A STUDY OF MORALE
IN CIVIL WAR SOLDIERS

A Thesis

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by

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CHAPTER I, INTRODUCTION

Tolstoy wrote in War and Peace: "In warfare the force of armies is the product of the mass multiplied by something else, an unknown X...X is the spirit of the army, the greater or less desire to fight and face dangers on the part of all the men composing the army, which is quite apart from the question whether they are fighting under leaders of genius or not, with cudgels or with guns that fire thirty times a minute."¹

This entity X, which is certainly an intangible quantity, would seemingly be difficult to measure. However, Samuel A. Stouffer, et. al., in the first two volumes of their monumental work, The American Soldier, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, have demonstrated several ways in which good--or bad--morale is manifested in the attitudes of World War II American soldiers.

One audience for whom the authors of The American Soldier intended their work was historians. Indeed, this paper was in part inspired by their observation that "If by some miracle a cache should be found of manuscript material telling of the attitudes toward combat of a representative sample of, say, a hundred men in Stonewall Jackson's army, the discovery would be of interest to Civil War historians."² No such grandiose hope of finding such a cache of manuscripts is held by the present author. Yet, it does seem that some benefit might be obtained

from trying to measure quantitatively, or, if you will, "scientifically" the morale of Civil War soldiers by using some of the guidelines set forth in The American Soldier. The present paper does not even intend to approach a definitive study. Instead it is undertaken simply as an informal survey to ascertain whether a more comprehensive scrutiny of diaries, memoirs, and packets of letters of Civil War soldiers will yield fruitful results along the lines of those obtained by Stouffer. That is, by looking at some characteristics which Stouffer found intertwined with morale in one way or another, and applying them to Civil War soldiers, it is hoped that significant contrasts and comparisons, similarities and differences, can be found which, when projected on a larger scale, will help us to better understand the soldier of one hundred years ago.

A word of caution is necessary before proceeding. While the main topics which are to be used in judging the spirit and morale were suggested by similar topics discussed in The American Soldier, it is wishful thinking to hope that the same methodology can be used. Stouffer used a questionnaire--almost a public opinion poll--approach supplemented by interviews and observations. Whatever the disadvantages of this system may be (and critics have pointed out many), it has the advantages of being direct and readily adaptable to statistical analysis. The results are quantitative and "scientific" as opposed to a more qualitative, "literary" approach used by Bell I. Wiley in his studies of the common soldier in the Civil War.

The desire here is that the results will be somewhat more quantitative

and statistical then those presented by Wiley. But it is recognized that it is impossible to achieve Stouffer's concise statistical analysis, if for no other reason than that our method must be so much more indirect. For example, Stouffer could ask directly on his questionnaire, "In general, how well do you think the Army is run?" and then follow it with a list of explicit responses such as "It is run very well; It is run pretty well; It is not run very well; It is run very poorly; Undecided."³ However, we have to suppose hypothetically that this question was asked and then search for an answer, keeping in mind that we will find few (if any) such precise remarks as "I think the army is run very well." There will therefore be a greater flexibility in the answers we get than in the answers Stouffer got; consequently, our results must be more ambiguous. Thus, if Stouffer was prudent in warning the readers of The American Soldier to place emphasis on trends and patterns as a whole rather than specific percentages, the warning seems to be doubly prudent here.

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER I.

1. Leo Tolstoy, War and Peace (Translated by Constance Garnett), (New York: McClure, Phillips and Co., 1904) III, Part XIV, p. 268.
2. Samuel A. Stouffer, et. al., The American Soldier, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, (4 vols; Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1949) I, p.4.
3. Ibid., I, p. 87.

CHAPTER II, CLASSIFICATIONS AND METHODOLOGY

For our purposes six attitudes and characteristics affecting morale have been selected from the wealth of material presented in The American Soldier on a more or less arbitrary basis. These are:

1) Personal esprit. Quite simply this applies to a "soldier's expressed sense of well-being."¹ Positive statements regarding a) physical condition, b) mental condition, c) support from the "home front," such as letters and "care packages," and/or d) enjoyment of army life in general may be taken as responses favorable to high morale. Negative statements toward these items may be taken, of course, as unfavorable responses.

2) Orientation toward and personal commitment to the War. Stouffer concluded that World War II soldiers "had neither any strong beliefs about national war aims nor a highly developed sense of personal commitment to the war effort."² World War II soldiers did not view the War in terms of ideological principles or causes. Their commitment was essentially a defensive one in that they merely accepted the War as a necessary evil imposed on them by an aggressor nation.³ Interestingly, John Dollard, in his short study of the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade entitled Fear in Battle, found a much stronger ideological commitment and a more intense personal identification with a cause in these men. Were Civil War soldiers more like

those that Dollard or Stouffer studied? To try to determine this, references to a) love for one's country, b) a better world to come in the future if victory was achieved, c) the worthwhileness of the War, and/or d) the meaning of the War will be regarded as signs of a high ideological commitment. References to a) fighting to gain glory and to "save face" both among fellow soldiers and at home, b) excitement and adventure, C) economic and financial considerations, and/or d) just getting the thing over with in order to return home to loved ones and "the old way of life," will be considered as illustrating a lack of ideological orientation and commitment.

3) Satisfaction with army status and job. If a soldier a) wanted to change jobs if given the opportunity, b) felt his job to be unimportant, c) expressed lack of interest in and zeal for his job, and/or d) despaired of being promoted then obviously he was not satisfied with his position, even if we take into account the time honored privilege of Army men to gripe. Conversely, an opposite statement of these qualities would show at least a minimal amount of contentment with one's army status and job, and contentment, it seems, would be conducive to high morale.

4) Approval or criticism of the army. Did a soldier feel a) that the army was well run and could be counted on to keep its promises (for example, concerning furloughs), b) that he was well trained, c) that his time was not wasted on useless trivia, such as "spit and polish" and military courtesies, and/or d) that discipline was at a happy medium, neither too lax nor too stringent? If so, then he probably had little

to criticize in the army. If not, however, then he probably had little to approve, and disapproval almost certainly had a hand in causing low morale.

5) Attitude toward combat. We will assume that a) willingness for combat, b) confidence in combat stamina, c) confidence in combat skills, and/or d) confidence in combat weapons all indicate favorable attitudes toward combat and good morale. Negative comments on these points, of course, can be taken as evidence of low morale.

6) Attitude toward leadership. Despite Tolstoy's intimation that X is not necessarily related to leadership, Stouffer has shown such a strong relationship between opinions toward leadership and, say, willingness to go into combat that it would be a serious flaw to omit leadership from consideration. Leadership can be divided into two aspects, military and civil. As for military leadership, references to officers who a) served by example, b) took a personal interest and active concern in their men, c) were willing to go through what they asked their men to do, d) stood up for their men, and/or e) were considered competent will be taken as indicative of high morale. References to officers who a) were unduly harsh disciplinarians, b) flouted their privileged status in front of their men, c) "led from the rear," and/or d) were unfair about promotions will be assumed to indicate a lower state of morale. Civil leadership was, for the most part, left out of the discussions presented in The American Soldier. However, it will be assumed that references to the authorities in Richmond and Washington and the different state capitols a) being competent, and/or b) doing

everything possible to promote the War effort would be signs of high morale, while expressions indicating a lack of competence or such a total effort will be taken as possibly leading to a lower morale.

These six general attitude and characteristic classifications were applied to the writings of one hundred men who fought in the Civil War, fifty for the South and fifty for the North. The writings themselves formed two distinct groups: 1) letters or diaries written by soldiers on-the-spot; 2) memoirs or reminiscences written years after the War. Out of the fifty writings of Southern soldiers, twenty-five were from each type of documents; likewise for the writings of Northern soldiers. In total, then, we will be dealing with four separate groups of writings in this paper: 1) letters or diaries written by Southern soldiers; 2) letters or diaries written by Northern soldiers; 3) memoirs or reminiscences written by Southern soldiers; 4) memoirs or reminiscences written by Northern soldiers. Henceforth these will be designated simply as Group I, Group II, Group III, and Group IV.

The number of variables involved in a random selection of one hundred Civil War soldiers is great. For the one hundred men under scrutiny here, only two variables have been held constant. First of all, each man enlisted as a private and attained no permanent rank higher than Captain, and very few reached a rank this high.* A Captain was

*As far as the author could determine the lone exception to this was Henry E. Handerson who became an Assistant Adjutant General in October, 1863. However, he was captured shortly thereafter, and since a man's writings while he was a prisoner of war were excluded from this study, we may suppose that this promotion had little effect on the data.

the highest commissioned officer in a Company, which contained about one hundred men at maximum strength. True, there is some responsibility entailed in commanding a Company, but not nearly as much as that which burdened the higher commissioned officers such as Colonels, Majors, and Generals. Essentially, then, all of the men under consideration served with comparatively light responsibilities to attend to. Most of the men did manage to earn a promotion or two, though some few remained privates throughout their service. Secondly, all of the men were from basically rural environments; none were from such urban centers as New York, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Richmond, or New Orleans. Hence, they all shared some similarities in their background environment and up-bringing. No attempt has been made to control such factors as age, marital status, education, whether a man fought in the eastern or western theater, or the length of time a man spent in the service. Thus, although a small start has been made here there is still plenty of room for further studies that would attempt to control any number of these, and other, variables.

Another problem which arose immediately was to define precisely and limit each of the sub-headings under the six main classifications. Some are self-explanatory. The correct definition for others was, of course, suggested by Stouffer. However, in order to render some of the sub-headings meaningful and useful the present author had to expand the definitions to fit his own purposes and material. These instances will be noted and explained at the appropriate time. Once each sub-heading was defined it was relatively easy to organize a crude, but

effective, "yes" and "no" check-off system. See Illustration #1. Each time a statement was made which fit within the set definition of a sub-head a check was put in the "yes" or "no" side of the ledger, depending on whether it was a positive or negative reference. By totaling the "yes" and "no" checks in each sub-heading it could easily be determined whether a certain soldier should have had good morale concerning that particular aspect or not. In certain cases it was necessary to alter this system slightly; these alterations will be explained as they arise.

ILLUSTRATION #1CHECK-OFF SYSTEM USED

1. PERSONAL ESPRIT	TOTAL		YES	NO
	YES	NO		
A. Good Physical Condition				
B. Good Mental Condition				
C. Good Support from Home Front				
D. Enjoyment of Army Life				
2. ORIENTATION				
A. Love for Country				
B. Better World				
C. Worthwhileness of War				
D. Meaning of War				
E. Save (and/or gain) Face				
F. Excitement and Adventure				
G. Economic and Financial				
H. Getting War Over; End of Service				
3. SATISFACTION				
A. Change Jobs				
B. Job Unimportant				
C. Lack of Interest and Zeal				
D. Despaired of Being Promoted				
4. APPROVAL				
A. Well Run and Counted On				
B. Well Trained				
C. Time Wasted				
D. Discipline at Medium				

5. COMBAT	TOTAL		YES	NO
	YES	NO		
A. Willingness for Combat				
B. Confidence in Stamina				
C. Confidence in Skills				
D. Confidence in Weapons				
6. LEADERSHIP				
A. Served by Example				
B. Personal Interest				
C. Willing to Go Through				
D. Stood Up for Men				
E. Were Competent				
F. Harsh Disciplinarian				
G. Flouted Status				
H. Led from Rear				
I. Unfair About Promotions				
J. Civil Government Made Total Effort				
K. Civil Government was Competent				

CHAPTER II. FOOTNOTES

1. Ibid., I, P. 86.
2. Hans Speier, in Continuities in Social Research (Edited by Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld), (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950) p. 116.
3. Stouffer, et. al., I, p. 433.

CHAPTER III, PERSONAL ESPRIT

Let us now turn to an examination of the various attitude classifications. In the first classification, personal esprit, the simple "yes" and "no" method was entirely adequate and worked quite well.

No problems were encountered in defining good or bad physical condition. Here are several sample statements illustrative of good health:

"My health continues good, and I have no fears of anything in camp life affecting it. Mother and others who thought I could not stand a soldier's life may dismiss their fears entirely."¹

"I this evening write you a Short letter which leaves me in tolerable good health."²

"I am well and hearty as can be."³

Sample statements defining poor health included a wide range of illnesses and injuries:

"The old chronic diarrhea came back on me, and with my sore feet, made it unpleasant for me."⁴

"On the final charge that was made, I was shot in the ankle and heel of my foot."⁵

"As soon as I was about recovered from the measles I took the mumps...."6

"Felt quite ill ever since last night."7

Practically every soldier studied complained of poor health at one time or another. The complaints appeared most frequently in Groups III and IV where 88% and 96% respectively commented more often on their bad health than their good health. No one in Group III commented on his good health more than his bad health, while 12% either had no comment or else had an equal number of "yes" and "no" statements. In Group IV, one man (the remaining 4% of this sample Group) commented most frequently on his good health. In Groups I and II the percentages which complained about their health were only 36% and 32%, while 56% and 60% wrote more often of their good health. 8% in each of these two Groups either made no comment or had an equal number of "yes" and "no" responses. See Illustration #2. Two conclusions seem to stand out: 1) there appears to be a built in tendency in memoirs for the writer to mention only periods of ill health, while in diaries and letters the writer tends to record his health indiscriminately; 2) Southerners and Northerners were amazingly similar in their awareness of their physical condition during the War.

Defining a man's mental condition presented a harder undertaking because of the abstract quality of a man's mind, of a man's emotions and feelings. Some statements were right to the point one way or the other:

"I am on my way to the South; am in splendid, splendid Spirit."8

ILLUSTRATION #2PHYSICAL CONDITIONGROUP I

GOOD PHYSICAL CONDITION	56%
BAD PHYSICAL CONDITION	36%
No comments	8%
Even number of comments	

GROUP II

GOOD PHYSICAL CONDITION	60%
BAD PHYSICAL CONDITION	32%
No comments	8%
Even number of comments	

GROUP III

GOOD PHYSICAL CONDITION	0%
BAD PHYSICAL CONDITION	88%
No comments	12%
Even Number of comments	

GROUP IV

GOOD PHYSICAL CONDITION	4%
BAD PHYSICAL CONDITION	96%
No comments	0%
Even number of comments	

"I seat myself this morning to drop you A few lines as I am in
surch fine spirits [J]"^{9*}

"I feel very much depressed in spirits...."¹⁰

"It was the winter of '64, and to those of us who wore the grey
it was likewise the 'winter of our discontent.'"¹¹

Other statements were not so pointed, but nonetheless conveyed the
impression of good or bad mental condition:

"Ah well, many months of trial and suffering and reverse may
yet be in store for us but I do not think I shall be disheartened."¹²

"Much to my surprise, the heavy discharges of artillery elevated
my mental and moral energies, instead of depressing them."¹³

"We were an uneasy and anxious lot of soldiers waiting to see
the dawn of day."¹⁴

"Hence surrounding circumstances and my own mood are adverse to
any inspired efforts in the letter line."¹⁵

The data for this sub-heading show no marked difference between
the two types of documents. In fact, Group I closely parallels Group
III and Group II closely parallels Group IV. However, there is a
noticeable tendency for Southerners of both Groups to feel more depressed
in spirits than either Group of Northerners. Also of interest to note
is the fact that in all four Groups the largest percentage of the men
commented most often on their poor mental condition. For a great many
men on both sides soldiering seems to have been a depressing experience.
See Illustration #3.

*Original spelling has been maintained throughout the quotations used
in this study.

ILLUSTRATION #3MENTAL CONDITIONGROUP I

GOOD MENTAL CONDITION	16%
BAD MENTAL CONDITION	56%
No comments	28%
Even number of comments	

GROUP II

GOOD MENTAL CONDITION	32%
BAD MENTAL CONDITION	40%
No comments	28%
Even number of comments	

GROUP III

GOOD MENTAL CONDITION	20%
BAD MENTAL CONDITION	44%
No comments	36%
Even number of comments	

GROUP IV

GOOD MENTAL CONDITION	36%
BAD MENTAL CONDITION	44%
No comments	20%
Even number of comments	

Statements on support from the home front fell into three distinct types which were always easily identified. The most widespread type referred to letters from home and friends. The importance of letters to the morale of Civil War soldiers cannot be overestimated. As one Union soldier put it, "The mail-bag is always a welcome visitor, especially in times like this, and it is not the least of the instrumentalities which mould our character and give tone to our morale."¹⁶ Here are two sample comments illustrating "yes" references and two showing "no" statements:

"Have received a letter from Cousin Sue. Nothing revives one more in camp than to receive a letter from a relative or friend."¹⁷

"Your letter was received last Sun. & let me assure you that no letter ever made a gladder heart. It was to me like a gentle noon-day shower is to [a] tender plant which grows pale for want of some nourishment."¹⁸

"I think you have not treated me right I think you ought to write me oftener than you do [J]"¹⁹

"Have had no news from home since the 10th November, 1863. Have concluded to stop writing untill I hear from them."²⁰

A second type referred to personal visits from family, friends, and well-wishers:

"All the ladies from our homes and neighborhood came down today to see us...This was one of the most pleasant and happy days I ever spent in camp."²¹

"About this time my father paid me a visit."²²

A third type referred to packages, usually containing food or clothes:

"The size of the box [of food] you sent rather took me down a little when I saw it. Why we almost have to get outside of the tent when it is inside for it is nearly as large as our House."²³

"Received a couple of letters from home, also some clothes."²⁴

Northerners seemed to get better support than Southerners. Although the difference in those showing a greater number of "yes" than "no" responses between Groups I and II is only 16%, this difference mushrooms out to a full 40% between Groups III and IV. See Illustration #4. This is no doubt a reflection of the fact that Northerners were generally more educated and affluent than Southerners, and hence were better able to write letters, make visits, and send packages. It may well be that this better support from the home front goes a long way toward explaining why Northern soldiers were in better mental condition than Southern soldiers.

In establishing limits on whether or not a soldier enjoyed his stint in the service, statements regarding food and the weather were disregarded because they were objects of such universal complaint that they became constants. To include them in the data would not have altered the established patterns at all because all of the men--essentially equal in rank--had to endure them equally. And, of course, references bearing on physical or mental condition and support (or

ILLUSTRATION #4SUPPORT FROM THE HOME FRONTGROUP I

GOOD SUPPORT FROM HOME FRONT	76%
BAD SUPPORT FROM HOME FRONT	12%
No comments	12%
Even number of comments	

GROUP II

GOOD SUPPORT FROM HOME FRONT	92%
BAD SUPPORT FROM HOME FRONT	8%
No comments	0%
Even number of comments	

GROUP III

GOOD SUPPORT FROM HOME FRONT	40%
BAD SUPPORT FROM HOME FRONT	4%
No comments	56%
Even number of comments	

GROUP IV

GOOD SUPPORT FROM HOME FRONT	80%
BAD SUPPORT FROM HOME FRONT	0%
No comments	20%
Even number of comments	

lack of it) from the home front were recorded under the appropriate sub-headings already mentioned. Despite these initial restrictions there was no lack of other general comments which showed like or dislike of army life. Here are some sample comments:

"Are enjoying camp life very much."²⁵

"And Mr. Clover and Young and Joshua and my self went rabbit hunting and caught one squirl And indeed we saw a heap of fun that day [.]"²⁶

"So far the war has been something of a lark to most of us."²⁷

"A soldier's life is not a pleasant one. It is always, at best, one of privations and hardships."²⁸

"We have been doing our first real soldiering and its no fun."²⁹

"We lay for three days in the trenches at North Anna. Three days of woe and sorrow and hardship."³⁰

The data for this sub-heading show a wide variance between Groups I and II; the difference between Groups III and IV is somewhat less. In Group I 40% of the men appeared to enjoy army life and 36% appeared not to, while 24% either had no comment or an equal number of "yes" and "no" statements. In Group II, however, the corresponding percentages are 88%, 8%, and 4%; in Group III they are 56%, 28% and 16%; and in Group IV these percentages are 64%, 20%, and 16%. See Illustration #5. In both types of literature we see that Yanks seemed to enjoy army life more than their enemies. Although the difference between Yankee and Rebel is slight in memoirs and reminiscences, the tendency is still the same. And, in light

ILLUSTRATION #5ENJOYMENT OF ARMY LIFEGROUP I

ENJOYED ARMY LIFE	40%
DID NOT ENJOY ARMY LIFE	36%
No comments	
Even number of comments	24%

GROUP II

ENJOYED ARMY LIFE	88%
DID NOT ENJOY ARMY LIFE	8%
No comments	
Even number of comments	4%

GROUP III

ENJOYED ARMY LIFE	56%
DID NOT ENJOY ARMY LIFE	28%
No comments	
Even number of comments	16%

GROUP IV

ENJOYED ARMY LIFE	64%
DID NOT ENJOY ARMY LIFE	20%
No comments	
Even number of comments	16%

of the fact that Southerners received less support from the home front and were in worse mental condition than Northerners, the fact that this difference is small does not contradict the main pattern that has been established in this classification. This pattern indicates that in three out of the four sub-headings considered so far Southerners should have had greater morale problems than Northerners. Let us summarize these findings.

The results from this personal esprit phase of the study show that Southerners and Northerners--that is, at least the one hundred under review here--were equally afflicted with bad health. This is only logical. Bullets choose their victims indiscriminately; medical practice at its best was primitive; most Civil War soldiers at one time or another suffered fearfully from the elements and for want of proper nutrition. In all three of the other sub-headings, though, the data indicate that Southerners should have suffered from greater moral problems than their Northern counterparts. Much of this is logical, too. For example, that Southerners received fewer packages and letters is almost expected given the nature of Southern society. That the Rebels were in a less positive mental condition and that they enjoyed their army service less than Northerners runs counter to the common stereotype of the bold, patriotic, dashing, fierce, high-spirited Rebel. Perhaps these characteristics have been overemphasized in Southern soldiers, or perhaps similar characteristics in Yankees have been consistently underemphasized. Whatever the case may be, the fact that Southerners rather consistently fared worse in both of these closely related

sub-headings lends credence to the belief that the conclusion presented here is sound.

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER III

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2. Bell Irvin Wiley (ed.), "The Confederate Letters of John W. Hogan," The Georgia Historical Quarterly (September, 1954) XXXVIII, p. 274.
3. Margaret Brobst Roth (ed.), Well Mary: Civil War Letters of a Wisconsin Volunteer (Madison, Wis: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1960) p. 18.
4. Byron R. Abernethy (ed.), Private Elisha Stockwell, Jr., Sees the Civil War (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958) p. 144.
5. Sam R. Watkins, "Co. Aytch" Maury Grays First Tennessee Regiment or A Side Show of the Big Show (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1952) p. 179.
6. William Andres Fletcher, Rebel Private Front and Rear (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1954) p. 11.
7. Henry C. Stone, diary written during the Peninsular Campaign; Original manuscript in the possession of Dr. Merton Dillon (history professor, The Ohio State University).
8. Otto F. Bond (ed.), Under the Flag of the Nation, Diaries and Letters of a Yankee Volunteer in the Civil War (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1961) p. 84.
9. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr. (ed.), "Letters From H. J. Hightower, a Confederate Soldier, 1862-1865," The Georgia Historical Quarterly. (June, 1956) XL, p. 179.
10. James W. Silver (ed.), A Life For the Confederacy As Recorded in the Pocket Diaries of Pvt. Robert A. Moore, (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1959) p. 24.
11. Walter A. Clark, Under the Stars and Bars or, Memories of Four Years Service with the Ogleshores, of Atlanta, Georgia (Augusta, Ga.: Chronicle Printing Co., 1900) p. 155.

12. Festus P. Summers (ed.), A Borderland Confederate (Pittsburg, Pa.: University of Pittsburg Press, 1962) p. 14.
13. Edward H. Rogers, Reminiscences of Military Service in the Forty-third Regiment, Massachusetts Infantry, During the Great Civil War, 1862-1863 (Boston: Franklin Press-Rand, Avery & Co., 1883) p. 61.
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15. Andrew, p. 86.
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17. Silver, p. 128.
18. James I. Robertson, Jr. (ed.), "An Indiana Soldier in Love and War: The Civil War Letters of John V. Hadley," Indiana Magazine of History (September, 1963) LIX, p. 198.
19. Enoch L. Mitchell (ed.), "The Civil War Letters of Thomas Jefferson Newberry," The Journal of Mississippi History (January, 1948) X, p. 54.
20. Bond, p. 95.
21. William H. Runge (ed.), Four Years in the Confederate Artillery, The Diary of Private Henry Robinson Berkeley (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p. 25.
22. Watkins, p. 105.
23. Milton E. Flower (ed.), Dear Folks at Home: The Civil War Letters of Leo W. and John I. Faller with an Account of Andersonville (Carlisle, Pa.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1963) p. 54.
24. Silver, p. 84.
25. Ibid., p. 76.

26. William Whatley Pierson, Jr. (ed.), Whipt 'em Everytime, The Diary of Bartlett Yancey Malone (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1960) p. 32.
27. Charles Robinson, "My Experiences in the Civil War," Michigan History Magazine (Winter, 1940) XXIV, p. 46.
28. Watkins, p. 119.
29. Oscar Osburn Winther (ed.), With Sherman to the Sea: The Civil War Letters, Diaries, & Reminiscences of Theodore F. Upson (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1958) p. 36.
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CHAPTER IV, ORIENTATION AND COMMITMENT

In dealing with the orientation and personal commitment classification of the study, the simple "yes" and "no" system was discontinued, simply because there were very, very few negative responses which would fit into any one of the nine sub-headings. That is, comments on such things as love for one's country or economic and financial considerations were almost always stated positively. The number of "no" statements which concerned this classification was so small that they will be treated individually and were not included in the data. Each time a statement was made which fit within the definition of a sub-heading a check was made in the "yes" category. Then, by totaling the number of checks for those four sub-headings which we assume indicate a high ideological commitment and comparing this total with the total for the four sub-headings which we assume indicate a low degree of ideological orientation, we can determine how each of the men in our four Groups viewed their participation in the War.

The idea was to try to establish not only why Civil War soldiers marched off to fight in the first place, but also why they continued to endure the slaughter once it had begun. What thoughts sustained them as they slept in the mud, gobbled down iron-like hardtack, and marched out periodically to kill and be killed? When Civil War soldiers stole a few moments to jot down a line or two in their diaries did they discuss the meaning of the War or did they talk about such "base" things

as payday and the excitement they encountered on a recent battlefield? When a veteran prepared his memoirs what did he remember most, the lofty views of a better world to come that he once held, or the burning desire to get the War over with and return to his home that haunted him before each skirmish?

Before turning to an analysis of the data dealing with this classification, let us define each of the nine sub-headings, turning first to those four which represent a high moral and ideological commitment to the War. As the reader will see, these four sub-headings as finally defined were broad enough so that almost any statement representative of high ideological orientation could be included in them somewhere.

As for love for one's country, most of the comments were quite direct:

"I love peace but I love my country more."¹

"If loving one's country as his life, and willing to sacrifice it for the good of that country, is Patriotism, then I am surely a patriot, for my God, my Julia, and my Country are all that calls me to live and be a soldier under my Country's banner."²

"But always with me the first thing was duty to my country and comfort next."³

"We felt that we had a home and a country worth fighting for, and, if need be, worth dying for."⁴

Out of the one hundred writings there were only six negative statements regarding one's country. Two of them, curiously enough, were made

by the same man who also wrote the last quotation listed above. Such an obvious contradiction can be explained not only by man's inherent capacity to be contradictory within himself but also by the fact that a man's opinions often change over a period of time and according to circumstances. Here are two of the six negative responses:

"So far now as patriotism was concerned, we had forgotten all about that, and did not now so much love our country as we feared Bragg."⁵

"Were I asked to explain the reason for going into the army, I do not know that I could do it. I had not much idea of patriotism."⁶

The concept of a better world in the future if victory was achieved was nearly absent in the writings of these one hundred soldiers. There were only six enumerations of this idea, and only one of them was really concrete. The importance of this sub-heading, then, was nil. The one concrete reference is given to show what the author had hoped to find sprinkled throughout the writings, but failed to do so:

"...but there is a better time coming, perhaps, for me with others. Perhaps not for me, but for others. Someone will see better times at least."⁷

Definitive comments on the worthwhileness of the War were made just slightly more often than those concerning the concept of a better world. Indeed, it became obvious that it would be difficult to distinguish statements pertaining to this sub-heading from statements which reflected

some comprehension of the meaning of the War. Consequently, these two sub-headings were considered as one. This one sub-heading became a "catch-all" for any statements which expressed the idea that there were certain basic issues at stake in the War and that it was worthwhile fighting in order to gain the benefits which could be derived from a favorable settlement of these issues. Such statements, however, were incredibly few and far between!

Those few statements which were made pertaining to this sub-heading dealt with a whole range of issues, all of which are commonly considered as being at stake in the War. Slavery, of course, was one issue. As one Yank and one Rebel put it:

"In the heat of battle, the powder and sweat gave us soon the complexion of the black man for whose freedom we were fighting."⁸

"Slavery was not the only question upon which North and South differed...."⁹

The tariff issue was another topic. Again, a sample statement from a Northerner and then a Southerner will illustrate this:

"The only answer is, Slavery, with a protective tariff as an incident."¹⁰

"The tariff was also a question which divided the sections."¹¹

A few men on both sides believed that freedom and liberty were at stake. First a Northerner, then a Southerner has his say:

"My lot is cast with the Glorious old Army of the Union so long as it Battles for Freedom and the Right, and the only compensation

I ask is a grateful country Blessed with Freedom and Individual Liberty."¹²

"But I am engaged in the glorious cause of liberty and justice, fighting for the rights of man--fighting for all that we of the South hold dear."¹³

A mere smattering of Yanks commented that they were fighting to preserve the Union, while an equally small smattering of Rebels stated that they were involved in the War in order to protect state rights:

"I have convincing proof that I can count you as an addition to my list of Friends and 'Fellow Sympathizers' in the good cause of the Union...."¹⁴

"We only fought for our State rights, they for the Union and power. The South fell battling under the banner of State rights, but yet grand and glorious even in death."¹⁵

And finally, without mentioning any of these specific issues, some men were still able to convey a feeling which fit within the established definition of this sub-heading. Two Northerners expressed it this way:

"We were convinced, beyond the possibility of a doubt, of the absolute righteousness of our cause, and in spite of history persuaded ourselves that a people battling for the right could not fail in the end."¹⁶

"If it is my lot to fall on the battlefield it is a great consolation to know that it was in a good and glorious cause you were engaged in."¹⁷

And two Southerners had this to say:

"I don't see why they don't go home and leave us alone. That is all we ask. But here they are with a vile mercenary army, burning our towns, destroying our crops, desolating our country and killing our people."¹⁸

"We certainly would preserve the peace if they would go home and let us alone."¹⁹

Let us now turn to the four sub-headings which we have assumed are indicative of a less ideological orientation and commitment. The first of these is fighting to "save face" and earn a reputation. This is certainly self-explanatory, but a few sample references are given to show the importance which Civil War soldiers placed on this:

"I think that the principal thing that held me to the work was simply pride; and am of the opinion that it was the same thing with most of the common soldiers."²⁰

"The thought that I had not done a manly part in this great crisis would make me feel disgraced all my life."²¹

"Well we have earned our reputation, and although it has cost us something and may cost us some of our best men yet, still I think it will pay to keep it up, cost what it will."²²

"I Glory in the honor and pride of a solgers life."²³

There were two negative responses to the idea of serving for glory. Here is one of them:

"We were not fighting for reputation or glory, but for our homes and for the independence of our Confederate States which had a

right to be free and independent of the Northern States, who were fighting us without just cause."²⁴

The second sub-heading is orientation toward the exciting and adventuresome side of the War. Statements which point toward this type of orientation are found in the writings of about three-quarters of the soldiers under review here. There were no direct comments to the effect that a man enlisted for the sheer excitement and adventure he expected to encounter in the War. Yet, in reading these diaries and memoirs one gets the impression that some of the soldiers became preoccupied with adventure-seeking, while for others an exciting time at least served to relieve the drudgery of army life and thereby make it more endurable. When men were enlisting they sometimes commented on the intense excitement which pervaded the atmosphere. Once in the service raids and battles, foraging, rumors, and other excitement-inducing features of army life were commented on again and again and again. And during periods of inactivity there were numerous complaints about the monotony of army life. Thus, although direct evidence is lacking to indicate that excitement and adventure played a large role in shaping a soldier's orientation, the quantity of indirect evidence is so large that this factor has to be considered as being of great importance. Six or seven sample comments should serve to illustrate what is meant by this "indirect evidence":

"The day after the news of the battle of Bull Run came, I enlisted like thousands of other young men. The excitement was intense everywhere."²⁵

"Nobody at this age can hardly concieve the intenceness of the excitement we labored under at that time [marching off to war], unless they go through it themselves."²⁶

"Nothing but positive orders would have induced me to cease firing. I never experienced such excitement and rapture."²⁷

"During our march, on the previous night, I suggested to young Calmes, a member of the company, that we ride ahead of the advance guard and look for an adventure."²⁸

"We did not pursue them further. We had had an exciting chase for about 14 or 15 miles and were willing to stop."²⁹

"We are delighted to hear for a change and any new adventure will be welcomed."³⁰

"It has been rather dull here for us. We have been sitting around expecting orders until we are sick of it and glad to get orders even to Virginia."³¹

There were only four responses which discredited excitement and adventure as a factor in orientation and commitment. All four were alike in their direct refutation of this factor, but when stacked up against the overwhelming indirect evidence to the contrary it is safe to say that they are but "straws in the wind." Here is one of the four comments; note that it was made by the same Union soldier quoted above who said he welcomed any new adventure:

"Boys who left their comfortable homes to enter service were not moved by rash promises, or to make this sacrifice through excitement, a spirit of adventure or of gain."³²

As far as the third sub-heading--financial and economic considerations--is concerned, there is a good deal more specific evidence evincing its importance to Civil War soldiers than there was concerning adventure and excitement. Again, none came right out and flatly stated that they enlisted for the pay and bounties, but as with excitement and adventure, indirect evidence was abundant throughout the letters, diaries and memoirs:

"The great excitement in the army is now about pay. Half of the men in our Regiment are men of families and most of them depend on their wages to support their families."³³

"One important feature in the life of a soldier was the matter of his pay, and a few words on that subject may not be out of place."³⁴

"Thar is a grate deal of excitement in camp as it seams they intend to try and git up [a] mutiny in the regment--thar were seven companies that refused to obay orders anymore unless they wold pay them monney."³⁵

"We have not got our bounty money yet. The colonel said we will get it in a few days and the first passing I shall send it to you."³⁶

"There is probably no more welcome guest in the army than the Paymaster, especially when he has not been around for a long time, as in the present case."³⁷

"The event of the day was the pay off of the company for services in January and February."³⁸

"The 6th we was paid off And paid up to the first day of November, 1863."³⁹

There were eleven negative statements that refuted financial and

economic matters as an element in orientation. Again, eleven such statements scarcely begin to make a dent in the evidence to the contrary. Nonetheless it is interesting to observe that of the eleven comments, ten were made by Northerners, and eight of these ten were made in reminiscences or memoirs. Quite possibly when Yankee veterans started to write their reminiscences they felt a moral and patriotic obligation to specifically deny Southern accusations that Northern soldiers had been nothing but money-grubbing capitalists fighting in a mercenary army. Whatever the reason for these negative statements, and this one seems entirely plausible, here are two samples:

"About forty cents a day was not an alluring inducement for one of sound mind to become a target, or to endure the hardships of active military service."⁴⁰

"A great many who have stayed at home have said that we are paid for serving in the army. If they mean with money, I fling the lie in their face...."⁴¹

Fighting to end the War as quickly as possible and return to one's home and staying in the service because one only had so many days or months left to serve were relatively common orientation factors in the soldiers studied here. Nothing which could be considered a negative response was found regarding this fourth sub-heading. Four sample comments will illustrate this type of orientation:

"When I went into the service I made up my mind to 'see the thing thro,' and now that is is wound up they cant discharge me a minute too soon...."⁴²

"Time drags lazily on, but each day makes our term of service one less day."⁴³

"I am as anxious as possible to bring the war to a speedy termination, and trust that it may soon close...."⁴⁴

"We are all ready to go to the last; we want to wind the thing up and get home if we live to ever go back."⁴⁵

All of the one hundred soldiers expressed some form of orientation which fit into at least one of the nine possible sub-headings. Indeed, there were six or more statements reflecting some form of orientation in 64% of Group I, 84% of Group II, 68% of Group III, and 80% of Group IV. See Illustration #6. The general pattern in each of the four Groups was identical. None of the four Groups displayed a high ideological orientation and commitment. In three of the four Groups the trend was almost entirely toward a lack of ideological orientation, and in the fourth Group, Group III, the trend was only slightly less striking. Let us look at each Group in detail. In Group I only 12% made more statements representative of high ideological commitment than low ideological commitment. On the other hand, 64% had more references to low ideological orientation than they did to high ideological orientation, while 24% were even in their comments one way or the other. In Group II the corresponding percentages are 8%, 88%, and 4%, and in Group IV they are 12%, 76%, and 12%. In Group III these percentages are 28%, 60%, and 12%. See Illustration #7. This tendency toward a higher ideological commitment on the part of Southerners who wrote memoirs and reminiscences might have its basis in the Legend of the Old South and

ILLUSTRATION #6ORIENTATION: GENERAL PATTERNGROUP I

1 TO 5 ORIENTATION COMMENTS	36%
6 OR MORE ORIENTATION COMMENTS	64%

GROUP II

1 TO 5 ORIENTATION COMMENTS	16%
6 OR MORE ORIENTATION COMMENTS	84%

GROUP III

1 TO 5 ORIENTATION COMMENTS	32%
6 OR MORE ORIENTATION COMMENTS	68%

GROUP IV

1 TO 5 ORIENTATION COMMENTS	20%
6 OR MORE ORIENTATION COMMENTS	80%

ILLUSTRATION #7ORIENTATION: GENERAL PATTERNGROUP I

HAD HIGH IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION	12%
HAD LOW IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION	64%
Even number of comments	24%

GROUP II

HAD HIGH IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION	8%
HAD LOW IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION	88%
Even number of comments	4%

GROUP III

HAD HIGH IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION	28%
HAD LOW IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION	60%
Even number of comments	12%

GROUP IV

HAD HIGH IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION	12%
HAD LOW IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION	76%
Even number of comments	12%

and the Lost Cause. The Legend, in a sense, gives the whole South a strong moral, ideological orientation, and once Rebel veterans were imbued with the doctrines of the Legend it was perhaps only inevitable that they should try to incorporate them in their writings. Nevertheless, whatever the reason for this discrepancy with the other three Groups, it is not large enough to alter the inescapable conclusion which has to be drawn from the data: the Civil War soldiers under consideration here were notoriously deficient in ideological orientation. In this they strongly resemble the World War II soldiers that Stouffer studied.

The one hundred men were also quite similar in the degree of emphasis which they placed on each of the nine sub-headings. The extent to which this was true can be illustrated by examining some of the individual sub-headings. This entails putting a greater emphasis on absolute numbers than was originally intended or desired, but the conclusions perhaps justify this departure from a complete dependence on trends and patterns.

Looking at the "love for one's country" sub-heading we find that in Group I 52% of the men made between one and five comments which referred to it. Further, we find that 4% of the men made 6 or more comments relating to it, and that the remaining 44% of the men in Group I made no mention of anything that could be construed as love for one's country. For Group II the corresponding percentages are 64%, 12%, and 24%; for Group III they are 64%, 4%, and 32%; and for Group IV they are 64%, 12%, and 24%. See Illustration #8. Notice, then, that the pattern for all four Groups is identical. An equally parallel relationship among the four Groups is found in the sub-heading

ILLUSTRATION #8"LOVE FOR ONE'S COUNTRY"GROUP I

NO COMMENTS	44%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	52%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	4%

GROUP II

NO COMMENTS	24%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	64%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	12%

GROUP III

NO COMMENTS	32%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	64%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	4%

GROUP IV

NO COMMENTS	24%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	64%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	12%

pertaining to the meaning and worthwhileness of the War. In Group I 28% of the writings contained no comment which fit within the definition, 64% contained between one and five comments, and 8% contained more than six comments. The corresponding percentages for Group II are 44%, 52%, and 4%; for Group III they are 12%, 80%, and 8%; and for Group IV they are 32%, 68%, and 0%. See Illustration #9. Again notice the identical pattern for all four Groups. In both of these sub-headings the distinct trend for all four Groups, then, is this: the majority of the writings in each of the four groups and for both of the sub-headings contained between one and five pertinent statements. In each of the Groups there was also a large number of writings which made no applicable statements and a much smaller number of writings which contained six or more pertinent comments. Only in Group III in the "meaning and worthwhileness of the War" sub-heading, where 12% made no comment and 8% made six or more comments, was this difference smaller than 12%.

This same pattern is in evidence in the "excitement and adventure" sub-heading, although not so clearly in Group IV where the number of writings containing six or more pertinent comments exceeds the number of writings containing no comments. However, the similarity between Reb and Yank is certainly still clear-cut, especially between Groups I and II and between Groups III and IV. See Illustration #10.

The pattern alters somewhat in the "saving face" sub-heading. Here, in Groups I, II, and IV the number of men who made no applicable statement exceeds those who made one to five such comments, while the number who made six or more comments remains quite small. In Group III the number of men making six or more comments remains consistently small,

ILLUSTRATION #9"MEANING AND WORTHWHILENESS OF
THE WAR"GROUP I

NO COMMENTS	28%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	64%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	8%

GROUP II

NO COMMENTS	44%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	52%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	4%

GROUP III

NO COMMENTS	12%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	80%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	8%

GROUP IV

NO COMMENTS	32%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	68%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	0%

ILLUSTRATION #10"EXCITEMENT AND ADVENTURE"GROUP I

NO COMMENTS	40%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	52%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	8%

GROUP II

NO COMMENTS	36%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	48%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	16%

GROUP III

NO COMMENTS	20%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	64%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	16%

GROUP IV

NO COMMENTS	8%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	76%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	16%

but the number making one to five pertinent comments surpasses the number who made none. See Illustration #11. This seems inexplicable. However, in light of the consistency found in all of the other sub-headings it may be hazarded that this discrepancy is not significant.

An interesting comparison between Groups I and II (letters and diaries) and Groups III and IV (memoirs and reminiscences) appears in both the "economic and financial" sub-heading and the "getting the war over" sub-heading. Let us look at the former heading. In Group I only 4% of the men made no comment, 80% made one to five comments, and 16% made six or more. The corresponding percentages for Group II are 8%, 44%, and 48%. Thus, in comparison to the number of writings containing no comments we have a large number of works containing six or more comments. However, when we look at Groups III and IV the trend is reversed. There were only two writings in these two Groups which contained six or more applicable statements! At the same time the percentage of those making no comments had sky-rocketed to 56% in Group III and 28% in Group IV. See Illustration #12. Essentially the same trend was found in the "getting the war over" sub-heading, too: a large difference in the number of writings containing six or more comments and no comments between Groups I and II and Groups III and IV. See Illustration #13. How is this to be explained? One possible explanation is that during the War, while the soldiers were actually suffering hardship and privations, they felt no compunction in writing about such things as payday and their hopes for an early expiration of the conflict simply because these were comforting subjects and therefore

ILLUSTRATION #11"SAVING FACE"GROUP I

NO COMMENTS	64%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	36%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	0%

GROUP II

NO COMMENTS	60%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	40%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	0%

GROUP III

NO COMMENTS	32%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	60%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	8%

GROUP IV

NO COMMENTS	60%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	36%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	4%

ILLUSTRATION #12"ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL"GROUP I

NO COMMENTS	4%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	80%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	16%

GROUP II

NO COMMENTS	8%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	44%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	48%

GROUP III

NO COMMENTS	56%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	44%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	0%

GROUP IV

NO COMMENTS	28%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	64%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	8%

ILLUSTRATION #13"GETTING THE WAR OVER"GROUP I

NO COMMENTS	44%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	48%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	8%

GROUP II

NO COMMENTS	36%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	44%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	28%

GROUP III

NO COMMENTS	84%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	16%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	0%

GROUP IV

NO COMMENTS	68%
1 TO 5 COMMENTS	32%
6 OR MORE COMMENTS	0%

brought them at least some small measure of relief. On the other hand, when veterans sat down a decade or two after the War to write of their experiences, would it not have been lowly, unpatriotic, and ignominious to write on such subjects when there were so many other topics which were not only more glorious and heart-stirring, but which would also sell more books? Would it not be better to write of battles, foraging parties, and personal adventures? I refer the reader to Illustration #10 which shows that writers of memoirs or reminiscences did indeed write more often about excitement and adventure than did authors of letters or diaries.

To recapitulate the two main conclusions which have emerged from this mound of percentages derived from the data dealing with the orientation and commitment classification: 1) a wide majority of the Civil War soldiers studied here suffered from a lack of high ideological orientation and commitment; 2) with but a few minor deviations, the data showed that Southerners and Northerners were nearly identical in the importance they placed on each sub-heading dealing with orientation. The chief differences which did appear were related more to the differences between letters or diaries on the one hand and memoirs or reminiscences on the other, not to the fact that some men fought under the Stars and Bars and others under the Stars and Stripes.

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER IV.

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2. Bond, p. 192.
3. Wirt Armistead Cate (ed.), Two Soldiers, The Campaign Diaries of Thomas J. Key, C.S.A., and Robert J. Campbell, U.S.A. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938) p. 120.
4. Watkins, p. 132.
5. Ibid., p. 77.
6. William T. Alderson (ed.), "The Civil War Diary of Captain James Litton Cooper, September 30, 1861, to January, 1865," Tennessee Historical Quarterly (June, 1956) X, p. 142.
7. Roth, p. 113.
8. J. S. Clark, Life in the Middle West, Reminiscences of J. S. Clark (Chicago: The Advance Publishing Company, no date given) p. 54.
9. Augustus Pitt Adamson, Brief History of the Thirtieth Georgia Regiment (Griffin, Ga.: The Mills Printing Co., no date given) p. 9.
10. Edward W. Spangler, My Little War Experiences with Historical Sketches and Memorabilia (York, Pa.: York Daily Publishing Company, 1904) p. 2.
11. Adamson, p. 9.
12. Bond, p. 82.
13. John G. Barrett (ed.), Yankee Rebel, The Civil War Journal of Edmund DeWitt Patterson (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966) p. 14.

14. Bond, p. 81.
15. Watkins, p. 49.
16. George Cary Eggleston, A Rebel's Recollections (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1959) p. 172.
17. Roth, p. 132.
18. Runge, p. 101.
19. A. D. Kirwan (ed.), Johnny Green of the Orphan Brigade, The Journal of a Confederate Soldier (no location given: University of Kentucky Press, 1956) p. 184.
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21. William Meade Dame, From the Rapidan to Richmond and the Spottsylvania Campaign (Baltimore: Green-Lucas Company, 1920) p. 7.
22. Stephen E. Ambrose (ed.), A Wisconsin Boy in Dixie: Selected Letters of James K. Newton (Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1961) p. 63.
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24. William T. Alderson (ed.), "The Civil War Reminiscences of John Johnston, 1861-1865," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, (June, 1954) XIII, p. 163.
25. Willard A. Burnap, What Happened During One Man's Lifetime, 1840-1920 (Fergus Falls, Minn.: Burnap Estate, 1923) p. 313.
26. Philip D. Jordan and Charles M. Thomas (eds), "Reminiscences of an Ohio Volunteer," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly (January, 1939) 48, p. 308.
27. Spangler, p. 34-35.

28. John N. Opie, A Rebel Cavalryman With Lee, Stuart, and Jackson (Chicago: W. B. Conkey Company, 1899) p. 127.
29. Alderson, ("John Johnston") P. 275.
30. J. W. Gaskill, Footprints Through Dixie, Everyday Life of the Man Under a Musket on the Firing Line and in the Trenches, 1862-1865 (Alliance, Ohio: Bradshaw Printing Company, 1919) p. 58.
31. Harry F. Jackson and Thomas F. O'Donnell (eds.), Back Home in Oneida, Hermon Clarke and his Letters (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1965) p. 127.
32. Gaskill, p. 16.
33. Ambrose, p. 158.
34. Stillwell, p. 265.
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36. Alto Loftin Jackson (ed.), So Mournes the Dove, Letters of a Confederate Infantryman and His Family (New York: Exposition Press, 1965) p. 22.
37. D. G. Crotty, Four Years Campaigning in the Army of the Potomac (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Dygert Bros. & Co., 1874) p. 170.
38. Summers, P. 52.
39. Pierson, P. 92.
40. Gaskill, p. 16.
41. Crotty, p. 118.
42. Ambrose, p. 158.

43. Mabel Watkins Mayer (ed.), "Into the Breach, Civil War Letters of Wallace W. Chadwick," The Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly (April-June, 1943) LII, p. 165.
44. Clyde Lottridge Cummer (ed.), Yankee in Gray, The Civil War Memoirs of Henry E. Handerson with a Selection of His Wartime Letters (Cleveland, Ohio: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1962) p. 91.
45. Roth, p. 56.

CHAPTER V, SATISFACTION WITH JOB AND STATUS

The third classification, which deals with job and status satisfaction, was disappointing. Only two of the four sub-headings provided workable data. One of these was the sub-heading designed to determine whether or not a soldier, given the opportunity to do so, would change jobs. The second was the sub-heading intended to ascertain whether or not a soldier despaired of being promoted. Once the study was under-way it was decided that this could best be discussed in conjunction with the sub-heading concerned with whether or not a soldier believed his officers to be fair about awarding promotions. The two, obviously, are quite similar and it was difficult to work out any effective distinguishing definitions. They will be treated in a separate section. References to the two sub-headings which tried to find out whether or not a soldier considered his job to be important and whether or not he pursued it with interest and zeal were so few that all discussion of them will be passed off in a mere sentence or two. Since we are working with such a limited sample to begin with, the author feels that unless fifty or more of the men made statements on a particular topic that any data which might be presented would be too fragmentary to be at all conclusive.

A soldier's desire to change jobs could take two possible forms. First, he may have had a longing to serve in another branch of the service. For example, if a soldier was an infantryman he may have

wanted to join the artillery. Here are some sample comments illustrating this possibility:

"And then again I am not pleased with the infantry service. I prefer cavalry."¹

"Blackwood and I had made up our minds to get into the Sharpshooters' Corps upon its reorganization for the next summer's campaign if possible."²

"At this camp I made application for transfer to the 8th Texas Cavalry, commonly called Terry's Texas Rangers."³

Secondly, a man may have had a yearning to be done with army service altogether and be back home with his family and friends:

"Oh, how happy I would be this day to be at home and sit around the fireside and converse with my family!"⁴

"I would give the last Dollar's worth of property I have in this world to come Home & Stay with you...."⁵

"Oh, how I wish I could be home to spend this day with those whom I love instead of being here among the wild and wicked of the world."⁶

Some men, naturally, were contented and neither wanted to change to another branch of the service nor go home:

"Tell them that I would not belong to the Home Guards."⁷

"Nothing can ever induce me, I believe, to enter any other branch of the army. This is so much easier, pleasanter and in every way preferable. I never was better contented than since in the army. The life suits me in all respects. I rather pity than envy the

poor fellows who remained at home."⁸

"I was offered a situation in the Commissary's office of this regiment but a few days since and declined. I am perfectly satisfied in my present situation and capacity, and though I be able to render but humble services I do it cheerfully."⁹

"I dont want to go home as bad as I thought I would so I can hear that you all are well...."¹⁰

Once again Southerners and Northerners are quite similar in their attitudes and once again there is a distinct difference between Groups I and II and Groups III and IV. Out of Group I, 48% would change jobs. 24% would not, 4% had an equal number of pro and con comments, and 24% had no comments on this particular aspect of military existence. In Group II the corresponding percentages are 60%, 8%, 4%, and 28%; in Group III they are 32%, 4%, 4%, and 60%; and in Group IV they are 20%, 8%, 0%, and 72%. See Illustration #14. Thus, we see that in all Groups there were more men dissatisfied than satisfied with their military positions. This is especially noticeable in Groups I and II where so many more of the writings had applicable responses than did those of Groups III and IV. It seems that the memory of many veterans on both sides mellowed whatever distaste they had had for their army positions during the War. The pain and agony of military life had long been dimmed, thus perhaps alleviating an army man's natural tendency to complain about his lot. However, that there was indeed a large amount of discontent on this question during the War is clearly shown by the

ILLUSTRATION #14CHANGE JOBSGROUP I

WOULD CHANGE JOBS	48%
WOULD NOT CHANGE JOBS	24%
NO COMMENTS	4%
EVEN NUMBER OF COMMENTS	24%

GROUP II

WOULD CHANGE JOBS	60%
WOULD NOT CHANGE JOBS	8%
NO COMMENTS	4%
EVEN NUMBER OF COMMENTS	28%

GROUP III

WOULD CHANGE JOBS	32%
WOULD NOT CHANGE JOBS	4%
NO COMMENTS	4%
EVEN NUMBER OF COMMENTS	60%

GROUP IV

WOULD CHANGE JOBS	20%
WOULD NOT CHANGE JOBS	8%
NO COMMENTS	0%
EVEN NUMBER OF COMMENTS	72%

data from the letters and diaries which soldiers wrote.

Only 28% of the one hundred men commented upon the importance of their tasks, and those that did make applicable statements usually restricted themselves to only one or two references. Here are four sample statements showing what was sought, but generally not found:

"Our services there were very inconsiderable in importance and not worthy of an extended record."¹¹

"What we are doing is not much account. We lay here telling what we are going to do when we get home."¹²

"Officers under the commander must exercise judgment in carrying out minor details. Then success depends upon the fighting and staying quality of the man under a musket, who through toil and strife performs the work, winner of the commander's victories and stars and victim of his mistakes and inefficiency."¹³

"Our regiment was assigned to picket duty on the banks of the Rappahannock immediately opposite Fredricksburg. Picket duty forms a very responsible part of army service when an alert enemy is in front."¹⁴

If Civil War soldiers entered into their duties with great zeal and interest it was not reflected in their writings. Only 23% made comments which could appropriately be included under the sub-heading. Here, for the record only, are two statements which illustrate the type of reference which again was hoped for, but not found to any meaningful extent:

"I worked listlessly to and fro from the muzzle of my three-inch

gun, carelessly looking ahead to see if the fire produced any result. It did not."¹⁵

"There is no duty connected with soldier's life so distasteful to me as serving on camp or interior guard. Here at least my sense of manhood deserts me and I feel a humiliating sense of servility."¹⁶

To sum up, then, only one of the four sub-headings in this classification proved fruitful within the intended context. The data for this one sub-heading showed that Southerners and Northerners were equally dissatisfied with the positions they held during the War, and they did not hesitate to say so in their letters and diaries. In their memoirs and reminiscences, however, the number of complaints decreased greatly, probably because the aggravations of their War-time experiences were long in the past.

CHAPTER 5. FOOTNOTES.

1. Robertson, p. 260.
2. Susan Williams Benson (ed.), Berry Benson's Civil War Book, Memoirs of a Confederate Scout and Sharpshooter (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1962) p. 57.
3. Fletcher, p. 81.
4. Cate, p. 29.
5. Hugh Backner Johnston, Jr. (ed.), "The Confederate Letters of Ruffin Barnes of Wilson County," The North Carolina Historical Review (January, 1954) XXXI, p. 87.
6. Joseph Orville Jackson (ed.) "Some of the Boys..." The Civil War Letters of Issac Jackson, 1862-1865 (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960) p. 76.
7. Glower, p. 54.
8. Andrew, p. 39.
9. Summers, p. 54.
10. Mitchell, p. 58.
11. Mildred Throne (ed.) "Reminiscences of Jacob E. Switzer of the 22nd Iowa," Iowa Journal of History (January, 1958) 56, p. 50.
12. Roth, p. 81.
13. Gaskill, p. 131.
14. Spangler, p. 88.
15. Wilkeson, p. 165.
16. Summers, p. 43.

CHAPTER VI, APPROVAL OF THE ARMY

Workable data was also obtained from only two of the four sub-headings in the classification entitled "approval or criticism of the army." One of the sub-headings--the one which sought to determine whether or not a soldier considered himself well-trained--had to be discarded because of errors in gathering data. The sub-heading construed to ascertain whether or not a soldier believed his time was wasted on useless military trivia was, like two sub-headings in the previous chapter, disappointing in the small number of applicable references made to it. Only twenty-three of the one hundred men made any responses which could be included in this sub-headings. Of these twenty-three, twenty-one made more responses saying that their time was wasted, one "lost soul" made more comments to the effect that his time was not wasted, and one had an equal number of comments on both sides of the question. Here are two of the very limited number of pertinent comments:

"The military meaning of review is for the commanding General to see whether his troops are in fighting trim. It may be useful to an army but I can't see it."¹

"Here occurred one of those tedious delays which formed so marked a feature of military life...."²

One of the two useful sub-headings--the one dealing with the

question of discipline--and the sub-heading concerned with whether or not a soldier felt his officers were harsh disciplinarians will be brought together in a broad, general discussion of discipline in a later chapter.

Let us look now at the lone sub-heading in this classification which proved useful in providing further insights into the morale attitudes and characteristics of Civil War soldiers. The definition for this sub-heading--the problem of whether or not the army was well run and could be counted on--included two aspects. One aspect was comprised of general statements relating to the efficiency of the army. These were relatively rare throughout the writings. Here are several sample statements:

"...our army is in a heap of confusion and mighty out of hart...."³

"Preparation were going on, but everything seemed to be out of order and system."⁴

"Everything in our army goes like clock-work...."⁵

The second aspect centered around the granting of passes, furloughs, and discharges, either to the authors themselves or their friends. It was a strange soldier who did not have something to say about these matters! Here are some illustrative examples:

"So I procured a pass and permission to be gone all day."⁶

"Colonel orders were read tonight. No more furloughs are to be granted and no passes will be issued to men to go to town...."⁷

"After we returned from the review, I received the glad tidings that my leave of absence had returned, approved for 30 days."⁸

"I have done all I could to get a furlough but did not Succeede."⁹

"They gave me a very brief examination and made out a certificate for my discharge from the army."¹⁰

"There are several men in our Co who really ought to be discharged, but it is of no use for them to try, the "head men" will not discharge them...As for a furlough hardly any sane man would ask for one, for he would be sure to be disappointed."¹¹

The data shows that on the whole both Southerners and Northerners thought their armies were well run and could be counted on for such things as passes, furloughs, and discharges. The pattern found in all four Groups was for a majority of the men to be contented with this aspect of their military lives; smaller numbers of men in each Group were either dissatisfied or were even in their "yes" and "no" remarks or made no applicable references. See Illustration #15. As in so many other sub-headings, the main difference was between Groups I and II and Groups III and IV. Once again the memory of many soldiers on both sides blotted out at least some of their unpleasant experiences and allowed them to dwell more fully on their pleasant experiences. After all, is it not more likely that a soldier would remember the month-long furlough he finally received rather than the applications he had made that had been turned down previously? It seems that unless sorrow, hardship, and woe are profoundly etched on the human mind they are often easily forgotten once the aggravating circumstances are removed. Only when hardships and unpleasantness are extremely severe or continue

ILLUSTRATION #15ARMY WELL RUNGROUP I

THOUGHT ARMY WAS WELL RUN	52%
DID NOT THINK ARMY WAS WELL RUN	24%
No comments	
Even number of comments	24%

GROUP II

THOUGHT ARMY WAS WELL RUN	68%
DID NOT THINK ARMY WAS WELL RUN	24%
No comments	
Even number of comments	8%

GROUP III

THOUGHT ARMY WAS WELL RUN	76%
DID NOT THINK ARMY WAS WELL RUN	4%
No comments	
Even number of comments	20%

GROUP IV

THOUGHT ARMY WAS WELL RUN	72%
DID NOT THINK ARMY WAS WELL RUN	4%
No comments	
Even number of comments	24%

unalleviated for extended periods of time do they remain in the consciousness, unburied in the subconscious mind. For example, an officer might refuse an application for a furlough or a pass because of an upcoming campaign. But the soldier, kept busy by the active campaign, would have little time to dwell on his misfortune; then, perhaps, when the campaign ended he was able to procure his pass or furlough, and hence gain succor for his unhappiness.

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER VI.

1. Donald F. Carmony (ed.), "Jacob W. Bartmess Civil War Letters," Indiana Magazine of History (June, 1956) LII, p. 179.
2. Rogers, p. 28.
3. Lucille Griffith (ed.), Yours Till Death, Civil War Letters of John W. Cotton (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1951) p. 36.
4. Watkins, p. 174.
5. Crotty, p. 165.
6. Ashley Halsey (ed.), A Yankee Private's Civil War (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1961) p. 195.
7. Jackson and O'Donnell, p. 24-25.
8. Cate, p. 33.
9. Wiley, ("John W. Hogan") p. 182.
10. Alderson, ("John Johnston") p. 168.
11. Ambrose, p. 73.

CHAPTER VII, COMBAT

In this section dealing with attitudes toward combat, as in the two previous classifications, only two of the four sub-headings were productive. The sub-heading considering the question of confidence in combat skills had to be thrown out because it was initially defined so broadly that most of the data collected for it was nonsensical. A second sub-heading had to be disregarded because of a now familiar problem, lack of sufficient pertinent statements. This was the one designed to discover whether or not Civil War soldiers considered their weapons to be adequate. Only 39% of the writings contained comments one way or the other. To maintain uniform procedure, no attempt is made to interpret this less than minimal data, but several sample statements are included to illustrate those types of references which were sought:

"Our guns are good and will shoot to the place if held right."¹

"One reason of our almost uniform success was the superiority of our arms."²

"We have been drawing arms to day. We dont like them much; they are Belgian muskets with a great cheek piece on the side of the stock and are about the poorest excuse of a gun I ever saw. I dont believe one could hit the broadside of a barn with them."³

"Two pieces of artillery are all that can be spared to keep the enemy back, and these are but very poor guns."⁴

One of the useful sub-headings bore upon the question of whether or not a soldier was willing and anxious for combat. It was very easy to define because most of the relevant statements were direct and to the point:

"In a few days, I was 'spoiling for a fight,' and so were the rest."⁵

"I am anxious for the fight to come off."⁶

"Joking aside, I am satisfied never to see another battle. Descriptions can give you no idea of the misery which one witnesses in such a place."⁷

"I hope I will not have to go into another fight as long as I live, for the more I go into the more I dread them."⁸

Also included in the data for this sub-heading were references to re-enlisting and volunteering for extra combat duties. Although such actions may have been prompted by other motives (for example, gaining glory and saving face) they certainly indicate that a man was not afraid to fight:

"We re-enlisted here in the latter part of December, 1863, for three years or during the war."⁹

"The Major of the Fortieth Ohio Infantry called for Volunteers to wade the stream and commence the attack, whereupon we all volunteered...and were soon hotly engaged with the bushwackers."¹⁰

56% of Group I showed a willingness for combat, 20% did not, and 24% either had no germane references or else an equal number of "yes" and "no" references. The corresponding percentages for Group II are

44%, 20%, and 36%, for Group III they are 72%, 16%, and 12%; and for Group IV they are 56%, 24%, and 20%. See Illustration #16. In all four Groups, then, there was a definite willingness to fight. Notice, however, that the Rebs expressed a greater willingness to fight than the Yanks in both types of literature. As far as morale goes, we may assume that Southern officers had the easier task in getting their men prepared for and into battle. Also notice that those on each side who wrote memoirs and reminiscences showed themselves to be more willing to fight than their fellow soldiers who wrote letters and diaries. It is apparently much easier to be brave when the danger is twenty or thirty years in the past!

The sub-heading "confidence in combat stamina" was broadened to incorporate confidence in stamina generally. Essentially this boiled down to how many times a soldier mentioned that he was or was not tired or fatigued by carrying out his military duties:

"I was on Guard duty, had no rest for four days and nights, am almost exhausted for want of rest."¹¹

"In fact we have so much skirmishing and working this week that I am almost broken down."¹²

"Oh, how tired we are, after these two fearful days. We stretch ourselves down, but are too tired to sleep, and spend the night in the greatest misery."¹³

"I have come to the conclusion that I can march as far as most any man in the regiment."¹⁴

"I stood the tramp of 12 or 15 miles might easy."¹⁵

ILLUSTRATION #16WILLINGNESS FOR COMBATGROUP I

WERE WILLING FOR COMBAT	56%
WERE NOT WILLING FOR COMBAT	20%
No comments	24%
Even number of comments	

GROUP II

WERE WILLING FOR COMBAT	44%
WERE NOT WILLING FOR COMBAT	20%
No comments	36%
Even number of comments	

GROUP III

WERE WILLING FOR COMBAT	72%
WERE NOT WILLING FOR COMBAT	16%
No comments	12%
Even number of comments	

GROUP IV

WERE WILLING FOR COMBAT	56%
WERE NOT WILLING FOR COMBAT	24%
No comments	20%
Even number of comments	

"I have been on picket six nights in the past two weeks, sometimes in the pine woods and sometimes in the marsh. I stand it better than I should expect anyone would."¹⁶

The main conclusion that the data provided is that, once again, there was very little difference between the soldiers, Reb or Yank. In all four Groups most of the soldiers complained of being tired and exhausted more than they commented to the contrary. The chief difference among the men was whether they wrote letters and diaries or memoirs and reminiscences. See Illustration #17. The number of writings in which a majority of the pertinent references were complaints was greatest in the memoirs and reminiscences. Two possible explanations for this come readily to mind: 1) the amount of fatigue and exhaustion encountered by most of the one hundred men under consideration here may have been so intense and continual that its memory was not easily erased; 2) as we noted when discussing the closely related topic of physical condition, there appears to be a built in tendency in memoirs to emphasize personal physical suffering. Perhaps this is only logical: if the author does not mention that he is ill or fatigued, then it may be assumed that he is in good health. On the other hand, a soldier writing a letter to his family or sweetheart would want to keep them assured of his good health as often as possible, and might even be inclined to hide any illness from them. Anyhow, whatever the explanation may be, the fact that the results of this sub-heading mesh so well with those of the allied "physical condition" sub-heading gives a good deal

ILLUSTRATION #17CONFIDENCE IN STAMINAGROUP I

HAD CONFIDENCE IN STAMINA	16%
DID NOT HAVE CONFIDENCE IN STAMINA	60%
No comments	24%
Even number of comments	

GROUP II

HAD CONFIDENCE IN STAMINA	28%
DID NOT HAVE CONFIDENCE IN STAMINA	48%
No comments	24%
Even number of comments	

GROUP III

HAD CONFIDENCE IN STAMINA	0%
DID NOT HAVE CONFIDENCE IN STAMINA	92%
No comments	8%
Even number of comments	

GROUP IV

HAD CONFIDENCE IN STAMINA	0%
DID NOT HAVE CONFIDENCE IN STAMINA	96%
No comments	4%
Even number of comments	

of credibility and reliability to the conclusions which have been set forth throughout this study.

To summarize this classification: the data have once again proved that on many specific topics, at least for these one hundred soldiers, there was very little difference in their Civil War experiences and attitudes, and hence in their morale. Specifically, this chapter has shown: 1) Civil War soldiers were all generally willing to participate in combat, with a slight edge in good morale on this issue going to the Confederates; 2) all soldiers were frequently worn out and exhausted, and did not hesitate to say so in their writings.

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER VII.

1. Aida Craig Truxall (ed.), "Respects to All," Letters of Two Pennsylvania Boys in the War of the Rebellion (Pittsburg, Pa.: University of Pittsburg Press, 1962) p. 60.
2. Leonidas Blanton Giles, Terry's Texas Rangers (Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., Printers, 1911) p. 101.
3. Winther, p. 27-28.
4. Joseph T. Durkin (ed.), John Dooley, Confederate Soldier (no location given: Georgetown University Press, 1945) p. 45.
5. Benson, p. 77.
6. Wiley, ("John W. Hogan") p. 188.
7. Andrew, p. 82.
8. Henry McGilbert Wagstaff (ed.), "Letters of Thomas Jackson Strayhorn," The North Carolina Historical Review (October, 1936) XIII, p. 332.
9. Abernethy, p. 67.
10. Bond, p. 21-22.
11. John D. Barnhart (ed.), "A Hoosier Invades the Confederacy, Letters and Diaries of Leroy S. Mayfield," Indiana Magazine of History (June, 1943) XXXIX, p. 178.
12. George D. Harmon (ed.), "Letters of Luther Rice Mills - A Confederate Soldier," The North Carolina Historical Review (July, 1927) IV, p. 298.
13. Crotty, p. 128.
14. George C. Osborn (ed.), "The Civil War Letters of Robert W. Banks," The Journal of Mississippi History (July, 1943) V, p. 143.

15. J. O. Jackson, p. 215-216.
16. Jackson and O'Donnell, p. 78.

CHAPTER VIII, MILITARY LEADERSHIP

The classification concerned with attitudes toward military leadership had to be altered radically before this study had progressed very far. The "yes" and "no" system worked adequately for the sub-heading which treated the general competence of officers, but not so well for the other sub-headings. First of all, the "served by example" and "willing to go through what his men did" sub-headings were nearly synonymous, and so were considered together as a single entity, which we will call "served by example." At the same time, the "led from the rear" sub-heading was essentially in apposition to this new combined sub-heading. Hence, statements which represented "no" responses in the "led from the rear" sub-heading were entered in the "yes" column in the "served by example" sub-heading, and comments illustrative of "yes" responses in the "led from the rear" sub-heading were recorded in the "no" column of the "served by example" sub-heading. What happened was that the "led from the rear" sub-heading was incorporated in the "served by example" sub-heading; therefore, it was dropped from any individual consideration. Secondly, the same methodological alteration was made with the "personal interest," the "stood up for his men," and the "flouted status" sub-headings. The first two of these were very much alike and so were combined into a single sub-heading entitled "personal interest." Since the third one was, again, in apposition to this new,

broad sub-heading it was amalgamated with it and thus given no individual consideration. Thirdly, as mentioned previously, the "harsh disciplinarian" and "unfair about promotions" sub-headings will be discussed separately with two other sub-headings from other classifications which treat the same problems of discipline and promotions.

We end up with really only three sub-headings in this classification. Let us begin with the one which handles the question of whether or not a soldier had confidence in his officers. Defining this sub-heading presented no problems. Many of the apt references were about a particular officer:

"We feel as though we were going out of the wilderness, our Moses at the head of the columns, his name is Sherman. He can and will lead us through, all safe and sound. He has done it so far and we are all willing to trust him yet."¹

"I would be very uneasy about our situation if Gen Lee was not in Command."²

"Suffice it that the army is in good spirits and have confidence in 'Rosey.'"³

"None of General Bragg's soldiers ever loved him. They had no faith in his ability as a general. He was looked upon as a merciless tyrant."⁴

"...we are out of Banks' Dep't. I hope we may never go near it again."⁵

"Capt. G. W. Nelson and his officers, with the exception of Lieut. William Basye, who were elected in the spring, have proven

themselves totally incompetent to command a battery."⁶

Other responses were far less particular in scope:

"Had great confidence in our officers."⁷

"It was the finest piece of generalship and the most successful of the war."⁸

"This state of things has been brought about by the laziness and incompetency of our company officers."⁹

"We have some officers in the service that are not fit to stay at home and take charge of their families, and yet they are out here commanding Brigades and Regiments."¹⁰

In presenting the data for this sub-heading, repetition cannot be avoided: Southerners and Northerners were remarkably similar; the only great difference which did appear was the now familiar one between Groups I and II and Groups III and IV. See Illustration #18. As we see here, and will see in the next two sub-headings, soldiers writing contemporary documents did not dwell on military leadership nearly as much as those who wrote years later. This seems entirely logical. For instance, the reader will recall that authors of memoirs and reminiscences wrote far more about excitement and adventure--that is, battles and skirmishes--than did those of letters and diaries. And, quite naturally, when one discusses active campaigning the subject of leadership tends to crop up again and again. It is interesting to note that the difference between the percentage expressing confidence in leaders and expressing lack of confidence in leaders is only 16%

ILLUSTRATION #18COMPETENCE OF OFFICERSGROUP I

THOUGHT OFFICERS WERE COMPETENT	40%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS WERE COMPETENT	24%
No comments	
Even number of comments	36%

GROUP II

THOUGHT OFFICERS WERE COMPETENT	52%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS WERE COMPETENT	20%
No comments	
Even number of comments	28%

GROUP III

THOUGHT OFFICERS WERE COMPETENT	88%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS WERE COMPETENT	4%
No comments	
Even number of comments	8%

GROUP IV

THOUGHT OFFICERS WERE COMPETENT	76%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS WERE COMPETENT	20%
No comments	
Even number of comments	4%

in Group I (Southerners), while it is 32% in Group II (Northerners). Had such a difference been evident between Groups III and IV this might have been significant. However, in Group III (Southerners) this difference leaps to 84% (an increase of 68%), while in Group IV (Northerners) this difference climbs to only 56% (an increase of only 24%).

The second sub-heading under military leadership is the conglomerate heading which we have titled "served by example"--did a soldier's officers show him what to do by doing it themselves, or did they tell him what to do and then sit back and supervise? What this boiled down to in an overwhelming majority of the cases was this: did the officers take their place in the front ranks or were they cowards?

"When we 'went in' on the above mentioned position old Capt. Reddish took his place in the ranks and fought like a common soldier."¹¹

"The Gen said if we died here he would die with us."¹²

"Gen. Battle is one of the few brigadier generals who have escaped thus far. We started out of winter quarters with brigadier generals twelve in number and there are only two left, ten having been killed or wounded."¹³

"At this moment, when we had the advantage of position, the cowardice of our advance detachment commander, Lieut. Col. Park, caused him to order a retreat."¹⁴

"Our losses of general officers, if they had fearlessly performed their duty, should have been at least four times as heavy as those of the Confederates."¹⁵

There were a few references which did not pertain to battlefield bravery and yet still fit within the definition:

"If he gives us hard work to do in march or battle, he endures or shares with us the hardship."¹⁶

"The officers, of course, fared no better than the men--all took the same medicine."¹⁷

Out of the one hundred soldiers studied all but seventeen indicated that they were satisfied with the personal example displayed by their officers. Of the nonconforming seventeen, fifteen had no applicable comments or an equal number of "yes" and "no" statements, and only two were dissatisfied with their officers' example. See Illustration #19. Group II, although definitely conforming to the general pattern, shows a considerable deviation from the other three Groups in that it contained ten of these seventeen writings, including the two that expressed dissatisfaction. Clearly this Group was not as positively opinionated about the example set by its officers as the other three. Notice, however, that this deviation is erased in Group IV. We will have occasion to refer to this again in a moment.

The third and last sub-heading in this classification is another aggregate. It was designed to discover whether or not a soldier believed that his officers took a personal interest in, and stood up for, him. This included a whole medley of responses. Basically, any statement about an officer's behavior either pro or con, which was not applicable to one of the other two sub-headings, was included here.

ILLUSTRATION #19SERVED BY EXAMPLEGROUP I

THOUGHT OFFICERS SET A GOOD EXAMPLE	80%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS SET A GOOD EXAMPLE	0%
No comments	8%
Even number of comments	12%

GROUP II

THOUGHT OFFICERS SET A GOOD EXAMPLE	60%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS SET A GOOD EXAMPLE	8%
No comments	0%
Even number of comments	32%

GROUP III

THOUGHT OFFICERS SET A GOOD EXAMPLE	100%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS SET A GOOD EXAMPLE	0%
No comments	0%
Even number of comments	0%

GROUP IV

THOUGHT OFFICERS SET A GOOD EXAMPLE	92%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS SET A GOOD EXAMPLE	0%
No comments	0%
Even number of comments	8%

Some sample comments will demonstrate this wide variety:

"He was not only our beloved Captain, but was comrade, friend, yea, brother and father to us all."¹⁸

"Officers and private soldiers mingled freely with one another and many warm friendships and sincere attachments were formed."¹⁹

"Capt. Walcott proved himself to be the best officer in the Regt. on the march. He knew what the men wanted and did everything in his power to make them comfortable."²⁰

"But the officers got busy and went up town and bought, with their own money, something for us to eat."²¹

"This pass gives three days at home, as our officers always kindly date them the day after we start."²²

"It seems to us that it is the delight of some officers to see the poor soldier suffer."²³

"They have snubbed the boys and arrested them, then laughed because they had the power to do so."²⁴

"General Rosser and staff took possession of the largest store in town, loaded a four horse ambulance with the spoils, while our wounded are left at Beverly."²⁵

"...besides I see too great a difference in the privileges and immunities in a soldier and an officer."²⁶

Three useful comparisons can be drawn between this sub-heading and the previous one. First, the trend in all four Groups is identical to the trend displayed in the previous sub-heading. All of the Groups

contained more men who thought their officers took pretty good care of their needs and wants than thought the opposite. See Illustration #20. Secondly, this trend is especially evident in Groups I, III, and IV, where respectively 56%, 68%, and 72% of the writings contained more positive than negative references. Thirdly, although Group II again conforms to the general pattern, it deviates noticeably from the other three Groups. In Group II only 36% expressed more favorable opinions while 24% expressed more unfavorable opinions; the remaining 40% either made no relevant references or had an equal number of "yes" and "no" comments. Again, then, the men of Group II were not as positively opinionated toward their officers as the other Groups; and again, this deviance totally disappears in Group IV.

The evidence presented in these last two sub-headings indicates that Northerners actually did think less about, and less highly of, their officers during the War than did Southerners. The data further show that once Yankee Civil War veterans began composing their memoirs that they began to think more about, and more highly of, their officers. That this should happen seems reasonable: how could these veterans ignore or write unfavorably of the very officers who had led them to final victory? There is also other evidence in this study which would lead us to believe that Southerners thought more favorably of their officers than Yanks. If the reader will refer to the discussion of combat, especially to Illustration #16, he will see that Rebs were more disposed to willingly go into combat than Northerners. If we ponder the intimate relationship between combat and officers it seems

ILLUSTRATION #20PERSONAL INTEREST OF OFFICERS
IN MENGROUP I

THOUGHT OFFICERS TOOK PERSONAL INTEREST IN MEN	56%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS TOOK PERSONAL INTEREST IN MEN	4%
No comments	8%
Even number of comments	32%

GROUP II

THOUGHT OFFICERS TOOK PERSONAL INTEREST IN MEN	36%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS TOOK PERSONAL INTEREST IN MEN	24%
No comments	12%
Even number of comments	28%

GROUP III

THOUGHT OFFICERS TOOK PERSONAL INTEREST IN MEN	68%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS TOOK PERSONAL INTEREST IN MEN	8%
No comments	16%
Even number of comments	8%

GROUP IV

THOUGHT OFFICERS TOOK PERSONAL INTEREST IN MEN	72%
DID NOT THINK OFFICERS TOOK PERSONAL INTEREST IN MEN	12%
No comments	4%
Even number of comments	12%

only natural that those who were most willing to join the fray would also have the highest opinions of their officers. And, of course, vice versa. When we look at the sub-heading dealing with the question of the general competence of officers, however, we are presented with a real enigma because on this issue we see that Northerners who wrote diaries or letters were at least as favorably disposed toward their officers as were their Southern counterparts. This indeed seems inexplicable in the face of the other three sub-headings. The author would suggest that in light of the extremely close correlation among the patterns of these three sub-headings--as well as the close correlation found between the various sub-headings in all other classifications--that this discrepancy is not too significant and may possibly be explained by the modest size of the sample involved.

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER VIII.

1. Roth, p. 139.
2. Harmon, p. 305.
3. Andrew, p. 79.
4. Watkins, p. 71.
5. Ambrose, p. 107.
6. Runge, p. 23.
7. H. M. Povenmire (ed.), "Diary of Jacob Adams, Private in Company F, 21st O.V.V.I," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications (1929) XXXVIII, p. 646.
8. Watkins, p. 176.
9. Runge, p. 27.
10. Truxall, p. 84.
11. Stillwell, p. 61.
12. Silver, p. 69.
13. Runge, p. 99.
14. Thomas Francis Galwey, The Valiant Hours (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company, 1961) p. 12.
15. Wilkeson, p. 183-184.
16. Glazier, p. 134.
17. William Valmore Izlar, A Sketch of the War Record of the Edisto Rifles, 1861-1865 (Columbia, S. C.: August Kohn, 1914) p. 22.

18. Howell Carter, A Cavalryman's Reminiscences of the Civil War
(New Orleans: The American Printing Co., Ltd., no date
given) p. 77.
19. Alderson, ("John Johnston") p. 334.
20. Jackson and O'Donnell, p. 91.
21. Stillwell, p. 25.
22. Runge, p. 68.
23. Crotty, p. 169.
24. Jackson and O'Donnell, p. 50.
25. Summers, p. 88.
26. Osborn, p. 148.

CHAPTER IX, CIVIL LEADERSHIP

Two problems in gathering data for this classification became evident as the study progressed. First, there were very, very few statements in either type of document that mentioned civil leadership. Secondly, in the few references which were made it was next to impossible to distinguish between the sub-heading concerned with "total effort" and the one dealing with "competence." Hence, the two sub-headings were united into one sub-heading which simply tried to discern whether or not a soldier had a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward civil leadership. When the data was compiled for this broad sub-heading it was found that only fifty-seven of the men had made any applicable references. Before turning to a closer look at this data, here are some illustrative sample statements:

"...I want to see old Uncle Abe elected again. He is the only man that can settle this war up and do it as it should be settled."¹

"Rumor is current in camp that President Davis has died of typhoid fever at Richmond. If this be true, the ablest statesman on this continent has fallen and the Confederacy will feel heavily the loss of his guiding intellect."²

"The government is making strenuous efforts to provide the army with clothing now so you need have no uneasiness on my account."³

"I like the plan the Government is pursuing. If they wont enlist right way I say draft them."⁴

"I am ashamed to speak of the House, for I blush to acknowledge that there are so many traitors in our Government."⁵

"Our imbecile and infantile government permitted the cavalry branch of our army to melt gradually out of existence by the policy it adopted toward us."⁶

"After the establishment and organization of the Confederate government, the authorities failed to perform those essential acts which prudence and wisdom would dictate as being absolutely necessary to the completion of their work."⁷

"This Conscript Act will do away with all the patriotism we have...A more oppressive law was never enacted in the must uncivilized country or by the worst of despots. Remember what I say, it will eventually be our ruin."⁸

Northerners were far and away more conscious of, and more favorable toward, their government than Southerners. See Illustration #21. In Group I 20% exhibited favorable opinions, 28% unfavorable opinions, and 52% had no opinions. In Group III the corresponding percentages are 8%, 32%, and 60%. Thus, a majority of both types of Southern writings contained no pertinent comments; and in the minority that did there were more that held unfavorable than favorable attitudes toward civil government. On the other hand, in Group II 48% looked favorably at civil government while only 16% looked at it unfavorably;

ILLUSTRATION #21CIVIL LEADERSHIPGROUP I

HAD FAVORABLE OPINION OF CIVIL LEADERSHIP	20%
HAD UNFAVORABLE OPINION OF CIVIL LEADERSHIP	28%
No comments	0%
Even number of comments	52%

GROUP II

HAD FAVORABLE OPINION OF CIVIL LEADERSHIP	48%
HAD UNFAVORABLE OPINION OF CIVIL LEADERSHIP	16%
No comments	4%
Even number of comments	32%

GROUP III

HAD FAVORABLE OPINION OF CIVIL LEADERSHIP	8%
HAD UNFAVORABLE OPINION OF CIVIL LEADERSHIP	32%
No comments	0%
Even number of comments	60%

GROUP IV

HAD FAVORABLE OPINION OF CIVIL LEADERSHIP	48%
HAD UNFAVORABLE OPINION OF CIVIL LEADERSHIP	16%
No comments	8%
Even number of comments	28%

4% had an equal number of "yes" and "no" comments and the remaining 32% expressed no opinion. The percentages for Group IV are almost identical--48%, 16%, 8%, and 28%. If civil leadership is at all related to morale, and it is hard to believe that it is not, Northerners surely had an advantage over their combatants on this score. Given what is well-known about the disdain for government--and the lack of it--in the ante-bellum South this is not surprising.

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER IX.

1. Roth, p. 92.
2. Cate, p. 178.
3. Summers, p. 55.
4. Truxall, p. 29.
5. Robertson, p. 285.
6. Opie, p. 158.
7. Ibid., p. 332.
8. Jesse Walton Reid, History of the Fourth Regiment of S. C. Volunteers from the Commencement of the War until Lee's Surrender (Greenville, S. C.: Shannon & Co., Printers and Binders, 1891), p. 76.

CHAPTER X, DISCIPLINE

The problem of discipline is being considered separately, it will be recalled, because it combines two complementary sub-headings from different classifications. Instead of two rather specific sub-headings dealing with discipline we now have one broad sub-heading. There were three different aspects to its definition. One was whether or not a particular officer was too harsh:

"He was cruel, too, in exacting full discipline of his men."¹

"About this time a petition was gotten up asking Capt. Nelson to resign. This petition was signed by all the company. We thought the Captain rather too strict and exacting...."²

"Gen Ashby was at no time a drillmaster or a disciplinarian... The discipline of the men he left entirely to their captains, and as a matter of course it was lenient."³

A second aspect treated discipline in more general terms:

"This part of our army discipline has thus far been evidently too loosely administered, giving occasion for demoralization."⁴

"Orders were strict and rigidly enforced."⁵

"If there was ever any serious attempt to discipline it the effort was soon abandoned...If any wished to evade duty, they found a way, and the punishment for evasion was light."⁶

The final aspect was whether or not a soldier thought he was worked too

hard. This was the least common type of reference of the three:

"I am on guard again to-day, think I have to stand too often."⁷

"We are having very light duty."⁸

"We do not have much duty to do and can go around a good deal."⁹

The tendency in all four Groups was for there to be a certain amount of dissatisfaction with the way discipline was administered. This trend was especially evident in Groups I and III. See Illustration #22. In Group I only 12% felt discipline was at a moderate medium, while 48% felt it was not, and 40% had no comments or any equal number of "yes" and "no" references. The corresponding percentages for Group III are 16%, 60%, and 24%. In Group II, however, these percentages are 28%, 40%, and 32%; and in Group IV they are 48%, 48%, and 4%. It is evident that while no Group showed much enthusiasm for army discipline, Northerners were more willing to accept it gracefully than Southerners. The data on this sub-heading correlates nicely with the data on the "civil leadership" sub-heading in that in both cases Southern soldiers were much less willing to accept, and less patient with, authority. Again, considering the contempt and disrespect for organized authority that the arrogant, fiercely independent Southerners had this result is to be expected.

ILLUSTRATION #22ARMY DISCIPLINEGROUP I

WERE SATISFIED WITH ARMY DISCIPLINE	12%
WERE DISSATISFIED WITH ARMY DISCIPLINE	48%
No comments	40%
Even number of comments	

GROUP II

WERE SATISFIED WITH ARMY DISCIPLINE	28%
WERE DISSATISFIED WITH ARMY DISCIPLINE	40%
No comments	32%
Even number of comments	

GROUP III

WERE SATISFIED WITH ARMY DISCIPLINE	16%
WERE DISSATISFIED WITH ARMY DISCIPLINE	60%
No comments	24%
Even number of comments	

GROUP IV

WERE SATISFIED WITH ARMY DISCIPLINE	48%
WERE DISSATISFIED WITH ARMY DISCIPLINE	48%
No comments	4%
Even number of comments	

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER X.

1. Halsey, p. 84.
2. Runge, p. 8.
3. Summers, p. 22.
4. Glazier, p. 164.
5. Bell Irvin Wiley (ed.), Reminiscences of Big I (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1956) p. 42.
6. Giles, p. 100.
7. Silver, p. 56.
8. Alice Williams Sheets (ed.), A Quaker Goes to War Against Slavery: The Limited Diary of Enoch Pearson Williams (no location, publishing house, or date given; located in the University of Cincinnati Library) p. 22.
9. Winther, p. 144.

CHAPTER XI, PROMOTIONS

We come now to the last topic in this study, promotions. Let us recall that this last sub-heading is formed from two analogous sub-headings which were taken from separate classifications but which both dealt with the question of whether or not promotions were handled fairly. No problems were entailed in defining this sub-heading:

"It seems that all a man has to do in the army to be promoted and considered something is to use a heap of profane language and whiskey and be expert in playing cards."¹

"With such reports from officers high in rank, there is no wonder that he failed to get the promotion which he so justly deserved."²

"I was mustered as Captain day before yesterday."³

"We now learn that our peppery, yet kind-hearted colonel has been promoted to brigadier general, a just recognition of his soldierly qualities."⁴

The strong pattern in each Group was for a large number of men to be quite satisfied with the system of promotions--56% in Group I, 48% in Group II, 76% in Group III, and 48% in Group IV. Very few men in any of the Groups expressed dissatisfaction with the way promotions were dispensed--only 8% in Group I, 0% in Group II, 12% in Group III, and 8% in Group IV. See Illustration #23. In short, on the question

ILLUSTRATION #23PROMOTIONSGROUP I

WERE SATISFIED WITH SYSTEM OF PROMOTIONS	56%
WERE DISSATISFIED WITH SYSTEM OF PROMOTIONS	8%
No comments	36%
Even number of comments	

GROUP II

WERE SATISFIED WITH SYSTEM OF PROMOTIONS	48%
WERE DISSATISFIED WITH SYSTEM OF PROMOTIONS	0%
No comments	52%
Even number of comments	

GROUP III

WERE SATISFIED WITH SYSTEM OF PROMOTIONS	76%
WERE DISSATISFIED WITH SYSTEM OF PROMOTIONS	12%
No comments	12%
Even number of comments	

GROUP IV

WERE SATISFIED WITH SYSTEM OF PROMOTIONS	48%
WERE DISSATISFIED WITH SYSTEM OF PROMOTIONS	8%
No comments	44%
Even number of comments	

of promotions neither Rebs nor Yanks should have suffered any morale problem. But a word needs to be said about the tendency for Southerners to be more expressive on the topic. One explanation for this probably lies in the "breakdown in command" which took place in the Confederate Armies (especially in the East) because of the loss of many killed and wounded officers. Recall, if you will, that in the "served by example" sub-heading Southerners in Group I were substantially more impressed with the examples set by their leaders than were the Northerners in Group II. What this meant, in essence, was that Rebs were more aware of their officers leading them into battle than were Yankees. In going into battle these officers, of course, stood a good chance of being shot simply because they were in the front of the charge. As officers were removed from command in this manner, men from the ranks--men like we have been studying--were increasingly called upon to fill their places. Thus, the topic of promotions was often naturally on their minds.

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER XI.

1. Carmony, p. 74.
2. Carter, p. 134.
3. Andrew, p. 123.
4. Gaskill, p. 113.

CHAPTER XII, CONCLUSION

Although the methodology which Samuel Stouffer employed in The American Soldier has not been used in this brief study, the six morale classifications which have been used here are based on similar classifications found in the first two volumes of Stouffer's extensive treatise. Consequently, it would be a serious omission not to try to compare some of the conclusions we have reached concerning Civil War soldiers with some of those he attained in regard to World War II soldiers. Of course, not every sub-heading needs to be looked at in detail; a selected sampling of some of them should enable us to draw meaningful conclusions. It would be an equally serious exclusion if some attempt were not made to compare the data presented here with some of the more important judgments set forth by Bell Irvin Wiley. Neither Wiley's procedure nor his analytical organization have been followed here. Yet, because he has written the most definitive works on the common soldier in the Civil War it is only natural that at least a brief attempt at comparison should be undertaken. Again, a few select comparisons should be adequate to show whether or not there are significant differences between his findings and those presented here.

In a survey of 420 privates made first in November, 1943, and then again in March, 1944, Stouffer found that at neither time did

more than 30% of the men say that they were "usually in good spirits."¹ In another survey which was designed to show differences in the attitudes of officers and enlisted men, only 24% of the enlisted men responded favorably to the statement "I am usually in good spirits."² In still a third survey, Stouffer found that among those men having doubts that the War was worthwhile fighting, only 25% said they were usually in good spirits; even among those never having doubts about the worthwhileness of the War only 37% claimed to be usually in good spirits.³ The reader will recall that in Groups I and II of our Civil War soldiers the largest percentage of the men seemed to be in bad spirits, with Southerners being slightly more depressed than Northerners.⁴ Thus, it seems that on the question of mental condition, Civil War soldiers would have fit right in with World War II troops!

One section of a study conducted by Stouffer which compared the attitudes of men in units having and not having orientation programs dealt with attitudes toward the home front. 66% of those without and 65% of those with unit orientation believed that most or all of the people back home were doing all they should to help out.⁵ In another instance Stouffer concludes that "While there certainly was a great deal of outspoken criticism of civilians on the home front by soldiers overseas, the available data suggest that a surprisingly large proportion of the men felt rather favorably toward them."⁶ A quick glance at Illustration #4 will show the similarity between the soldiers of both Wars on this point.

Stouffer asked the question "Do you think you are in good physical

condition?" to 6,280 veteran privates. Of this number 4,019 said yes, 1,703 said no, and 558 either had no answer or were undecided.⁷ In another study comparing the relation of combat time to attitude toward physical condition a similar trend emerged. A large majority of those men surveyed felt they were in pretty good physical condition, a smaller number felt they were not in good condition, and a still smaller number gave no answer.⁸ If the reader will turn to Illustration #2 he will readily see that our Civil War soldiers displayed a pattern identical to the one shown in these two studies by Stouffer.

As was mentioned in the text of Chapter IV dealing with orientation and commitment, the one hundred Civil War soldiers studied here were almost totally devoid of ideological orientation. And, as was further noted, in this they were quite similar to Stouffer's World War II troops. To give just one example, in a survey of enlisted men in the European Theater in April, 1944, Stouffer asked, "Generally, in your combat experience, what was most important to you in making you want to keep going and do as well as you could?" 39% commented that they were motivated by thoughts of ending the task, of getting the War over; another 23% commented that they did not want to let their buddies down or lose their self respect; only 5% commented on such ideological things as the meaning of the War and love for their country; the remaining 33% gave widely scattered responses.⁹ The reader will recall that in our Civil War soldiers only 12% of Group I and 8% of Group II gave indications of a high ideological orientation and personal commitment to the War.

The fact that the men of these two Groups were so much like the men Stouffer studied and that they were so similar to one another raised an interesting question in regard to Wiley's conclusion about the orientation of Civil War soldiers. In the concluding chapter of The Life of Billy Yank, Wiley states that "Soldier attitudes as revealed in their letters and diaries leave the impression that Billy Yank was not so deeply concerned with the war as Johnny Reb. Financial considerations seem to have figured more conspicuously in his participation in the conflict, and he appears to have felt less of personal commitment and responsibility."¹⁰ The data found in this study do not support this statement. As far as orientation and commitment to the War go, we have been at great pains to show that neither side possessed a high ideological orientation. If, as Wiley further writes, "Billy Yank was fighting to subdue a revolt against national authority and to free the slaves; Johnny Reb was fighting to establish an independent government, but he also was fighting for a peculiar way of life, for the defense of his home, and, as it often seemed to him, for life itself,"¹¹ Billy Yank and Johnny Reb did not seem to be particularly aware of this themselves. Further, we have been at pains to show that the patterns and tendencies in all of the individual sub-headings in the orientation classification were nearly identical, with only minor deviations. Almost the only differences which did arise in this classification were found between the two types of literature, not the men themselves.

In both Groups I and II there were far more men who expressed a

desire to change jobs than commented to the effect that they were quite satisfied where they were. See Illustration #14. Again, these Civil War soldiers were much like soldiers in World War II. For example, in a survey already referred to, Stouffer found that among those who never had doubts that the War was worth fighting only 28% did not want to change to another job; among those who did have doubts only 18% did not want to change army jobs.¹² A second survey already mentioned showed that out of 420 Infantry recruits tested in November, 1943, only 33% were satisfied with their army jobs; this percentage dropped to 31% in March, 1944.¹³ Finally, as a last example, in a study made of privates stationed for various lengths of time in Hawaii, the Aleutians, and Panama, the percentage of those who would change jobs if given the chance ranged from 59% to 72%.

As Illustration #15 shows, a majority of the Civil War soldiers in both Groups I and II felt that their army was well run and could be counted on. Some of Stouffer's studies indicate that World War II soldiers would agree with them. For instance, in the survey of 420 privates mentioned twice already, 71% of those surveyed in 1943 and 54% of those surveyed in 1944 thought the army was well run.¹⁵ A survey of six companies with very high morale on other factors showed that in all six of them two-thirds or more of the men expressed the opinion that furloughs and passes were handled fairly.¹⁶ On the other hand, a general survey of enlisted men in November, 1945, showed that only 26% of them agreed with the statement "When the Army says it will do something the men want, most of the time it ends up by really doing it."¹⁷

There appears to be a time element involved in the way a man looks at this question. Stouffer's first two studies were made during the middle of the War while the third was not made until three months after VJ Day. Had our study somehow differentiated time periods, it is altogether possible that we, too, would have gotten conflicting results. For example, it may well be that Southerners thought their army was well run and could be counted on throughout the War until it became cooped up in the trenches around Petersburg. From then on their opinions may have become less and less favorable as conditions became worse and worse and defeat appeared imminent. Indeed, one of the major deficiencies in the relatively simple system we used was this inability to determine how opinions varied over periods of time.

In a survey applied to 6,280 soldiers, which was designed to determine whether or not a soldier was willing for combat, Stouffer asked two questions. The first was, "Which of the following best tells the way you feel about getting into an actual combat zone?" This was followed by seven possible gradated responses. 2,970 of the men showed a willingness for combat, 2,624 did not, and 686 had no opinion or no answer. The second question was, "Which of the following best describes your own feeling about getting into combat against the Germans?" This was followed by five gradated responses. 4,402 of the men expressed a willingness to fight, 1,743 did not, and 135 had no answer.¹⁸ Thus, there was a decided overall willingness for combat. Although the difference is slight, our data suggest that in this respect Rebels were more like World War II soldiers than were the

Yankees. Reference to Illustration #16 shows that all our Civil War soldiers were quite willing for combat, but that the edge in willingness goes to Southerners.

A large majority of the Civil War soldiers in both Groups I and II indicated that they were satisfied with the example set by their officers. The same was true of Stouffer's soldiers. In one study which looked at attitudes toward officers according to length of time in combat, 60% or more of the men in five different groups of privates, pfc's, and noncoms believed their officers were "willing to go through anything they asked their men to go through."¹⁹ Another survey showed that 70% of the front line troops felt that all or most of their officers were willing to set good examples.²⁰ Stouffer found that this percentage decreased as he surveyed troops who were farther and farther away from the immediate combat zone. That is, men in front areas were more impressed with the example set by their officers than were troops in rear areas. Perhaps if we had studied some non-combat Civil War soldiers we would have discovered a similar trend. The combat-tested soldiers we surveyed--most especially the Southerners--were certainly similar to Stouffer's front line troops on this particular topic.

In some cases an identical relationship between Civil War and World War II soldiers emerges on the question of whether or not a soldier believed his officers took a personal interest in him. For example, in the last of Stouffer's studies alluded to, 61% of the front line troops thought all or most of their officers took a personal interest in them.²¹ Again, this percentage dropped off as the

distance from the front line increased. The study of the six companies with pre-determined high morale showed that in all six of them two-thirds or more of the men felt their officers were interested in the men, understood their needs, and were helpful to them.²² However, in that general survey made three months after VJ Day, 74% of the enlisted men believed that too much importance was placed on military courtesy and "spit and polish."²³ This implies, of course, that these men thought their officers flouted their status and did not, therefore, take a personal interest in their men. Again, a time element appears to be involved, a time element which, as mentioned, we were not able to take into account.

Let us remember that very few of the men in either Group I or Group II were pleased with military discipline--Southerners, it will be recalled, found it especially loathsome. World War II soldiers were equally displeased with the discipline they encountered. In one cross-section survey Stouffer discovered that only 42% of the enlisted men felt that discipline was "about right" at their post.²⁴ The study of the six companies with high morale showed that two-thirds or more of the men thought punishment was meted out fairly in only three of them--out of fifteen topics surveyed in this particular study only two others were viewed this unfavorably.²⁵ In still a third study privates were more than four times as likely to be less than more favorably disposed toward army discipline.²⁶

The previously cited survey taken three months after VJ Day showed that about 75% of the soldiers agreed with the statement that

"Promotions in the Army are too slow."²⁷ In another survey already mentioned, only 41% of those who never had doubts about the worthwhileness of the War--and only 31% among all others--thought that a soldier with ability had a very good chance of promotion.²⁸ A third study showed that the percentage of enlisted men who thought promotions went to the most deserving men more than half the time ranged from only 18% to 39%.²⁹ Finally, in still another survey Stouffer found that out of a list of five choices, corporals and privates felt that the most important thing in getting promoted was having an "in" with the right people.³⁰ Obviously, then, World War II soldiers did not think very highly of the system of promotions. Here is the one topic on which Civil War and World War II soldiers radically differed. A glance at Illustration #23 shows that both Southerners and Yankees were highly satisfied with the way promotions were handled. The present author is at a loss to explain this one, single difference out of all the many topics under consideration. The trend in Stouffer's data is unmistakably toward an unfavorable view of promotions policy; the trend established by our data is just as unmistakably in the other direction.

Bell Wiley's statement that "Still another indication of the Northern soldier's more practical bent was his greater concern about rising in the military hierarchy; certainly his letters and diaries are more replete with comment about promotions"³¹ does not agree with that data that we gathered at all. Indeed, we showed that just the opposite was true, that Southerners were somewhat more concerned with

promotions than Northerners.

Another conclusion of Wiley's with which we hesitate to agree is that "Johnny Rebs seem to have taken more readily to soldiering from their prior mode of life...."³² The fact that Southerners were consistently in worse mental condition than Northerners and consistently enjoyed army life less seems to contradict this statement. To say that a Southerner's "cheerfulness outweighed his dejection" and that "Adaptability and good nature, in fact, were among his most characteristic qualities"³³ just does not coincide with the data we have been at pains to present.

Further, Wiley may be overstating the case when he writes, "Moreover, the men who wore the gray fought with more dash, elan and enthusiasm...Their penchant for recounting the details of combat in home letters suggests that they derived a greater thrill from fighting."³⁴ We have looked at three topics which reflect on this statement. One, the most direct, is "willingness for combat." True, Southerners did appear to be more willing to go against the enemy than Northerners, but the difference is not as large as Wiley's statement might suggest. A second is "excitement and adventure." As was emphasized in the chapter on orientation, there was very, very little difference between Rebs and Yanks in this sub-heading. And thirdly, given the close relationship between leadership and combat, our whole section on military leadership is relevant. Southerners did seem to be more favorably oriented toward their leaders; however, in one sub-heading Northerners had the more favorable attitude, and in the other two

Southerners were certainly not overwhelmingly more favorable in their attitudes. It may well be, then, that this assertion by Wiley needs to be somewhat modified and toned down.

On a number of other issues our data concurred fully with Wiley's findings. For example, although Stouffer did not delve into the question of attitudes toward civil leadership at all, Wiley concluded that "Billy Yank revealed a far livelier interest in politics than Johnny Reb."³⁵ Our data support this contention, as a quick look at Illustration #21 will show. In fact, we agree in large part with his final verdict to the effect that "In sum, it may be stated that the similarities of Billy Yank and Johnny Reb far outweighed their differences."³⁶ If Southerners and Northerners by and large resembled each other, it is also true, as we have shown, that they closely resembled World War II soldiers on almost all of the attitudes under consideration.

However, this general conformity should not obscure the fact that this study has raised some interesting and provocative questions in regard to Wiley's conclusions. These center around the issues of personal orientation and commitment, promotions, and mental well-being, but branch out to include such topics as military leadership and willingness for combat where expected differences were not so large and clear-cut as to make them conclusive. Were Civil War soldiers personally aware of the stakes involved in the conflict? Were they at all motivated by high ideological considerations? Were Yanks or Rebs more concerned with promotions? Did Southerners really enjoy fighting more than Yanks? How great was the difference in Southern

and Northern attitudes toward their officers? Questions like these still need more definitive answers before we can fully understand the Civil War soldier in the ranks. And, by understanding him we might well be able to better comprehend the society from which he came. The method employed here, if projected on a much larger scale, might well provide some of the answers. Certainly the strong correlation between our results and those obtained by Stouffer leads us to believe we are on the right track. Two studies similar to the one we have done here would seem to be especially fruitful in double-checking this correlation. One would deal with officers who ranked higher than Captain. The second would somehow divide the Civil War years into a limited number of segments and then compare and contrast morale attitudes within and among these segments. The data which might be gathered would surely justify the effort.

FOOTNOTES. CHAPTER XII.

1. Stouffer et. al., I, p. 207.
2. Ibid., I, p. 394. Interestingly, 53% of the officers responded favorably. It might prove very worthwhile to survey Civil War officers as we have done here with men in the ranks and see if this difference appears. A number of other differences Stouffer found between officers and enlisted men would be equally interesting to check out.
3. Ibid., I, p. 460.
4. In making these comparisons with Stouffer only Groups I and II are used because all of Stouffer's data was gathered from men still in the service. Hence, to compare his data with Groups III and IV would be distortion, much like comparing apples to oranges.
5. Stouffer et. al., I, p. 474-475.
6. Ibid., II, p. 320.
7. Ibid., II, p. 47.
8. Ibid., II, p. 92.
9. Ibid., I, p. 108.
10. Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank, The Common Soldier of the Union (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1951) p. 360.
11. Ibid., p. 360.
12. Stouffer et. al., I, p. 460.
13. Ibid., I, p. 207.
14. Ibid., I, p. 345.

15. Ibid., I, p. 207.
16. Ibid., I, p. 387. Six companies with low morale were also included in this study. In only one of them did two-thirds or more of the men express a favorable opinion on the pass and furlough policy. However, from Stouffer's data it is impossible to tell what percentage of the men expressed favorable opinions in the other five companies.
17. Ibid., I, p. 423.
18. Ibid., II, p. 45.
19. Ibid., II, p. 121.
20. Ibid., I, p. 366.
21. Ibid., I, p. 366.
22. Ibid., I, p. 387. Again, we have no way of telling exactly how the men in the six companies with low morale felt on this topic. The only thing we know from Stouffer's data is that in only two of the companies did two-thirds or more of the men respond favorably.
23. Ibid., I, p. 419.
24. Ibid., I, p. 394.
25. Ibid., I, p. 387.
26. Ibid., I, p. 201.
27. Ibid., I, p. 226.
28. Ibid., I, p. 460.
29. Ibid., I, p. 277.
30. Ibid., I, p. 270.

31. Wiley, (Life of Billy Yank) p. 360.
32. Ibid., p. 360.
33. Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb, The Common Soldier in the Confederacy (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943) p. 347.
34. Wiley, (Life of Billy Yank) p. 360.
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