came and took my son-in-law from his home by force and said all men must serve in Rebel army from 16 and 60 years old. They would not allow his wife to speak one word when she tried to talk they made her stop but did not keep me from protesting. They forced Mr. Roberson from his house said if we did not open the door they would mash it down. I can say he never volunteered but was forced in the service, but had only been there about month or so and deserted them and came home and the party who deserted with him they shot down and

[22]John Holden, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

> took my son-in-law to the army again & he was taken prisoner by the Union forces & then he enlisted in the Union army….there was not a drop of rebel blood in Mr. Roberson he always was a Union man first last and all the time.[23]

After his departure to the war, Caleb's wife Louiza fled north to avoid ill treatment for her Unionist tendencies. She testified in 1897 that

> We were tortured almost unbearable because of our Union sentiment. I came north through reble line & never saw my Husband for four years – he was a true Union man….I fully know what it was to be a simpathizer with the Union army our experience was very severe – If any one had seen us they would know (I mean the northern people) what it cost to be a Union Family in the South during the war.[24]

While Louiza was not detailed in regards to the difficulties she suffered, one imagines the worst. The "Quaker Belt" was the stage for vicious attacks by both Unionist and Southern partisans. Physical and sexual abuse of women was frequently used in efforts to extract the location of deserters or to punish the families of Northern sympathizers. Remarkably, Caleb and his family returned to North Carolina after the war. In 1874, however, Caleb relocated to Indiana. In his pension application he cited the cause of the move to be the advice of his physician for handling his ill health. Although it seems odd that Caleb would lie to Federal authorities since persecution in the South could only help his case, it seems odd to move to the chilly climate of Indiana for health reasons. It seems feasible, even if somewhat speculative, to assume that the Roberson family was no longer totally comfortable in their home state. The western Carolinian Holden and the "Quaker

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[23]Caleb Roberson, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
[24]Ibid.

Belt" resident Roberson were two of a very few able to convince Federal authorities of their loyalty under the microscope of section 4716 in the 1890s.

While some legitimate Unionists remained pensioned under section 4716, the vast majority of Galvanized Yankees would see their pension checks cut off in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Lorenzo Breedlove of Randolph County, who had served in the U.S. Navy, had just managed to have a desertion on his United States service record changed to a discharge in July 1890 to make him eligible for pension when he was dropped from the rolls in December of that year. He reacted to his suspension by appealing to his congressman for assistance. Breedlove's grandiose language belied his extreme poverty and represented either a feint on his part or a complete lack of understanding of political realities. He queried,

> I write to ask if it would be of any benefit to me to show in what way I was forced into the Confederate service, or is the case hopeless: Can there be a private act of Congress passed for my relief? Whatever is necessary to be done, please attend to it, and you shall be suitably rewarded.[25]

Breedlove's missive was of little help to him; he died in November 1902 before he was ever restored to the rolls. His widow Mary applied for a widow's pension in 1917 from Rowan County, but her application seems to have been abandoned before any money was awarded.

A change in pension law in 1907 overturned the prevailing interpretation of Section 4716. The commissioner of pensions now stated that the previous interpretation was untenable, and that the soldiers and their families were once again permitted to draw

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[25]Lorenzo Breedlove, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

funds. This turn of events was tremendously helpful to the many infirm and destitute veterans and their families. It seems that the decade during which they were denied support was largely the result of bureaucracy rather than an active or highly publicized effort to punish former Confederates. At any rate, the size of the pensioners checks increased through the years as their illnesses worsened and as they reached certain milestone birthdays, such as 70 or 75 years of age, which entitled them to increases.

While there is no evidence that formal veterans reunions took place amongst the soldiers in later years, there is abundant evidence that former comrades visited each other and corresponded by mail as the years wore on.[26] Some men shared a neighborhood with men they had known before the war in the Confederate service, in the Union army, or in all three scenarios. Others who had not kept in touch were aided by the government in locating former comrades who could testify to their condition during the war and enhance their chances of monetary compensation. A federal pension examiner evaluated Nathan Teague's 1890 testimony from Tennessee on behalf of Simon Allen of Randolph County, who he had not seen since the war. The examiner wrote,

> The deponent Teague bears a fair reputation for truth, but his manner of giving his testimony impressed me with his lack of personal knowledge. He is one of those men to all appearance and manner of make up who would like to say something very favorable to the soldier if he could only know in advance what was required of him. I have no confidence in his testimony.[27]

A group of soldiers from the central portion of the state acted as affiants for each other after serving together in the First Regiment and all being hospitalized at Fort Rice during

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[26]Brown, *Galvanized Yankees*, 2.

[27]Simon Allen, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

the dismal winter of 1865-66. William Lamb and John Roberts, both living in Raleigh, and Samuel Pollard of Durham each testified on each others behalf, a fact that did not go unquestioned by the Federal investigators. In June 1886 the special examiner wrote to the Commissioner of Pensions regarding the testimony of Pollard on behalf of Roberts.

> The statement of this witness is almost identical with that of deponent Lamb.... Witness was in hospital at same time and was pensioned a few weeks ago for rheumatism & scurvy. He "heard" that claimant incurred a rupture working in the ice on the Mo. River.... Also heard that claimant was run over by a wagon or team, causing injury to side and leg. Was in the hospital at the time, and did not see the accident, and never saw the injured parts, nor any evidence of the injury. Each of the three persons named, Pollard, Lamb, and claimant, are witnesses in the claims of the other two. Reputation, fairly good.[28]

Undoubtedly, few of these men had ever left their home state much less their home counties prior to the war. Their odyssey during the conflict had shown them the horrors of violence and introduced them to people and places they had scarcely imagined existed or had found frighteningly foreign before. Like the young men who would fight the wars of the twentieth century, these soldiers would never be the same again. After serving many years in camp, prison, and combat for two opposing armies, they must have felt as though they no longer fit into the world they had marched away from years before. No doubt the boys had become men and the men had been forever changed. As the historian Gerald F. Linderman wrote of soldiers who fought on only one side, "Combat had altered them, and so painful had been the changes forced upon them that they wished the home folks to recognize, understand, and sympathize with their experience, but without having

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[28]John Roberts, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

that knowledge alter either those at home or their relationships with their soldiers."[29]
Indeed, Josiah Sauls, a coach painter from Wayne County who served in the 27th North Carolina and in Company C, First U.S. Volunteer Infantry, experienced difficulty soon after his return home and for the rest of his life. In 1905 the pension claim of his wife Amanda, who served as his guardian, was investigated by authorities who sought to understand why Josiah and Amanda had lived apart in North Carolina and why she had subsequently gone to Chicago with her daughter and granddaughter leaving Josiah in Wayne County. Amanda recounted in her sworn testimony that

> When he got home after discharge it was plainly evident that his mind was impaired. He was a fine ornamental painter & his friends got him a job soon after his return, but [he] held the job only one month then came home & took his monthly wages, $60, from his pocket and threw it in the fire. He was then much worse & it was clear to anyone that he was crazy, & in January following his discharge he was sent to the asylum at Raleigh, N.C. & kept in confinement there for 18 years.... finally when my husband was discharged from the hospital or asylum as an incurable, we took him home & kept him there for about 10 years, during that time he did no work, and was a harmless invalid, except when under the influence of liquor, when he would be a raving maniac. He was not kept under restraint but was permitted to go about the city & would meet friends who would buy liquor for him and that was harmful to him.[30]

Amanda went on to explain that her husband applied for a pension of his own accord but squandered the $12 per month. When he became unmanageable and his family attempted to send him back to the state asylum, they were rebuffed. Instead, they convinced the authorities to take him at the county poor farm where he stayed for five years before returning home again briefly and being sent back to the poor farm for good.

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[29]Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 226.

[30]Josiah Sauls, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Whether Josiah was suffering the effects of illness, the phenomenon of post-traumatic stress unknown in his era, or the aftereffects of a gunshot wound to the head that he received during his Confederate service in 1862, we may never know. His case illustrates in the extreme the difficulties faced by men who returned to their families and could not assimilate back into the lives they once lived.

Andrew Rendleman presented a unique case. Residing in Rowan County as a school teacher Andrew enlisted, or more likely was conscripted, in neighboring Iredell County in August 1862. Within thirteen days of his Confederate muster he had deserted the army, but in March 1863 returned from desertion under unknown circumstances. Between July 1-4 during the Gettysburg campaign Rendleman "straggled from the company" and was captured, undoubtedly much to his delight. He was first imprisoned at Fort McHenry, Maryland, before being transferred to Fort Delaware. In August 1863, after only one month of imprisonment, Rendlman enlisted in Ahl's Independent Company, Delaware Heavy Artillery. During that month, according to his pension application filed after the war, Andrew damaged his hearing firing a salute. Unique to his file, the only affidavits were sworn by former Union comrades and an Illinois minister who had not seen Rendleman since before the war. Nowhere in his file is a connection to the Confederate army mentioned. Once briefly, it is noted that Rendleman was teaching school in Rowan County when the war broke out. It seems that Andrew was most likely from Illinois and had traveled to North Carolina to work. Stranded when the war began, he avoided Confederate service for as long as possible. Upon entering the service, he quickly deserted for a long period of time. We can probably assume that his return to the army

was by force and once again he escaped the South, this time with the fortune of being in Pennsylvania. His brief imprisonment highlights his Northern allegiance.

Since Rendleman was mustered to the North on a piecemeal basis rather than as part of a unit specifically designed for former rebels, he benefited in efforts to conceal his past. Further, he may have been able to convince Northerners who might have revealed him that he was in the wrong place at the wrong time. In any event, Andrew was lucky that the government never even examined the justification of his claims. After the war Andrew married three times. His first wife died. He divorced the second. He finally applied for a pension from Illinois after marrying his third wife Susannah in 1885. Andrew died in 1901 and Susannah applied for a widow's pension. In 1908 she lived in Arkansas where she, like so many other war widows, struggled to make ends meet. She sewed for a living and shared odd jobs with her son in the offices of the *Arkansas Democrat* newspaper. Her efforts to receive a pension were complicated by the need to prove that Andrew's first wife had been officially declared dead. The destitute Susannah could not afford to travel and had to resort to sending letters to Marshall, Texas, where Andrew's previous spouse had died of yellow fever thirty years before in 1878. No records or testimony regarding the first wife were found, and a benefactor writing on Susannah's behalf resorted to contacting their U.S. congressman for assistance. She ultimately does appear to have been pensioned.[31]

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[31]Andrew Rendleman, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Beyond personal complications, pensioners lives were affected by the confusion and acrimony that reigned in the postwar South. Military occupation and attempts at reconstruction had met with resistance from white Southerners that eventually influenced Northern political leaders. The collapse of Reconstruction and the reconciliation of the sections resulted in virulent racism and segregation that would last well into the twentieth century. In the case of Perry P. Loyd, who joined the U.S. Navy after entering Point Lookout, investigators reviewing the case of his wife, Martha, consulted the Register of Deeds of Wake County in September 1919. The clerk of the county office was sworn-in and deposed testimony which reflected the lasting bitterness of some white Southerners:

> That in 1868 no record of marriages was kept except the filing of the license when it was returned by the officer who performed the ceremony, that he has made diligent search in his office for the license issued for the marriage of Perry P. Loyd and Martha Raines, and has been unable to find the same, that he does not doubt from the reputation in their neighborhood that they were legally and properly married and lived together until the death of the husband. The records for the period from 1865 to 1875 were very poorly and carelessly kept owing to the fact that the control of all public matters in this State was at that time under the control of ignorant and depraved negroes recently set free, and irresponsible white men who came into the State for what they could get out of its public business, which they controlled by exploiting the negro vote, while the better class or our people were disenfranchised.[32]

Despite the bureaucratic nature of the pension process with its ever changing laws and the tendency of investigators to doubt the honesty, with some justification, of former Confederates, the process nonetheless revealed at times the compassionate nature and earnest efforts of Federal investigators. They were typically skeptical of all claims and

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[32] Perry Loyd, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

particularly those of Galvanized Yankees. While they demanded strong evidence that injuries and wounds had originated in the Federal service, they nonetheless showed dedication to their work and as pensioners aged, compassion for the men and women they were evaluating. In the early 1890s Mary Miller, the elderly widow of veteran Henry L. Miller, applied for government support with a piteous and mysterious case. After mustering out of Company A of the Fourth Regiment U.S. Volunteers, Henry probably did not return to North Carolina or, if he did, it was for a brief period of time. Mary testified that he moved to her neighborhood at Little Sioux, Harrison County, Iowa where they became acquainted with one another. They were married on November 6 or 7, 1867, the exact date having escaped her memory. A daughter was born in August 1868 and died within one week. By 1869 the couple was living in Savannah, Missouri. In late September 1869, Henry mounted one of his horses with the professed intention of securing work or renting a farm in the country. He borrowed a saddle from a neighbor to whom he had always returned borrowed goods before and set out. He was never seen or heard of again despite the inquiries of his brother-in-law, who also lived in town, on behalf of his distraught sister. Henry's brother-in-law, Zina Hoag, testified in 1894 from Delano Township, Kansas regarding his efforts to find Miller. Despite the fact that his memory was failing him, he stated that, "if my sister says that the marshal helped me hunt for Mr. Miller, it may be true, but I don't recall it now. She was pretty near crazy & wanted me to do 'this and that' to try & find Miller & I don't recall all that I did do."[33]

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[33]Henry Miller, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Although many acquaintances of the Miller's in Savannah had died or moved away by 1894 and none of the old timers could remember Miller, relatives and neighbors in her new home of Hill City, Kansas seemed to believe Mrs. Miller's assertion that

> We had no serious trouble in our affairs, just a little frezz occasionally but no bad falling out. He never threatened to leave me.... As he was a strong Union man and as he had fought for the Union he would stand up for the Union.... I remember him telling me one time when he had been making hay that he had some words with some men about the war and the south getting whiped...and it was just a few days before he left home. I remember that he said that he believed the men would kill him, from the way they acted he said they appeared mad and walked back and forth in front of him.... I don't remember that he went back there to make hay after that, there was a great deal of non-Union sentiment in that locality and they didn't like a Union man.[34]

Indeed, Mr. Tritt, Mary Miller's Hill City lawyer, urged the government to investigate the incident fully on behalf of the destitute widow, a phenomenon that appears repeatedly in the pension applications of these working class women who struggled to survive when their husbands became ill or died. Tritt wrote in 1892 that Mrs. Miller

> Is of good repute, and very poor, and has frequently been assisted by her friends, and the charities of the public, the declaration is as has been generally understood by the people here since her residence in this County, to be "the facts in her case, and the public generally sympathizes with her, and hope that her case may be made special, it seems to be the belief of many people who came to this country from Andrew Co. MO that her husband was Killed soon after the war on account of the local and political prejudices that then existed in that section of the Country, there is no doubt of the good faith of the application, and if her Husband is alive and on the pension rolls the people here ought to know the fact.[35]

Special Examiner A.G. Greenstreet wrote to William Lochren, commissioner of pensions, in 1895 with sympathy as well as skepticism.

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[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

> In view of the soldier's absence and silence since 1869 and of the fact that he has never applied for pension, especially under the act of June 27, 1890, a presumption of death is most fair and plausible. But I do not think that a final conclusion of death should be reached.... Very probably for reasons best known to himself he left his wife and went back to his home in N.C.... Should his people know not of his living whereabouts since 1869 then I believe claim under the act of June 27, 1890 should be admitted.[36]

Further investigation revealed, however, that Miller had been in the Confederate service. Several of his former comrades in the Southern army were consulted, but none of them remembered him specifically since there were many Millers in their unit. Further, no family could be located in his former home county. Ultimately, the claim was rejected on the basis that there was no proof that his death was the result of his Union army service. The claim was reopened in 1902 under the change in pension law that gave pensions to former Confederates and their families, but there is no evidence that Mrs. Miller ever received compensation for her misfortune.

While the unfortunate Mrs. Miller was never pensioned, other like James Hanner remained pensioned in their old age despite the efforts of jealous outsiders. Hanner resided and enlisted in Randolph County when the war began. Orphaned at a young age, Hanner had been an indentured servant apprenticed by his guardian in 1846 to last until his 21st birthday in 1861. Upon receiving his freedom he enlisted in the Southern army. He was captured near Hagerstown, Maryland, on July 14, 1863, and imprisoned at Point Lookout before he enlisted in the First U.S. Volunteers as a corporal and performed faithful service until he was mustered out. Upon his return from the U.S. Army Hanner married in Greensboro in 1868 and lived the remainder of his life in the state with the

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[36]Ibid.

exception of two years in the early 1880s. Dropped from the pension rolls under section 4716 along with so many of his former comrades, Hanner was pensioned again in 1904. For unknown reasons in February 1918, a United States Army veteran named George Preston wrote the commissioner of pensions from Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, in an attempt to expose Hanner.

> With your permission I beg to inquire for what reason you are now and have been for several years paying a pension to James C. Hanner, Greensboro, R.F.D. #1, Guilford Co., N.C. because I know it to be a fact that the said James C. Hanner served for three years as a private in the army of the Confederate States, against the government of the United States. He was captured and taken prisoner shortly after the battle of Gettisburgh [sic]; yet he draws a pension from the Government of the United States. I myself, have served in the army of the United States for four years. I do not draw a pension and do not desire any because I know that I am not entitled to one, yet I cant see how it is exactly fair that an ex-soldier of the United States is not intitled [sic] to a pension, while one who has fought against the United States draws a good size pension from the government. Trusting you will investigate the matter and if a mistake has been made, you will correct the same.[37]

Within one month the pension office replied to Preston: "in the prosecution of the claim there was no concealment of the fact that the pensioner had rendered service in the Confederate army prior to his enlistment on January 24, 1864, in the Federal army. Section 4716, Revised Statutes of the United States, has been repealed. The allowance was made in accordance with the law, but your courtesy in advising this bureau of the facts stated in your letter is appreciated."[38] Hanner would live until late 1924. The postmaster of Pleasant Garden, North Carolina, wrote the pension department to confirm Hanner's death and to return his most recent and undeliverable pension check to the

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[37]James Hanner, United States Military Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
[38]Ibid.

government. His note ironically complained of a hardship that could not even begin to compare with that suffered by Hanner and his fellow veterans so many years before. He wrote of handling Hanner's check: " I am glad to be rid of that responsibility, for he had been feeble for so long, and though he had a box on Greensboro Rt. 1, he would have his checks sent here. I rode five miles through bitter cold weather to deliver one last spring & in the night at that."[39] The Carolina Chameleons were passing away as they had lived. Their decisions and lives had always been controversial. But perhaps more than anything their plight had been unappreciated.

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[39]Ibid.

CONCLUSION

While it would be compelling and even logical to believe that most Carolina Chameleons were Southern dissenters or at worst reluctant Confederates, the evidence provides a more contradictory and complex picture. The majority of Carolina Chameleons volunteered early in the war for Confederate service and served for a long period of time before being captured and switching sides. Most clearly joined the Northern cause for the sake of expediency. Nonetheless, there is ample evidence that some, usually those from the anti-slavery "Quaker Belt" and the politically indifferent mountain region, in fact were Unionists and sought to escape the Confederate service for ideological reasons. The vast majority of men, regardless of their loyalty to the South, provided faithful duty once they had enlisted in the Federal service. The diversity of experience among the men bears out the difficulty of concluding why men chose to fight, or not to fight. These were real men dealing with the difficult decisions of a nation at war. Neither the questions nor the answers in their lives were clear cut or simple. Caught in a maelstrom of confusion they wandered from decision to decision, each time making the one that seemed to provide them with the greatest potential to continue living.

From the perspective of 150 years, only the few Unionists who resisted and escaped Southern service for ideological reasons can be viewed as true subversives to the Confederate cause. The fact remains that while thousands of Americans fought and died to end slavery, the vast majority of white Americans in the late nineteenth century subscribed to a theory of white supremacy. Ironically, a North Carolinian who purposely

supported the North by switching sides found himself, though no longer fighting for slavery, engaged in the decimation of the Native American population. But rather than condemn these men as oppressors from the perspective of today, we must understand the context within which they lived. This is not to say that we are simply to forgive and forget past wrongs, but rather to understand how and why they happened. These men were in many ways doing the duty that a social and political elite had forced upon them.

The Carolina Chameleons as a group were members of the lower class, primarily farmers. The vast majority did not own slaves. Ironically, while the majority joined the Confederacy early in the war and fought for a lengthy period, there were nonetheless a number of later recruits who honestly did not want to serve the Confederacy. After capture and imprisonment most of the men decided to join the North rather quickly after they were offered the opportunity. Their service in the ranks of the Union army was, for the most part, faithful and equal to the efforts of loyal Union men. Desertions were rare, due in part to the remote locations of their service, but also to their earnest efforts to fulfill their duty regardless of the army they were fighting for.

After the war a small percentage of men stayed on the frontier without first returning to North Carolina. Nearly 40 percent of the Carolina Chameleons returned to North Carolina. They resumed living in their old communities, and as evidenced by their pension records, families and friends were aware of their military careers. While a few neighbors clearly condemned their Southern service, a surprising number displayed little resentment either because they had never had their hearts in the cause of the South to start with or because decades had passed and they were content to forgive and forget a painful

experience. Among those who returned to North Carolina some would move within the state to other communities. These moves, however, frequently took place quite a few years after the war. There is rarely any indication that the men moved because they were uncomfortable in their communities. More likely, their quest for employment and a means of supporting their families was their motivation.

A third group of men returned to North Carolina and stayed for only a short period of time before moving to other states, typically on the frontier, within one or two years of the end of the war. Again, there is little evidence to suggest that these men left North Carolina because they were no longer comfortable there. Equally, or perhaps more likely, is the probability that these men had broadened their horizons. Most of them had probably never left North Carolina, or even their county before the war began. They found themselves campaigning along the whole eastern seaboard, marching unbelievable distances, meeting men from other states, and in the case of Antietam and Gettysburg, fighting on enemy territory. They experienced the horror and shock of combat before finding themselves in an unhealthful prison camp. Joining the opposition, the men found themselves on the frontier at the very edge of Anglo civilization. While they suffered from devastating weather as well as the hostilities of a native population that was being slowly and violently displaced, they undoubtedly saw the opportunity that the West afforded firsthand before those on the east coast could be enticed into westward migration. In short, these men returned to North Carolina with their horizons broadened, aware that there were other places for men to seek their fortunes. Further, they may have found their former homes stifling. They returned to families and friends who had little conception of

the horrors they had seen in war. They may have speculated succinctly that the South would suffer for years the economic devastation wrought by the war and the political powerlessness imposed on the region by surrender.

The story of the Carolina Chameleons is not what one expects to find when speculating on a group of men who seem on the surface to be turncoats. Yet, the evidence provides a compelling story. We find that the Carolina Chameleons, far from storybook soldiers who fought gallantly according to a perceived antebellum code of ethics, were real people. They made decisions rashly and sometimes reluctantly. They often were forced to do things they did not want to do. In the end, those who survived had an experience that made them unique among Americans. The fact that most of them resumed their lives in North Carolina as though little had happened is both a testament to the endurance and flexibility of the human spirit, and a reflection of the relative speed with which the sections reconciled for better or for worse. In a sense the Carolina Chameleons fell into the gaps of history. Rather than brother against brother, they fought self against self. Their own personal conflict mirrored that of a nation rent temporarily asunder.

APPENDIX A

CHARACTERISTICS OF CAROLINA CHAMELEONS BASED ON 862 MEN FOUND IN *NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS*

TABLE 1: CONFEDERATE UNIT AND SERVICE RECORD

Regiment #	# of soldiers who switched	# who previously deserted	# previously captured	# previously wounded	# enlisted as substitutes	# previously court martialed or jailed
1st	30	--	--	6	--	--
2nd Battalion	13	1	6	1	--	--
2nd Regiment	25	5	1	4	2	--
3rd	16	--	1	4	--	--
4th	14	2	3	3	--	--
5th	32	4	9	9	1	--
6th	39	--	6	13	--	--
7th	15	2	4	2	--	--
8th	7	--	5	3	--	--
11th	17	3	--	2	1	--
12th	5	--	--	--	2	--
13th	10	2	2	2	--	--
14th	12	--	--	1	--	--
15th	2	1	--	1	--	--
16th	19	3	3	5	1	1
17th	1	--	--	--	--	--
17th (2nd Org.)	6	--	--	--	--	--
18th	7	1	1	--	--	--
20th	9	--	--	4	--	--
21st	27	1	--	3	--	--
22nd	66	20	11	18	2	8
23rd	10	--	2	3	--	--
24th	1	--	--	1	--	--
25th	1	--	--	--	--	--
26th	48	5	2	6	1	--
27th	3	--	--	2	--	--
28th	16	6	8	3	--	--
29th	22	3	--	3	--	--
30th	18	4	--	3	--	--
31st	3	1	3	--	--	--
32nd	17	4	--	--	1	--
33rd	29	8	7	3	1	--
34th	18	4	2	1	--	--
35th	7	7	--	2	--	--
37th	17	5	4	10	--	--
38th	3	1	--	--	--	--

Source: Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops.*

Regiment #	# of soldiers who switched	# who previously deserted	# previously captured	# previously wounded	# enlisted as substitutes	# previously court martialed or jailed
39th	15	5	1	--	--	--
43rd	6	2	--	--	--	--
44th	2	1	--	--	--	--
45th	33	2	2	3	2	2
46th	3	1	--	1	--	1
47th	18	--	--	--	2	--
48th	9	4	--	4	--	--
49th	2	--	--	--	--	--
51st	8	5	--	1	--	1
52nd	40	4	--	3	3	--
53rd	26	8	1	5	1	--
54th	31	5	4	3	--	--
55th	18	2	2	1	1	--
56th	8	1	2	1	3	--
10thRegt. 1st Regt Art.	7	--	1	1	--	--
40th Regt. 3rd Regt Art.	14	--	--	--	--	--
13th Battalion N.C. Light Art.	1	--	--	--	--	--
9th Regt. 1st Regt. Cav.	5	--	1	2	--	--
41st Regt. 3rd Regt. Cav.	12	--	--	--	--	--
59th Regt. 4th Regt. Cav.	4	--	--	--	--	--
63rd Regt. 5th Regt. Cav.	3	--	--	--	1	--
65th Regt. 6th Regt. Cav.	11	--	--	--	--	--
Spencer's Co. Cav.	1	--	--	--	--	--
Totals:	862	133	94	143	25	13
Composite Percentage	100%	15.4%	10.9%	16.6%	2.9%	1.5%

Source: Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops.*

TABLE 2: DURATION OF CONFEDERATE SERVICE

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
1 month or less	14	1.6%
1-5 months	51	5.9%
6-11 months	75	8.7%
1 year –1year 6 months	179	20.9%
1 year, 7 months – 1 year, 11months	120	13.9%
2 years – 2 years, 6 months	238	27.6%
2 years, 7 months – 2 years, 11 months	78	9.0%
3 years- 3 years, 6 months	46	5.3%
3 years, 7 months or longer	1	0.1%
Unknown	60	7.0%
Totals	862	100.0%
Composite Percentages		
Duration of Confederate Service under two years	439	51.0%
Duration of Confederate Service over two years.	423	49.0%

Source: Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops.*

TABLE 3: AGE AT ENLISTMENT

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
Under 15	1	0.1%
15-19	234	27.1%
20-24	279	32.4%
25-29	101	11.7%
30-34	57	6.7%
35-39	25	2.9%
40-44	6	0.7%
45-49	6	0.7%
50-54	2	0.2%
55-60	1	0.1%
Unknown	150	17.4%
Totals	862	100.0%

Source: Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops.*

TABLE 4: DATE OF CONFEDERATE ENLISTMENT

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
April-June 1861	213	24.7%
July-September 1861	116	13.5%
October-December 1861	39	4.5%
January-March 1862	201	23.3%
April-June 1862	68	7.9%
July-September 1862	61	7.0%
October-December 1862	20	2.3%
January-March 1863	16	1.9%
April-June 1863	16	1.9%
July-September 1863	13	1.5%
October-December 1863	20	2.3%
January-March 1864	10	1.2%
April-June 1864	6	0.7%
July-September 1864	4	0.5%
Unknown	59	6.8%
Totals	862	100.0%
Composite Percentages		
Enlisted in 1861	368	42.7%
Enlisted in 1862	350	40.5%
Enlisted in 1863	65	7.6%
Enlisted in 1864	20	2.4%
Enlisted before Draft (April 1862)	569	66.0%

Source: Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops*.

TABLE 5: PRISONS WHERE CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS WHO ENLISTED IN FEDERAL UNITS WERE HELD

	# of soldiers	# of soldiers
Point Lookout, Maryland	640	74.3%
Fort Delaware, Delaware	103	12.0%
Rock Island, Illinois	11	1.3%
Camp Chase, Ohio	11	1.3%
Camp Douglas, Illinois	19	2.2%
Camp Norton, Indiana	11	1.3%
Bermuda Hundred, Virginia	1	0.1%
Fort Norfolk, Virginia	2	0.2%
Alton, Illinois	2	0.2%
Ft. McHenry, Maryland	3	0.3%
Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania	3	0.3%
Old Capitol Prison, Washington, D.C.	6	0.7%
Elmira, New York	1	0.1%
Unknown	49	5.7%
Totals	862	100.0%

Source: Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops*.

TABLE 6: DATE CAPTURED BY FEDERALS

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
July-September 1861	1	0.1%
January-March 1862	(all artillery) 15	2.0%
April-June 1862	2	0.2%
October-December 1862	2	0.2%
January-March 1863	--	--
April-June 1863	16	1.9%
July-September 1863	364	42.2%
October-December 1863	163	18.9%
January-March 1864	9	1.0%
April-June 1864	189	21.9%
July-September 1864	78	9.0%
October-December 1864	14	1.6%
January-March 1865	3	0.3%
Unknown	6	0.7%
Totals	862	100.0%

Source: Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops.*

TABLE 7: DURATION OF FEDERAL IMPRISONMENT

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
1 week or less	60	7.0%
2 weeks	69	8.0%
3 weeks	92	10.7%
1 month	58	6.7%
2 months	137	15.9%
3 months	74	8.6%
4 months	43	5.0%
5 months	10	1.2%
6 months	162	18.8%
7 months	65	7.5%
8 months	13	1.5%
9 months	7	0.8%
10 months	5	0.6%
11 months	7	0.8%
1 year	4	0.5%
1 year, 1 month	3	0.3%
1 year, 2 months	1	0.1%
1 year, 3 months	6	0.7%
1 year, 4 months	--	--
1 year, 5 months	1	0.1%
1 year, 6 months	3	0.3%
1 year, 7 months	--	--
1 year, 8 months	1	0.1%
Unknown	41	4.8%
Totals	862	100.0%

Source: Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops.*

TABLE 8: PRE-WAR COUNTY OF RESIDENCE
(Soldiers in the sample of 226 are from the counties in bold)

	# of soldiers
Alamance	**10**
Alexander	7
Alleghany	3
Anson	4
Ashe	**11**
Avery	--
Beaufort	4
Bertie	6
Bladen	1
Brunswick	**3**
Buncombe	13
Burke	12
Cabarrus	9
Caldwell	**14**
Camden	--
Carteret	2
Caswell	4
Catawba	**5**
Chatham	8
Cherokee	7
Chowan	4
Clay	**1**
Cleveland	12
Columbus	1
Craven	6
Cumberland	**10**
Currituck	1
Dare	--
Davidson	9
Davie	2
Duplin	**5**
Durham	--
Edgecombe	2
Forsyth	24
Franklin	5
Gaston	**4**
Gates	4
Graham	--
Granville	2
Greene	3
Guilford	**13**
Halifax	1
Harnett	1
Haywood	--
Henderson	2
Hertford	**2**
Hoke	--

	# of soldiers
Hyde	2
Iredell	9
Jackson	1
Johnston	**9**
Jones	5
Lenoir	--
Lincoln	13
Macon	8
Madison	**10**
Martin	8
McDowell	10
Mecklenburg	7
Mitchell	--
Montgomery	**3**
Moore	7
Nash	14
New Hanover	4
Northampton	**4**
Onslow	9
Orange	9
Pamlico	--
Pasquotank	1
Pender	--
Perquimans	**2**
Person	3
Pitt	3
Polk	1
Randolph	**53**
Richmond	5
Robeson	4
Rockingham	27
Rowan	**9**
Rutherford	4
Sampson	7
Stanly	8
Stokes	**20**
Surry	10
Swain	--
Transylvania	--
Tyrrell	2
Union	13
Vance	--
Wake	**21**
Warren	4
Washington	2
Watauga	5
Wayne	**13**
Wilkes	31
Wilson	--

	# of soldiers
Yadkin	8
Yancey	**5**
Unknown	229
Total	862

Source: Manarin and Jordan, eds., *North Carolina Troops.*

APPENDIX B
1860 CENSUS TABLES BASED ON SAMPLE OF 226

TABLE 9: FAMILY STATUS

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
Head of Family	21	9.3%
Living with Extended Family	69	30.5%
Hireling/Artisan living with non-relatives	4	1.8%
Prison	1	0.4%
Not positively identified in census	131	58.0%
Totals	226	100.0%

Source: U.S. Census, North Carolina, 1860, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

TABLE 10: WEALTH OF FAMILY HEADS, HIRELINGS & ARTISANS

	Real Estate	Personal Estate	Total Wealth
$0	20	11	11
$1-99	2	9	6
$100-249	--	4	5
$250-499	3	--	2
$500-999	--	1	--
$1000-1499	--	--	1
Totals	25	25	25

Source: U.S. Census, North Carolina, 1860, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

TABLE 11: WEALTH OF FAMILY WHERE SOLDIERS LIVED W/EXTENDED FAMILY

	Real Estate	Personal Wealth	Total Wealth
$0	27	9	9
$1-99	1	13	8
$100-249	9	18	10
$250-499	9	9	12
$500-999	11	14	9
$1000-1499	7	4	6
$1500-1999	4	1	7
$2000-2499	--	--	1
$2500-2999	1	--	3
$3000-3499	1	--	2
$3500-3999	--	1	1
$4000-4499	--	--	--
$4500-4999	--	--	1
$5000-5499	--	--	--
$5500-5999	--	--	--
$6000-6499	--	--	--
$6500-6999	--	--	--
$7000-7499	--	--	--
$7500-7999	--	1	--
$8000-8499	--	--	--
$8500-8999	--	--	1
Totals	70	70	70

Source: U.S. Census, North Carolina, 1860, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX C
UNITED STATES MILITARY SERVICE RECORDS OF FIRST THROUGH SIXTH U.S. VOLUNTEERS

TABLE 12: U.S. UNIT SERVED IN

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
1st U.S. Volunteer Infantry	128	56.6%
2nd U.S. Volunteer Infantry	--	--
3rd U.S. Volunteer Infantry	1	0.4%
4th U.S. Volunteer Infantry	23	10.2%
5th U.S. Volunteer Infantry	3	1.3%
6th U.S. Volunteer Infantry	4	1.8%
3rd Maryland Cavalry	19	8.4%
1st Connecticut Cavalry	6	2.7%
3rd Regiment Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery	2	0.9%
Ahl's Independent Delaware Heavy Artillery	2	0.9%
Marine Corps	1	0.4%
U.S. Navy	12	5.3%
U.S. Unit Not Reported	20	8.9%
Rejected for Service	5	2.2%
Total	226	100.0%

Source: United States Military Service Records of First through Sixth U.S. Volunteers, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

TABLE 13: EXPERIENCE IN U.S. SERVICE

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
Deserted Successfully	30	18.9%
Desertion Attempt Failed	6	3.8%
Died in U.S. Service	15	9.4%
Received Convalescent Discharge	19	12.0%
Arrested on charges besides desertion	3	1.9%
Rejected for Service at Pt. Lookout	4	2.5%
Rendered faithful service	51	19.5%
Unit served in unclear or service record not found	31	32.0%
Total	159	100.0%

Source: United States Military Service Records of First through Sixth U.S. Volunteers, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX D
1870 CENSUS TABLES BASED ON SAMPLE OF 226

TABLE 14: FAMILY STATUS

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
Head of Family	34	15.0%
Living with Extended Family	1	0.2%
Hireling/Artisan living with non-relatives	2	0.8%
Prison	--	
Not positively identified in census	190	84.0%
Totals	227	100.0%

Source: U.S. Census, North Carolina, 1870, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

TABLE 15: WEALTH OF FAMILY HEADS, HIRELINGS & ARTISANS

	Real Estate	Personal Estate	Total Wealth
$0	24	18	18
$1-99	1	--	--
$100-249	5	8	8
$250-499	2	8	3
$500-999	2	2	5
$1000-1499	1	--	1
$1500-1999	1	--	1
Totals	36	36	36

Source: U.S. Census, North Carolina, 1870, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX E
RETURN PATTERNS TO NORTH CAROLINA BASED ON U.S. MILITARY PENSION RECORDS

TABLE 16: PLACE OF POSTWAR RESIDENCE

	# of soldiers	% of soldiers
Never Returned to N.C.	16	15.4%
Returned to N.C. permanently	41	39.4%
Returned and stayed until at least 1870	7	6.7%
Returned and left before 1870	7	6.7%
Initial whereabouts unknown but found living outside N.C. after 1870	7	6.7%
Initial whereabouts unknown but found living in N.C. after 1870	8	7.7%
Applied from N.C. but file not found	5	4.8%
Applied from state other than N.C. but file not found	7	6.7%
Died in U.S. Service and dependents applied or whereabouts unknown	6	5.8%
Total	104	100.0%

Source: U.S. Military Pension Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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BIOGRAPHY

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