

1953

## Religion in the Rebel Ranks.

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RELIGION IN THE REBEL RANKS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of History

by

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## PREFACE

About 20,000 letters of Confederate soldiers have been examined in collecting material for this dissertation. These letters were located in the National Archives; the Confederate Museum; the University of Richmond; the Virginia Department of Archives and History; the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; the Archives Collection, Duke University Library; the North Carolina Historical Commission; the Archives Collection of the University of Emory Library; Georgia Department of Archives and History; Alabama Department of Archives and History; and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

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## ABSTRACT

The church was the greatest single institution in the maintenance of morale in the Confederate Army. The rebel warrior entered military service assured by his religious leaders that his cause was right and just. This conviction was encouraged throughout the war by chaplains, missionaries, and colporters. Through their efforts it was a stronger conviction in 1865 than it had been in 1861.

The Civil War provided the Southern ministry with many diverse opportunities for service. Some served as chaplains and found their tasks difficult and financially unrewarding. Their rank was debated, their duties were uncertain and their pay was constantly threatened. In spite of this, the majority of chaplains served their charges well, bringing the comforts of religion often to the front lines where a few even laid down their lives.

Some ministers felt they could best serve the Southern cause by shouldering a musket. So it was that a large number of them fought in the ranks or organized and commanded military units. Their presence was highly valued by President Jefferson Davis who looked upon them as an elevating influence in the army.

Other ministers were sent by their churches or volunteered for periods of service as missionaries or colporters, one of their chief

duties being the distribution of the pithy little sheets known as tracts. These were almost as important in bringing religion to the soldier as was the clergy itself. The Evangelical Tract Society and the various denominational agencies claim to have distributed over 133,000,000 pages of tracts during the course of the war in addition to religious papers, hymn books and Bibles. As a result of the position taken by the North, that Bibles were contraband of war, the Bible was printed in the South for the first time.

The intensive efforts of the Southern ministry and the tract societies worked in conjunction with the Southerner's natural inclination toward the emotional aspect of religion and resulted in the great revivals of 1863-64. These revivals encompassed whole armies and may have been an unconscious appeal on the part of the South for divine intervention in its behalf.

But the Confederate soldiers' abiding faith did not prevent Appomattox. As important as is religion to the spiritual and psychological makeup of mankind, it is not the decisive factor in the art of human warfare. History does not show that only pious generals lead soldiers to victory. The believer in God does not have earthly treasures heaped upon him simply because he believes. Armies do not defeat the enemy simply because they are made up of men with deep religious sentiments. For, if these propositions were valid, the Southern Army could not have been subjugated.

## CHAPTER I

### RELIGION IN THE OLD SOUTH

When the Southern soldier met his Northern antagonist on the field of battle, he was armed with the limited weapons that the Confederate government could place at his disposal. An investigation of the respective arsenals of the two sides reveals the great disparity in the total resources possessed by each, and causes us to wonder at the courage or utter stupidity of a people who were so unrealistic as to fight a war in which the odds were so overwhelmingly against them.

A comparison of the military potentials of the two sections reveals the following. In the North there were twenty-two states; in the South there were eleven. The population of the North was about 22,336,740 while that of the South was 9,103,332 of which 3,521,110 were negro slaves. It is estimated that, of the industry in the country at the outbreak of the war, ninety per cent was in the North and ten per cent was in the South. The South had 9,000 miles of railroad and the North had around 20,000. Yet the size of the two areas was approximately the same. Hence, the North was in a much better position to prosecute this conflict to a successful conclusion than was the South. In spite of its deficiency in war potential, the South had within its arsenal a powerful weapon which such Southerners as J. H.

Thornwell, Benjamin Palmer and William A. Smith had nurtured and forged. This weapon was religion.

Religion prior to 1861 had already played its part in the verbal tilt over the moral aspects of slavery. It was to have a stellar role as a psychological weapon in the contest that lay ahead. The tangible size of this weapon may be measured by observing that in 1860 the South with 29 per cent of the population had 33 per cent of the church edifices in the country.<sup>1</sup>

It is the purpose of this inquiry to examine religion from the military standpoint; to consider it as a weapon of warfare. We are not here concerned with the theological or the denominational aspects of religion. It is not our purpose to answer such questions as "What is a religion?" or "What is the difference between a Methodist and a Baptist?" It is our purpose to try and answer such questions as: "What effect did religion have on the Confederate soldier?" "What services did the various religious denominations render?" "Why was there a great revival in the Confederate army?"

In order to fully appreciate the importance of religion as a vital and dynamic force helping to mold the Confederate soldier, it is necessary to understand how this force developed. What was religion like in the ante-bellum South?

The variations of the religious patterns in pre-revolutionary America are striking. Some of the Northern colonies were founded by

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<sup>1</sup>Statistics of the United States in 1860 of the 8th Census Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), 352.

Nonconformists and Separatists while others were organized by those who refused to conform to the Nonconformists. All were based on rebellion against religious orthodoxy and this rebellion shows through in the colonial mosaic as vivid red against the more subdued grays and whites of religious conservatism which was prevalent throughout the Southern colonies.<sup>2</sup>

Since each of the original Southern colonies was sponsored by the crown or by proprietors of the crown's choosing, it was only natural that the Anglican Church should become the established church of each colony, whether or not its establishment was acceptable to the people it served.<sup>3</sup>

After the early colonists settled and began to prosper, European immigrants poured across the Atlantic, and, along with those who were not content on the seaboard, spilled across the Appalachians into the back country of the Southern uplands.<sup>4</sup> Expansion was rapid and formalized religion did not keep pace with it.

The Southern Anglicans had established churches in Charleston, Savannah, and other sizeable towns and chapels in nearby parishes along the seacoast. However, the emotional tone of the religion was diseased

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<sup>2</sup>William T. Couch (ed.), Culture in the South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 252.

<sup>3</sup>Leonard W. Bacon, A History of American Christianity (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897), 148.

<sup>4</sup>Clement Eaton, A History of the Old South (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), 485-486.



by apathy,<sup>5</sup> a disorder which became even more acute after the rending effects of the American Revolution were felt.<sup>6</sup> Their position of dominance was consequently lost to religions of a more emotional and democratic character.<sup>7</sup>

The Anglican pastor was not armed with sufficient ardor to combat the evils in his own parish; he could not be expected to be fired with the fervor of saving men's souls in the far-away back country. Nor did the Catholic priests do any better. They had firmly established New Orleans and Baltimore as Catholic communities and eventually developed parishes in Charleston, Mobile and Florida. But the priest's routine, full of duties to his church and parochial schools, left him little time for attempts at conversion.<sup>8</sup>

One group of back country people took their religious instruction into their own hands and convened periodically to read Luther's works and Whitfield's sermons. Other groups took up the idea and formed reading houses. These were people who had no knowledge as to how a church service should be conducted. Yet they had a desire to experience religion.

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<sup>5</sup>William E. Dodd, The Cotton Kingdom (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), XXVII, 14, Allen Johnson (ed.), The Chronicles of America Series.

<sup>6</sup>Eaton, History of the Old South, 485.

<sup>7</sup>Frank L. Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), 96-104.

<sup>8</sup>Dodd, Cotton Kingdom, 13-14.

Shortly after its organization, the reading house in Hanover, Virginia, invited a travelling minister to preach for them. He was a Presbyterian and he preached the first sermon many of them had ever heard. The members found themselves in accord with his teachings, received instruction in the order of worship and called themselves Presbyterians.<sup>9</sup> This marked the beginning of the Great Awakening in the South. The movement which swept over the colonies from 1725 to 1770 was started by the Presbyterians, but the Baptists carried on the second phase of the Southern revival.

Two New Englanders, Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall, of the Baptist persuasion, began to preach in the region of North Carolina. Their work was continued by farmer preachers. Many people were touched by the words of these evangelists and the growth of the Baptists in such Southern colonies as North Carolina and Virginia was phenomenal.<sup>10</sup> Since the Baptist ministers preached wherever they went without bothering to obtain licenses for their meeting houses, as required by law, many of them landed in jail. Thus they became martyrs and this persecution promoted their growth. At the time of the American Revolution they had a sizeable following in the Southern colonies.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>William B. Hesseltine, A History of the South, 1607-1936 (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938), 57.

<sup>10</sup>William W. Sweet, Revivalism in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945), 38.

<sup>11</sup>William W. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930), 221; Joseph Belcher, The Religious Denominations in the United States (Philadelphia: John E. Potter, 1857), 117-245.

The third phase of the revival was under Methodist leadership. It began in the years preceding the American Revolution, reaching its height at the start of the war and continuing throughout it. Devereaux Jarratt, a member of the Anglican Church, was probably its greatest preacher; he labored both in Virginia and North Carolina.<sup>12</sup>

The greatest effect that the American Revolution had on the religious life of the South was a libertating one. The Church of England was disestablished by all Southern states, and in 1786 the Virginia Legislature adopted the Statute for Religious Freedom.<sup>13</sup> It is certain that the war did not stimulate religious growth in the country, and it was felt by many at the end of the century that the churches should make a concerted effort to bring the people of this newly established country to the teachings of Christ.<sup>14</sup> Such sentiments on the part of the religious leaders of the country led to the Second Awakening.

The Western phase of the revival movement started in Logan, Kentucky, with the great preaching of James McGready, the Presbyterian minister who was accused of "running people distracted" with his persuasive preaching. The movement spread until it had reached into

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<sup>12</sup>William W. Sweet, Methodism in American History (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1933), 224.

<sup>13</sup>Eaton, A History of the Old South, 110-111.

<sup>14</sup>Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, 322-325; Henry K. Rowe, The History of Religion in the United States (New York: Macmillan Co., 1928), 62-63.

Virginia and the Carolinas.<sup>15</sup> The importance of this revival movement, as far as the Southerner was concerned, lay in the fact that it stimulated the growth of democracy. People were told by the evangelistic preachers that all people were equal in the eyes of God. The common man was given an opportunity to participate in the government of these newly established churches, which trained him in the art of self-government.<sup>16</sup> However, these concepts were later to be put aside by the Southern mind when, by a process of rationalization, it used religion to justify slavery.

In spite of the work of the great revival it would seem that the Southerner did not remain faithful to his new found religion, or else the preachers thought they had converted more people than they did. In 1820 only one person out of ten in the South was a church member. The States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia which had a population of more than 3,000,000 around 1830 had only 99,000 Baptists, 94,000 Methodists, 23,000 Presbyterians and even less Episcopalians and Roman Catholics.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Francis B. Simkins, The South Old and New (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), 76.

<sup>16</sup> Eaton, A History of the Old South, 487.

<sup>17</sup> Charles S. Sydnor, The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1948), VII, 54, Wendell H. Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (eds.), A History of the South.

A comparison of four of the principal denominations, Baptist, Episcopalian, Methodist and Roman Catholics (statistics on the Presbyterians are unavailable), reveals the following: the South with 29 per cent of the population had 30 per cent of all the Baptists in the country, 46 per cent of all the Methodists, 20 per cent of all the Episcopalians, and 19 per cent of all the Catholics.<sup>18</sup>

People of the ante-bellum South have frequently been referred to as being "solid" religiously, while those of the postwar South are said to be "solid" politically. Yet the oneness of the South in its religious feeling was not to be found in the oneness of its denominational creeds but rather in its adherence to "a general evangelical spirit."<sup>19</sup>

The religion of the old South was basically the result of three ingredients: the circuit rider, the revival, and the Negro. The circuit rider assumed tremendous importance simply because he was frequently the only person known by the isolated country folk who had come into contact with the news and views of the "outside world." To these simple folks the circuit rider meant authority and his opinions represented truth even in matters of a political, economic, and social nature. The evangelical denominations adopted the revival as their technique for accelerating the spread and the force of religion.<sup>20</sup> It was the moral

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<sup>18</sup>Belcher, The Religious Denominations in the United States, 242, 504, 500, 764. These statistics are as of 1850.

<sup>19</sup>Charles Dwight Dorrough, "Religion in the Old South: A Pattern of Behavior and Thought," (Ph. D. dissertation, 1944, in University of Texas Library), 1-8.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 8, 52.

issue raised by the Negro's status of bondage that forced the denominations in the South into a measure of unity. Thus all of the Southern churches were found defending the peculiar social institution of their section of the country.

The frontier churches at first showed no hesitancy in denouncing slavery.<sup>21</sup> Presbyterians condemned the institution; Methodists forbade their ministers to hold slaves; and Baptists expressed their opinion in a resolution made by the General Committee of Virginia Baptists in 1789: "slavery is a violent deprivation of the rights of nature and inconsistent with a republican government and therefore we recommend it to our brethren to make use of every legal means to extirpate this horrid evil from the land."<sup>22</sup>

Such widespread sentiments gave impetus to the formation of anti-slavery societies in the South as well as in the North. Members of these Societies secured the adoption, by many churches, of resolutions calling for abolition. In the period 1775-1830, there were slaveholders among the staunchest members of anti-slavery societies, and slaveholding church members going on record in favor of resolutions condemning slavery. This anomalous position was made possible by the fact that this first phase of the anti-slavery movements was negative in character. It was based on the theory that slavery was an evil, and should be abolished someday. To this, the slaveholder could agree.

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<sup>21</sup>Hesseltine, A History of the South, 340-341.

<sup>22</sup>Simkins, The South Old and New, 83; Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, 422.

However, when the 1830's saw the rise of Garrison, Phillips, Whittier and a more aggressive sort of anti-slavery movement, that was a different matter. Abolitionists now cried for positive action; screamed that slavery was a sin; and must be abolished now. To this, the Southern slaveholder could not agree, especially in view of the fact that the recent invention of the cotton gin was assuring the tottering institution of slavery a greater stability and importance than it had ever felt before.<sup>23</sup>

The conflict over slavery spread rapidly through the churches, rending them to the vitals. Moderates struggled heroically in the Baptist and Methodist churches to reconcile sectional differences, but to no avail. In May, 1845, both denominations divided over the slavery issue; thus two of the great spiritual cords which had bound the states together were broken.<sup>24</sup> These happenings served to increase religious zeal, and before the outbreak of hostilities membership in both these leading denominations increased by 100 per cent.<sup>25</sup>

The Old School Presbyterian Church had taken a near pro-slavery position,<sup>26</sup> and the Episcopal Church had refused to discuss the slavery issue in its triennial meetings. As a result, it was not until October, 1861, that these last spiritual ties were broken. The Catholic Church, because of the nature of its international organization, did not split

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<sup>23</sup>Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, 424-425.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 443.

<sup>25</sup>Dodd, The Cotton Kingdom, 106.

<sup>26</sup>Sweet, The Story of Religion in America, 443.

into two sections. However, its members in the Southern states were just as loyal to the pro-slavery principles as were those in the North to the anti-slavery.<sup>27</sup>

Since the late 1820's, dedicated Southerners had devoted themselves to justifying the South's position in regard to slavery.<sup>28</sup> Chief among these devotees were the ministers who expounded pro-slavery arguments from the pulpit and called upon sacred Scripture as testimony to the rightness of their position. As a whole, this same ministry would provide a magnificent supporting cast, and some of its ministers would earn starring roles in the tragedy of the Civil War.

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<sup>27</sup>E. Merton Coulter, The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), VII, 522-523, Wendell H. Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (eds.), A History of the South.

<sup>28</sup>Leland D. Baldwin, The Stream of American History (New York: American Book Company, 1952), I, 672.



## CHAPTER II

### THE REBEL CHAPLAIN

"It is one of the glories of Southern people, that Christian character and manners of a gentlemen, give a minister of the gospel all the rank he needs in the army or out of it."<sup>1</sup> The Congress of the Confederate States of America must have believed firmly in this tenet when on May 3, 1861, it established the office of Chaplain.

The statute states that this is "An Act to provide for the appointment of chaplains in the army. Section 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, that there shall be appointed by the President such number of chaplains, to serve with the armies of the Confederate States during the existing war, as he may deem expedient; and the President shall assign them to such regiments, brigades, or posts as he may deem necessary; and the appointments made as aforesaid shall expire whenever the existing war shall terminate. Section 2. The monthly pay of said chaplains shall be \$85.00 and said pay shall be in full of all allowances whatever."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Army and Navy Messenger (Petersburg, Virginia), May 1, 1863.

<sup>2</sup>War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. 4, I, 275, hereafter cited as Official Records; J. M. Matthews (ed.), Acts and Resolutions of the Second Session of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, Held at Montgomery (Richmond, 1861), 3.

Though this law implied that the chaplain's would be a commissioned office, it gave him no military rank or command and left his actual status a cause for conjecture in the public mind, confusion in the army mind, and little less than consternation in the mind of the would-be chaplain himself.

One such officer tells how "a good many of the men incorrectly suppose us to rank as 'Captain' and frequently salute us as such. Many address us as 'preacher,' and more say 'Chaplain,' while not a few ring the changes on 'parson' and 'passon'....I received a unique welcome as follows: 'We are glad to see you. We have long wanted a 'Chapel'.' I had heard before of a floating chapel, and even one drawn by oxen, but never before of one mounted on a black horse."<sup>3</sup>

Though actual appointment and assignments were made by the President, as stipulated in the statute, the executive often hesitated to use the authority given him to appoint a minister to an unsupplied regiment simply because it was unsupplied.<sup>4</sup> The recommendation of the commanding officer was usually respected for fear that peremptory appointments would give rise to situations like the one cited in the Confederate Baptist: "We have known of a post, at which one of the chaplains was a papal priest, where not more than a half a dozen out of six hundred soldiers are of his persuasion; and another, where two Episcopal clergymen were set over an equal number of men who were almost exclusively Baptists and Methodists, with a few Presbyterians."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Religious Herald (Richmond), July 17, 1862.

<sup>4</sup>Official Records, Ser. 4, I, 766.

<sup>5</sup>Religious Herald, November 19, 1863, quoting Confederate Baptist.

There was, nevertheless, some criticism of this method of selection by the officers on the basis that "in nine cases out of ten, these officers prefer a good companion to a good minister."<sup>6</sup>

Other officers, both religious and irreligious in their personal lives, were more than anxious to procure the services of an efficient and effective minister. The officers of one regiment went so far as to have a prospective chaplain preach for them in order to determine whether or not he was qualified to serve them in that capacity.<sup>7</sup>

Some regiments, such as those of Tennessee, were required by the laws of their states to choose their chaplain by popular election.<sup>8</sup> This gave rise to some degree of indignation among ministers who refused to involve themselves in what occasionally became mere politics. One minister wrote, "....I shall not move a straw to obtain an election for a regiment - if elected - I shall serve - if - they elect Read or Houston [Heuston?] or any other who may set themselves up as candidates - I shall not care, I will sign no card I would not shake hands with a mortal man to gain a chaplaincy - and if my going about with any or all sort of men be necessary to gain the good will of the men or re-establish good feeling I would let the whole thing go."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., February 27, 1862.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., July 4, 1861.

<sup>8</sup>Dunbar Rowland (ed.), "Chambers' Journal", Publication of the Mississippi Historical Society (Jackson, 1925), V, 229.

<sup>9</sup>Arthur H. Noll (ed.), Dr. Quintard Chaplain, U.S.A. (Sewanee, Tennessee, 1905), passim; Charles Todd Quintard to George C. Harris, November 5, 1861, MS. Tennessee State Library. He was elected.

Because some ministers were uncertain as to the proper procedure for getting themselves a chaplaincy; because others were unable, despite their efforts, to procure one, and for a host of other reasons,<sup>10</sup> the shortage of chaplains was a source of much complaint throughout the war.

More than half the regiments in Gordon's Brigade were without chaplains in March of 1864<sup>11</sup> and Hampton's Brigade, a cavalry branch, had but two chaplains as of September, 1863.<sup>12</sup>

General T. J. Jackson took special pains to have his corps provided with chaplains; yet, on March 10, 1863, almost two years after hostilities began, he stated in a letter to the Adjutant General that reports from his division commanders indicated that more than half of their regiments were still unsupplied.<sup>13</sup>

A great amount of correspondence issued from soldiers, officers and chaplain alike, crying for ministers to come to the army.<sup>14</sup> General Jackson himself, when called upon by a committee interested in ministerial supply, asked a young Episcopalian chaplain, a member of the committee, to tell Bishop John Johns, of the Richmond Diocese, that there were

<sup>10</sup>Religious Herald, November 19, 1863.

<sup>11</sup>Southern Christian Advocate (Augusta), April 7, 1864.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., September 10, 1863.

<sup>13</sup>General T. J. Jackson to General S. Cooper, Adjutant General, Confederate States of America, March 10, 1863, MS. in Confederate Museum.

<sup>14</sup>J. W. Jones, Christ in the Camp (Richmond, B. E. Johnson & Co., 1888), 230-231; Southern Churchman (Richmond), April 17, 1863. Hundreds of letters from the soldiers testify to the great shortage of chaplains.

forty vacant chaplaincies in the Army of the Rappahannock and to beg him to send some of his clergy to at least visit the camp.<sup>15</sup>

John Paris, chaplain Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment, wrote to a fellow minister in April, 1863: "I write you to enquire, can you not find us a man who will volunteer as a chaplain in some of our regiments in this [Jackson's] Corps? Here are fifteen regiments from North Carolina without chaplains. I am the only one in my Brigade. [Hokes] ....Such a life is rough. It has its sunshine and its shades. But the world is our field, and I am satisfied that the faithful Ministers can do Much good here..."<sup>16</sup>

The chaplains in the Second Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia sent out "An Appeal to the Churches" on March 24, 1863:..."Brethren, send us more chaplains....The work is an urgent, a pressing work....We especially appeal to the churches in their organized capacity, and ask of Conventions, Conferences, Presbyteries, and Associations to set apart men of the best talent and largest experience unto this work. Such a call, coming with potential authority of a church of God, would doubtless decide many of the ablest ministers in the country to cast in their lot with us..."<sup>17</sup>

Many of the calls for chaplains were not as mild as these, however; and this type of appeal was most frequently sent to a religious

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<sup>15</sup>Journal of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Council of the Protestant Church in Virginia (Richmond, 1863), 23; Southern Churchman, May 29, 1863.

<sup>16</sup>John Paris to Reverend W. B. Wills, April 9, 1863, in Wills Papers, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>17</sup>Southern Presbyterian (Richmond), April 16, 1863.

periodical rather than to a particular minister. For example, a lieutenant of the Fifth Georgia Regiment, wrote the Southern Christian Advocate thus: "Our regiment now numbers about 650, and these men have not heard a sermon preached in five months. What a thought! Who is to blame? The men? I think not. The officers?— no. Who then? The ministry or the Christians at home. I have done all in my power to secure the services of some local minister to preach for us occasionally, but have, so far, entirely failed. Our regiment is composed mostly of young men, many of them, at home, members of the church — Christians; and shall it be said that any of these have backslidden or have died and are forever lost for the want of proper counsel? God forbid. Now try to do something for us. Put the ball in motion and I think we shall have a chaplain."<sup>18</sup>

An earnest, though brief, appeal was sent to the Religious Herald from a soldier in Camp Pickens: "Where are the ministers of the gospel! As a soldier, confined in camp, secluded from all refining influences, torn assunder from all moral restraints, I make this inquiry — where are the ministers of the gospel! Will they spurn us because we cannot present a polished exterior? Will they forsake us because we are eminently exposed to death and the allurements of the devil?"<sup>19</sup>

An article in the Southern Presbyterian of February, 1864, reprinted from the Raleigh Progress, indicated even greater resentment

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<sup>18</sup>Southern Churchman, June 12, 1863, quoting Southern Christian Advocate.

<sup>19</sup>Religious Herald, June 13, 1861.

at the lack of religious privileges: "...Religion ebbs and flows in the army. Its tide is now at an ebb. This deplorable state of things is to be attributed to the absence of ministers of the Gospel to keep the ball moving. Except the regular chaplains, and but very few regiments have them, they have all gone, like the martins, till the advent of Spring. Prone like every one else, they love comfort and good cheer, they find the winter quarters of an army too dreary and comfortless to remain; and, therefore, being simply volunteers in their labor of love, and not conscribed or forced to remain, they have given up the field to the adversary and left their sheep without shepherds. They have gone where they can find heated churches, cozy firesides, feather beds and good cheer. All flesh is as grass,"<sup>20</sup>

The chaplains themselves did not hesitate to reproach their "stay-at-home" brethren. J. M. Stokes, Chaplain, Third Georgia Volunteers, wrote on December 23, 1862, to the Southern Christian Advocate: "Most of the Chaplains have resigned and many of the troops never have an opportunity of hearing the Gospel preached. I fear that some very useful ministers have strayed from the path of duty in search of soft beds, comfortable houses and bountiful tables. It is truly unpleasant to live on short rations of hard crackers and beef without salt, but that men can subsist upon it has been fully demonstrated..."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Southern Presbyterian, February 11, 1864.

<sup>21</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, January 15, 1862; Religious Herald, February 12, 1863.

Another chaplain, who signed himself as "E", wrote from Camp of the Sixth South Carolina Regiment to the Southern Presbyterian on May 29, 1862: "There is a widespread destitution of religious instruction throughout the army, and so far as I can find out, only one of the South Carolina regiments [the Sixth] in Anderson and Kershaw's brigades has a chaplain. This state of things should not be, and a full measure of blame must attach itself to our brethren at home, if the deficiency is not supplied. Our soldiers deserve better of the Christian public. They in many instances desire a chaplain, and in all cases would repay honest efforts with respect and with attention.." <sup>22</sup>

After reading a number of such letters, one begins to wonder about the causes for this shortage of chaplains. The meagerness of their salary becomes immediately significant in this connection. This caused many ministers to hesitate before entering the service and others to resign as the war days wore on.

The Congress of the Confederate States of America, on May 3, 1861, set the salary of chaplains at eighty-five dollars a month; <sup>23</sup> not quite three weeks later, this was reduced to fifty dollars a month. <sup>24</sup> A Mississippi judge, a member of Congress and a Campbellite by persuasion, is probably responsible for the reduction in salary. At least he vigorously championed the measure in a speech in which he argued that since a chaplain had to preach only once a week and had all

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<sup>22</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 14, 1862.

<sup>23</sup>Official Records, Ser. 4, I, 275.

<sup>24</sup>Confederate Statutes, 31-32.



of the rest of the time to himself he should not be paid the same salary as a lieutenant who had to work the whole week, that is eighty-five dollars. Hence the salary of chaplains was reduced from eighty-five dollars to fifty dollars a month.<sup>25</sup> It was also charged that one reason for this action on the part of the Confederate Congress was to prevent worthless ministers, more interested in pecuniary gains than in moral inspiration, from entering the service.<sup>26</sup> Be this as it may, the decrease in salary met with a barrage of protest, not only from the chaplains and their churches, but from various soldiers as well.

One soldier wrote to the Church Intelligencer: "...I happen to know, that were a colonel, major, captain, or lieutenant, only to have the provisions of fifty dollars per month, there would not be found quite so many of the honorable or competent as now may be, and I also happen to be aware that we have evidences, by personal presence of chaplains in this city, who have left their homes, their families, and one a salary of \$2,000, that he might serve his country in his proper calling."<sup>27</sup>

A chaplain wrote to the same organ: "It is nothing more nor less than a public disgrace, that Congress has thus endeavored to brand the clerical office, as a thing of form rather than one of usefulness, and the consequence will be, that many worthy men, now serving most

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<sup>25</sup>The Church Intelligencer (Raleigh), December 20, 1861.

<sup>26</sup>Southern Presbyterian, November 16, 1861.

<sup>27</sup>The Church Intelligencer, September 27, 1861.

acceptably, will be compelled to resign..."<sup>28</sup> That this chaplain's prediction proved correct is evidenced by many letters of resignation such as one written by Chaplain Joseph Brown of the Nineteenth Alabama Regiment on January 13, 1862: "I have the honor, to tender, hereby my resignation of the office of Chaplain of the Nineteenth Alabama Regiment. The cause, of this resignation, is that I find the pay attached to the office, insufficient to enable me to meet claims which my relations in life require of me. It therefore becomes necessary, for me, to seek some other position, in which I can obtain the means, for meeting those claims."<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps in response to this protest and to the numerous resignations of chaplains, Congress, on April 19, 1862, again raised the salary of the chaplain. This time it was raised to eighty dollars.<sup>30</sup> As the war continued, however, prices became higher and higher, making it even more difficult for the chaplain to live on the salary allowed him. One chaplain wrote in March of 1864 that it was almost impossible for him to live on what the government was allowing him. He complained that it would take six months of his salary to buy even a very ordinary suit of clothes; and he had just paid fifty dollars to one of his men for a pair of shoes. The soldier sold them to him at this price as a special favor.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Chaplain Joseph Brown to General Samuel Cooper, January 13, 1862, MS. in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>30</sup>Official Records, Ser. 4, I, 1076.

<sup>31</sup>South Western Baptist (Tuskegee, Alabama), March 24, 1864.

But salary was not the only reason for the shortage of chaplains. Quite a few ministers served throughout the war in the ranks. Some served as highly competent officers and many more as loyal, patriotic private soldiers. It was said that "there are enough worthy, intelligent and truly pious preachers serving as private soldiers to fill every vacancy in the army, some of whom desire and greatly deserve the position; but their unassuming manners and the want of assistance from officers and chaplains, will continue them in the ranks..."<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, a colonel's request that Sergeant Henry S. Archer be commissioned chaplain of his regiment was disapproved by the Adjutant General's office on the grounds that it was not the War Department's policy to make noncombatants of persons in the ranks unless they were unfit for service in the field.<sup>33</sup> Some ministers, acting according to their individual conceptions of duty, served as chaplains for awhile and then accepted promotion as field officers,<sup>34</sup> while others resigned their position as chaplain in order to organize and place themselves at the head of "a company of good fighting men."<sup>35</sup>

There were also personal reasons for resignations. Some chaplains were well into middle age and found the hardships of camp life

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<sup>32</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, November 5, 1863.

<sup>33</sup>Colonel W. F. Tucker to General Samuel Cooper, April 19, 1864, MS. in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>34</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, November 5, 1863.

<sup>35</sup>Chaplain T. H. Jordan to J. P. Benjamin, February 22, 1862, MS. in War Department Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

extremely detrimental to their health.<sup>36</sup> Others, as the war progressed, were forced to return home in order to protect their women-folk and property from the ravages of the Northern army.<sup>37</sup> Responsibility to his church caused Chaplain L. C. Ransom of the Twentieth Alabama Regiment to resign his position in order to become editor of the paper of his church, the Selma Observer;<sup>38</sup> and Chaplain J. M. Meredith left the Forty-seventh Virginia Regiment in order to complete the studies required by the Protestant Episcopal Church for his ordination to the priesthood.<sup>39</sup> The Reverend A. S. Worrell resigned his position "on grounds of conscience." He gave an extensive explanation of these grounds in a letter to his commanding officer. The chaplain objected to the government forcing a citizen to pay taxes, the money obtained thereby being used to pay the salary of a chaplain who might preach religious beliefs that the citizen might be opposed to. Worrell found inconsistency in the government's policy of appointing the chaplain, but being unable to define his duties. He pointed out in this connection that "if it is decided that Chaplains are to preach The Gospel of the Son of God, the question next arises, who is to decide what the

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<sup>36</sup>Chaplain A. F. Dickson to General Samuel Cooper, August 29, 1864, MS. in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives; Reverend J. B. Hall, "The Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Alabama During the Civil War," MS. in J. B. Hall Collection, Alabama State Archives, Montgomery, Alabama.

<sup>37</sup>Chaplain N. A. Davis to Cooper, October 31, 1863, MS. in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>38</sup>Chaplain L. C. Ransom to Cooper, December 17, 1863, MS. in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>39</sup>Chaplain J. M. Meredith to Cooper, February 22, 1864, MS. in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

gospel is? If the government, then is the State the head of the Church?" The Chaplain also accused the Confederate government of lowering the dignity of the clergy for he wrote that "if the Catholic ministry is the ministry of God, the Protestant ministry is spurious, et vice versa - if the Protestant Ministry be the ministry of God, the Catholic ministry must be spurious. But the government commissions both Catholic and Protestant; therefore, the government lowers the dignity of one or the other of these parties, if either be the true ministry." Worrell's conscience also bothered him because he did not believe it suitable that ministers of God should be subject to officers who were often wicked men. He believed it would be more advisable to leave religious supply to the denominations and in conclusion he recommended the complete abolition of the chaplaincy. The effect on the War Department of this pungent attack on the chaplaincy and the Confederate government can well be imagined. On the back of Worrell's letter of resignation is found the following instruction from the War Department to his commanding officer: "Accept this resignation -- my recollection is that this man [Mr. Worrell] took unusual pains to be appointed chaplain, and has since attempted to change his location to one more congenial with his feelings and interests."<sup>40</sup>

In spite of his meager salary and other tribulations, many a chaplain intended to stay in the army throughout the war. Some of

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<sup>40</sup> Chaplain A. S. Worrell to Brigadier General Wright, MS. in War Department Office Files in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

these, however, became discouraged when it began to seem that all their efforts were to no avail. One chaplain bemoaned the fact that rarely more than two hundred men out of a regiment of at least 700 attended preaching. He asked: "Who is sufficient for these things?" and tells how "...many chaplains have been much discouraged -- one of whom I know resigned and went home, believing he could do no good in the army. One of the most intelligent and eminently pious elders of our church in the army has expressed the same opinion. For one, I have felt the weight of my responsibilities to be fearful. When I think of the influence I ought to exert, and I then look at that which I believe I really have, I have frequently felt that I was almost a useless appendage to the regiment..."<sup>41</sup>

Also important was the reluctance of some of the organized churches to advise their clergymen to leave their pastorates at home in order to go to the army. The Protestant Episcopal Church of Alabama did not believe that the religious needs of the army should be considered primary and did not encourage their clergy to leave their home churches in order to go to the army.<sup>42</sup>

Much credit, however, must be given to the activities of most of the churches, their officials and their governing bodies, for their

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<sup>41</sup>Southern Presbyterian, November 9, 1861.

<sup>42</sup>Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Alabama Held in St. John's Church, Montgomery, on the 5, 6, & 7 May, 1864 (Mobile, Alabama, 1864), 15.

unfailing attempts to send qualified ministers to the army and to see that they were adequately supported.<sup>43</sup>

At the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1861, it was decided to memorialize Congress on the subject of appointing chaplains.<sup>44</sup> The importance of this office was stressed and it was requested that its incumbents be given a sufficient salary and a rank which would command respect from the men. This assembly likewise resolved to try to have one chaplain or permanent missionary [a missionary being a minister who labored in the army without commission or salary from the government] in each brigade of the army and to raise the necessary funds to support each missionary and to supplement the salaries of all chaplains.<sup>45</sup>

The North Carolina Presbytery, in May, 1862, went on record as believing that \$1,000 a year was the least amount upon which the chaplain could be expected to subsist and recommended that the churches be appealed to to supplement the salary paid by the government to this sum.<sup>46</sup> This Presbytery, offering an alternative, proposed that its ministers form themselves into groups of four or six and, together with ministers of other denominations, serve on a part-time basis in the army.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, June 4, 1863; Richmond Christian Advocate, December 11, 1862.

<sup>44</sup>Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America with an Appendix 1861 (Augusta, Georgia, 1861), 18.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 138.

<sup>46</sup>North Carolina Presbyterian (Fayetteville), May 10, 1862.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., May 31, 1862.

In 1863, the Presbyterian Executive Committee of Domestic Missions proposed that a corps of sixty or more additional laborers be sent to the army: twenty to the Army of Northern Virginia; twelve to the Army of Tennessee; twelve to the Army of the Southwest; twelve to the Trans-Mississippi Army; and six or eight to the isolated portions of the army. These men were to go as chaplains or missionaries, as they preferred, and the Committee resolved to supplement salaries of all who obtained chaplaincies, setting no maximum, but judging each case upon its merits.<sup>48</sup>

That this church did fulfill its promise to augment the chaplains' salaries is indicated by an article in the Religious Herald, a Baptist paper, which stated in February, 1864, that more than eighty Presbyterian ministers laboring in the army were partially supported by their church, making an expenditure of \$9,000 per month or \$108,000 a year.<sup>49</sup>

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, appointed in December, 1862, a special committee to ascertain the needs of the army and to recommend suitable persons for chaplaincies. They were especially interested at this point in having only qualified men to represent them in the army.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Southern Presbyterian, September 24, 1863.

<sup>49</sup>Religious Herald, February 11, 1864.

<sup>50</sup>Richmond Christian Advocate, December 11, 1862.



In December, 1863, the Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church proposed that their Church supplement chaplains' salaries,<sup>51</sup> and the Virginia Conference in the same year expressed their preference for ministers to hold a chaplaincy rather than to serve as missionaries. The Virginia Conference requested their Bishop to appoint twenty members of the Conference to be chaplains and to receive as their supplementation \$300 a year if unmarried; \$1,800 a year if married; and if they were married and had children, \$300 for each dependent child.<sup>52</sup> The South Carolina Conference in 1864 requested the Bishops to appoint, with their consent, as many members of the clergy to the army as necessary. They were to obtain chaplaincies as soon as possible after their appointment.<sup>53</sup> The Baptist Church likewise augmented the salary of chaplains in cases in which this action was deemed necessary.<sup>54</sup>

Congress did not, until May 31, 1864,<sup>55</sup> allow chaplains to be appointed to battalions. One such unit solved its problem by detailing

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<sup>51</sup>Minutes of the Georgia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South - Held in Columbus Georgia November 25 - December 3, 1863 (Columbia, 1864), 28.

<sup>52</sup>Richmond Christian Advocate, December 3, 1863.

<sup>53</sup>Minutes of the Seventy-Sixth Annual Session of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Held in Sumter, S. C. Commencing Thursday December 10, 1863 (Columbia, 1864), 28.

<sup>54</sup>Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia Held in the City of Richmond, June, 1864 (Richmond, 1866), 9; South Western Baptist, July 14, 1864.

<sup>55</sup>Official Records, Ser. 4, III, 496.

a Methodist minister, serving in the ranks, to perform the duties of a chaplain. He was to be paid by voluntary contributions from the

men.<sup>56</sup> Another battalion offered to raise \$100 a month among themselves if a zealous minister would come to them on a full-time basis. One entire brigade, still without a chaplain in July, 1863, offered not only to supplement the regular salary but promised to provide a horse also - if the minister who came to them was a Presbyterian.<sup>57</sup>

Every chaplain in the field was in real need of a horse. Many, due to age and habit, could not hope to keep up on the long marches if they were forced to go afoot. Neither could they hope, without some means of locomotion, to fulfill their duties to the men of their unit who, particularly after a battle, were often scattered all over the countryside.<sup>58</sup> Consequently, a great many chaplains either brought along a horse when they went on duty or found it necessary to procure one soon afterward.

One such worthy minister, assigned to a unit in the Army of the Potomac, decided to remedy his horseless plight. He commandeered an animal belonging to a Virginia farmer; but his new found ownership was very brief. As he rode up to his commanding officer, this gentleman asked him where he had obtained the horse; "Down on the road there," replied the chaplain. The officer ordered him to return it, whereupon the hapless minister attempted to justify his action: "Why Jesus Christ,

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<sup>56</sup>South Western Baptist, June 25, 1863.

<sup>57</sup>Southern Presbyterian, January 29, 1863.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., July 30, 1863.

when he was on the earth took an ass whereon to ride into Jerusalem." The officer refused to be understanding. He replied: "You are not Jesus Christ; that is not an ass, you are not on your way to Jerusalem, and the sooner you restore that horse to his owner, the better it will be for you."<sup>59</sup>

Every chaplain who did possess a horse was faced for awhile with a real problem in obtaining food for him. It was not until January, 1864, that at the instigation of General "Stonewall" Jackson,<sup>60</sup> Congress passed a law entitling the chaplain to draw forage for one horse if he actually owned one.<sup>61</sup>

In August, 1861, an act allowing chaplains to draw the same rations per diem as privates was passed.<sup>62</sup> Because of this law, the Commissary General ruled that chaplains were prohibited from purchasing family supplies from the Commissary as other commissioned officers were, by law, permitted to do.<sup>63</sup>

One chaplain accepted the privates' rations easily. He commented that in order to really stick by his men, each chaplain should learn to

<sup>59</sup>Montgomery Daily Advertiser, March 8, 1863.

<sup>60</sup>Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church (New Brunswick, N. J., 1938), VII, No. 3, 242-243.

<sup>61</sup>Official Records, Ser. 4, III, 194.

<sup>62</sup>Acts and Resolutions of the Third Session of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States (Richmond, 1861), 72.

<sup>63</sup>Church Intelligencer, April 3, 1863.

eat one meal a day, to live almost entirely on crackers, to broil his bacon on hot coals and to make coffee in a tin cup.<sup>64</sup>

Another chaplain, however, took issue with the Commissary General on his ruling and in a letter to the Church Intelligencer explained how, in his opinion, it worked undue hardship on the chaplain. The chaplain's one ration per diem, he claimed, cost the government about seven dollars and forty cents a month or eighteen dollars retail prices. He compared what the minister in the army paid for groceries, when he could find them, with what other commissioned officers paid in the Commissary. He indicated, for example, that flour sold for sixty dollars to seventy-five dollars a barrel to the chaplain whereas, in the Commissary, it was available for fifteen dollars to twenty dollars.<sup>65</sup>

The Confederate Congress took no cognizance of such objections other than to pass a law in February, 1864, allowing the chaplain either to receive rations permitted him by law or to have them commuted at government prices.<sup>66</sup>

The entire matter of what the chaplain should wear in camp with his unit and in battle was left to his individual discretion. This resulted in some adopting the regular military habit, in others wearing a feather in the hat, and in still others electing to retain the usual clerical garb.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Religious Herald, July 17, 1862.

<sup>65</sup>Church Intelligencer, April 3, 1863.

<sup>66</sup>Official Records, Ser. 4, I, 163.

<sup>67</sup>Church Intelligencer, July 25, 1861.

One chaplain, wearing what he deemed appropriate to the occasion, appeared before General T. H. Holmes on the battlefield of Manassas dressed in a way which seemed too military to the general. General Holmes rebuked him in the following language: "Go back, sir this is no place for you; take off that sash, retire to the grove, and besiege a Throne of Grace."<sup>68</sup>

Chaplain Oscar M. Addison of Bates' Regiment, however, was afraid his clerical dress was too military. He wrote to Secretary of War George Randolph requesting that some "simple trimming" be adopted since "the dark clothing usually worn by the ministers too closely identify them in appearance with the deep blue of the Yankee troops to make it either desirable or safe."<sup>69</sup>

Occasionally the chaplains of one unit would effect a concert of action in dress. Those of the Army of Tennessee adopted the Maltese Cross as a badge. This was made of gold or brass, about an inch in diameter and worn on each side of the collar like a major's star.<sup>70</sup>

The chaplains of the Second and Third Corps, Army of Virginia, decided to use as a badge the letter "C" with a half wreath of olive-leaves worked in gold bullion on a background of black velvet. It was about two and one half inches wide.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Religious Herald, September 19, 1861.

<sup>69</sup>Chaplain Oscar M. Addison to Secretary of War George Randolph, MS. in War Department Office File, in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>70</sup>The Army and Navy Messenger, May 1, 1863.

<sup>71</sup>Southern Churchman, June 12, 1863.

The Reverend F. H. Wood, Fifty-eighth North Carolina Regiment, attracted so much attention with his beaver hat that he was finally forced to dispense with it in favor of an ordinary cap. He complained that, though the men of his regiment accepted it, passing regiments and brigades were too prone to make derogatory remarks as "come down out of that hat - see your legs hanging out - know you are in there" or "take that Camp Kettle home --- would be ashamed to steel a poor soldier's Camp Kettle."<sup>72</sup>

The chaplain's condition in the army was scarcely better than that of his men. Reverend Charles T. Quintard, chaplain to the First Tennessee Regiment, graphically described his housing arrangement in November, 1861. His tent was furnished with an old box in which were stored sundry articles such as a handkerchief, one shirt, and one pair of socks. On the box was a large Bible, a volume of sermons, letters, paper and an ink stand with no pen. On each side of the box he had stuck a bayonet into the ground to serve as candle sticks. By one bayonet was a bushel of corn for his horse and an empty bottle in a haversack. On the other side were his clothes wrapped in a blanket. These things together with a pile of hay upon which he spread his blanket to make a bed, completed his furnishings.<sup>73</sup>

In spite of the fact that his tent was like all the others, one chaplain reported that it took on added interest in the eyes of his

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<sup>72</sup>Captain George Harper to Mrs. Harper, April 5, 1864, in Harper Papers, in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>73</sup>Charles T. Quintard to George C. Harris, November 5, 1861, MS. in Tennessee State Library.

men when he assured them that there would always be a collection of religious reading available to them there. Since the announcement, he said, his tent had been "the resort of the camp ground."<sup>74</sup>

To be accepted by his men, another chaplain said, he had found that he must learn to live as they did. He must be able to say "Tis home where'er my oil cloth is" and to be content with a clean spot or a smoothed rail for a night's bivouac.<sup>75</sup>

At the beginning of the war, and, in some regiments, throughout it, there were no facilities for preaching other than those provided by nature. The men would simply gather in a secluded grove and either sit on the ground<sup>76</sup> or upon logs which had been placed in parallel lines.<sup>77</sup> That such an open-air service could be inspiring was amply proved by the following excerpt from the diary of George Neese, a soldier: "...This evening at dark, our chaplain had a prayer meeting, and the impression that that prayer meeting made on my memory, time will never erase. Twas a beautiful night and the meeting was held in a beautiful grove. There was the man of God standing in the mouth of his tent with a prayer book in his hand. Two dim candles stuck up against a tree was all the light that was afforded us. Around those lights seated on the ground was a circle of soldiers attentively listening

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<sup>74</sup>Southern Presbyterian, May 18, 1861.

<sup>75</sup>Religious Herald, July 17, 1862.

<sup>76</sup>R. B. Hudgins to his uncle, April 12, 1863, in Thomas F. Boatwright Papers, in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>77</sup>Southern Churchman, May 1, 1863.

to the words of eternal life everything was wrapt in a solemn silence around that happy spot, save a lonely cricket would now and then break the silence with a few chirps in the distance, our light shining and reflecting on the thick foliage which hung beautifully over our heads, with here and there an opening where a twinkling star peeped down in silence on our uninterrupted meeting, was a sight and scene too beautiful too romantic and too solemn for me to describe."<sup>78</sup>

When the army went into winter quarters, however, variously constructed little chapels began to make their appearance. By the winter of 1863-64, in Lee's army alone, about forty chapels had been built and by the following winter, sixty more.<sup>79</sup>

These chapels were ordinarily built by soldiers who volunteered for the task. Occasionally they were excused from their duties by the commanding officer;<sup>80</sup> in other cases, they worked on the chapel in their leisure hours.

Occasionally a chaplain met with difficulty in stimulating enough interest to insure the building of a chapel of sufficient size. For instance, Chaplain J. J. Harris, Twenty-sixth Tennessee, was unable to have constructed a chapel larger than twenty-five square feet because of the indifference and apathy of officers and men.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup>George M. Neese, June 22, 1862, MS. diary in Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>79</sup>Jones, Christ in the Camp, 261.

<sup>80</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, March 24, 1864.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., May 19, 1864.



But whether the reverend gentlemen were blessed with a chapel or not, the general surroundings were far from conducive to an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. One chaplain listed various mishaps which at times befell a meeting in the camp. Men would suddenly arise and leave the congregation, he complained, or a horse might break and run through the crowd. The preacher sometimes trod on a piece of rotten meat, which brought tears of laughter rather than of repentance to the eyes of the mourning sinner. From a nearby regiment, there often came the sound of a fiddle and "the ribald song" or the sight of men in full view "throwing the spotted leaf" or engaged in catching ticks. Minie balls might come whizzing through the congregation or a meeting might be broken up by a sudden order to "go to jerking beef" and prepare to march.<sup>83</sup>

The minister of the gospel, exposed continually to the uninspiring influences of camp life, felt the need for association and fellowship with his brother-chaplains. This led to the establishment of Chaplain's Associations in brigades, corps, and even armies<sup>84</sup> throughout the Confederate forces.<sup>85</sup> We have found no definite evidence

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<sup>82</sup>Religious Herald, July 17, 1862.

<sup>83</sup>Confederate Baptist (Columbia, South Carolina), July 27, 1864; J. P. Cannon, Inside of Rebelldom (Washington: The National Tribune, 1900), 164.

<sup>84</sup>The Army & Navy Messenger, February 1, 1864.

<sup>85</sup>Jimale Simpson to Mrs. Simpson, April 22, 1863, typewritten copy in James Simpson papers, Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Christian Advocate, May 12, 1864; The Army & Navy Messenger, June 15, 1863; Christian Advocate, April 4, 1865; William W. Bennett, A Narrative of the General Revival which Prevailed in the Southern Armies (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1877), 245.

as to which Association was the first to organize or as to the person who first conceived the idea of such an organization; it was said, however, that General Robert E. Lee originated the Chaplain's Association in his army and it is a matter of record that he was in frequent attendance at its meetings.<sup>86</sup>

These associations had regular officers and regular meetings<sup>87</sup> in which they exchanged experiences,<sup>88</sup> and discussed happenings of general interest to all. Ordinarily at the meetings one chaplain was invited to preach to his fellows; reports were made on the state of religion in each chaplain's regiment and attempts were made to ascertain the possibility of supplying destitute regiments.<sup>89</sup>

The Association often appointed committees to study a particular problem or to work on a specific project. For example, the General Chaplain's Association of the Army of Tennessee had a "committee to supply destitute regiments with religious privileges" and another to promote the publication of certain tracts.<sup>90</sup> The Association of Hindman's Corps, Army of Tennessee, appointed a "Standing Committee" to encourage missionary laborers and to aid ministers in obtaining

<sup>86</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, April 21, 1864.

<sup>87</sup>J. H. B. Hall, "The Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Alabama During the Civil War," 8, MS. in J. H. B. Hall Papers, Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>88</sup>Southern Presbyterian, December 25, 1862.

<sup>89</sup>The Army and Navy Messenger, February 1, 1864.

<sup>90</sup>Southern Presbyterian, March 3, 1864.

chaplaincies.<sup>91</sup> The Richmond Chaplain's Association appointed a committee of three to determine, by conferring with the proper authorities, "the extent of military restrictions placed upon chaplains with regard to their obtaining leaves of absence." The problem had arisen when the chaplains were asked to "go to the lines and spend a few days in preaching" and they wondered if they might do so without formally requesting a furlough. That such concerted action was effective was proven by the committee's report that the authorities would allow them to apply personally for a leave rather than force them to wait until the application had gone through the usual channels.<sup>92</sup>

The General Association of the Army of Tennessee established a reading room for their chaplains<sup>93</sup> and one of its officers, B. W. McDonald, Chaplain of an Alabama Regiment issued a call to the churches to send "The Church Reviews, old books, miscellaneous books, old magazines.... any kind of good reading; we are too near intellectual starvation to be very particular."<sup>94</sup>

A favorite method used by the Association in stating a problem or making a request was the use of formal resolutions and petitions. Especially frequent were requests that the authorities--ranging from the Confederate Congress to a particular general--forbid the holding

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<sup>91</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, February 11, 1864.

<sup>92</sup>The Soldier's Paper (Richmond, Virginia), March 1, 1865.

<sup>93</sup>The Army and Navy Messenger, February 1, 1864.

<sup>94</sup>Southern Presbyterian, January 28, 1864.

of reviews, inspections and parades on the Sabbath.<sup>95</sup> Numerous resolutions were also made describing the state of religion in the army and asking the church to send more ministers,<sup>96</sup> one even recommending that the churches "institute an inquiry into the support of their ministers in the army, and prevent the resignations and suffering of any for want of competent support...."<sup>97</sup>

A chaplain in the Army of Tennessee, writing to the Southern Presbyterian in June, 1863, reported that "At the chaplain's meeting on yesterday, they passed unanimously, a very stringent resolution against sectarian preaching. You know that some ministers lay such stress upon immersion, that they deny the existence of any church, ministry, or ordinances without it. On the other hand, we find some who start out with the dogma, that there is 'no church without a bishop'— not a New Testament, but a 'diocesan bishop,' whose ordination must come down in the fancied Church of 'apostolic succession.' The presentation of such sectarian views must, if persevered in, break up that harmony, and unanimity of effort, which has characterized the labors of the chaplains and missionaries heretofore..."<sup>98</sup>

A chaplain in the Confederate army found himself in a unique position as far as his duty was concerned. Every one knew that it was

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<sup>95</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, March 17, 1864; Ibid., February 25, 1864; Jones, Christ in the Camp, 599.

<sup>96</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, July 30, 1863; Southern Presbyterian, July 30, 1863.

<sup>97</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, November 19, 1863.

<sup>98</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 25, 1863.

his responsibility to hold religious services, but when, where, how often, and what other duties were expected of him was something he usually had to determine for himself. The act of Congress creating the position, specified no duties; frequently it was only his own conscience and the exigencies of war that determined for the chaplain his obligations.<sup>99</sup>

General "Stonewall" Jackson was especially interested in having chaplains provide the army with spiritual leadership and alleviate temporal wants by applying spiritual consolation. He is even known to have chastised some chaplains for a lack of spiritual zeal in proportion to the importance of their mission.<sup>100</sup> However, one chaplain in particular resented the interference on the part of the general with his holy mission.

Jackson had ordered B. T. Lacy to act as a superintendent of chaplains in his corps. Reverend Lacy sent word to Chaplain George Patterson of the Third North Carolina Regiment, that, in due time, he expected to visit with and preach to his regiment. When Lacy arrived, Chaplain Patterson questioned his authority and stated that he did not expect him to conduct services in a regiment to which he was the assigned chaplain. Later when Jackson met Chaplain Patterson he inquired as to the latter's motive for refusing to let Lacy preach. The Carolinian looked the general straight in the eye and said: "General Jackson, do

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<sup>99</sup>Official Records, Ser. 4, I, 275.

<sup>100</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, May 28, 1863.

you want any one to help you to command this Corps?" "No, Sir," replied Jackson in a determined voice, "I do not." "Well," replied Patterson, "and I don't want anybody to help me to be chaplain of this regiment." Jackson, seeing that here was a chaplain who was fully cognizant of his duties, said with a smile, "Good morning Mr. Patterson," and rode on.<sup>101</sup>

The activities generally undertaken by a regimental chaplain were about as follows. When military conditions permitted, the Sabbath was usually observed by appropriate services such as preaching and the celebration of Holy Communion and Mass, according to the denominational practices of the chaplain.<sup>102</sup> In the evening around the camp fire prayer-meetings might be held, or if there were many Catholics in the unit, the Rosary might be recited. The chaplain held private conferences about spiritual matters with individuals. When revivals began to spread through the army, he baptized men by the score and, upon request, received them into his particular church.<sup>103</sup> He distributed tracts and books;<sup>104</sup> visited the messes [ even at times when the food was not very palatable ] ;

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<sup>101</sup> Joseph B. Cheshire, The Church in the Confederate States (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), 88.

<sup>102</sup> Southern Presbyterian, May 31, 1862; South Western Baptist (Tuscaloosa, Alabama), July 31, 1862; Southern Presbyterian, July 6, 1861; An Impressed New Yorker, Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army (New York: Barnes and Burr, 1862), 43.

<sup>103</sup> South Western Baptist, November 24, 1864; October 24, 1861.

<sup>104</sup> Religious Herald, February 13, 1862; Southern Presbyterian, May 18, 1861.

visited the sick;<sup>105</sup> buried the dead;<sup>106</sup> comforted the sorrowful; prayed with the dying; administered the sacraments or ordinances; attended meetings of the Chaplain's Association; and in general prepared the soldier to see in all things the hand of God and willingly carry his cross.<sup>107</sup>

Many letters sent by soldiers to their dear ones commend the work of the Confederate chaplain in the hospital. In a letter to his mother, William H. Stiles, Jr., gave ample evidence of this devotion when he stated that Chaplain S. H. Smith was constantly by his bedside and that he had even written the very letter that his mother was reading.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup>Jones McDowell to Mrs. L. M. Keitt, October 6, 1864, in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library; James H. M'Neilly, "A Day in the life of a Confederate Chaplain," The Confederate Veteran, XXVI, No. 11 (November, 1918).

<sup>106</sup>Official Records, Series 1, XI, 876; Journal of the 48th Annual Council of P. E. Church in the State of North Carolina. Held in St. John's Church, Williamsborough, May 18, 19, 20, 21 and June 22-23, 1864 (Fayetteville: Printed by Edward J. Hale and Sons, 1864), 49; Southern Christian Advocate, August 18, 1864.

<sup>107</sup>Hall, "The Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Alabama During the Civil War," Hall Collection, Maps and Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Jones, Christ in Camp, 227-228; Southern Presbyterian, October 5, 1861; Journal of the Proceedings of an Adjourned Meeting of the 30th Annual Convention of the P. E. Church, in the Diocese of Alabama, held in St. Paul's Church, Selma, on Thursday, 21st November, 1861 (Montgomery, Alabama: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1863), 96-97; typed reminiscence of Henry Donnelly Moore, in Moore Family Biographical Folder, in files of Alabama State Library; An Addendum, not dated, in Bishop H. C. Lay papers, in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>108</sup>William H. Stiles, Jr., to his mother, December 15, 1862, in Stiles Papers in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

Whenever possible some of the chaplains undertook the painful duty of informing anxious relatives of the death of their loved ones. These letters usually acquainted the receiver with the events connected with the death and in some instances even conveyed the last words of a departed soldier. In all cases the chaplain tried to console the relative by trying to instill in him the belief that they would all meet in a happy hereafter.<sup>109</sup>

Many chaplains adopted the practice of having prayer meeting in the evenings, during the course of which parts of the New Testament were read.<sup>110</sup> In the Ninth South Carolina Volunteers, evening worship took the form of family prayers. Just before tattoo the members of each company "fell out" in the company street and there together recited their evening services.<sup>111</sup> One chaplain found that he received greater response from his men when, instead of preaching a prepared sermon, he read a few short passages of Scripture and commented briefly on them.<sup>112</sup> Others began to convert their evening prayers into a type of exhortation meeting.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>Chaplain L. W. Hasluss to Mrs. Whatley, August 1, 1864, typed copy of letter in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Chaplain William Powers to Mrs. Mary J. Newsom, October 1, 1864, in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library; Acting Chaplain William C. Williams to Bolling Hall, Sr., in Hall Collection, Maps and Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; W. G. Hall to Marshall C. Newberry, in Newberry letters, in possession of Bertha H. Harbor, Oxford, Miss.

<sup>110</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 11, 1863; Ibid., November 23, 1861.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., July 30, 1863; Ibid., August 24, 1861; Ibid., September 21, 1861.

<sup>112</sup>South Western Baptist, April 17, 1862.

<sup>113</sup>Christian Observer (Richmond), November 6, 1862.



A number of soldiers payed the death penalty for having been convicted of desertion. As the fateful moment of execution drew near and the specter of death haunted them, these men looked for religious consolation. Various chaplains described rather vividly the great difficulty they encountered in preparing these men to face death. The chaplain of the Ninth Kentucky Regiment considered this task as "the most painful duty" of his life and expressed a desire never to witness such a scene again.<sup>114</sup>

The month of February, 1864, certainly stands out in the ministerial career of Chaplain John Paris of the Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment. According to his journal, during that month, he attended the execution of twenty-two Confederate deserters captured by the forces of General R. F. Hoke. He was especially concerned for the soul of one poor soldier who, the chaplain said, "professed to be a Christian" but at the same time engaged in "perjury and treason." Many of the condemned were baptized before being led from the prison and others made "some confession of penitence" at the gallows.<sup>115</sup> After these many executions Chaplain Paris, believing that it would be beneficial to the living, delivered a discourse before the brigade in order that "the eyes of the living might be opened, to view the horrid and ruinous crime and sin of desertion, which had become so prevalent."<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>Ibid., February 26, 1863.

<sup>115</sup>John Paris, MS. diary in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, entry of February 11 and 14, 1864.

<sup>116</sup>Reverend John Paris, A Sermon: Preached Before Brigadier General Hoke's Brigade (Greensborough, N. C.: 1864), passim.

The chaplain of the Twenty-eighth North Carolina Regiment, Rev. Francis M. Kennedy, was greatly disturbed over the number of soldiers being executed for desertion. When J. M. Luther, a member of his own regiment, was condemned as a deserter he went to Richmond and there placed in the hands of a presidential aid a petition signed by the officers of the regiment requesting his pardon. Upon his return, Kennedy found that Brigadier General J. H. Lane was outraged at his having left camp without the general's permission and that he might even have him courtmartialed. But the chaplain did not seem to mind, for in confiding his feelings on the subject to his diary he wrote that he had no objection to being tried for his action.<sup>117</sup> However, nothing came of the threat and later when Kennedy transferred to another unit General Lane reluctantly approved the application with this statement: "I am very sorry to lose him, both on account of his ministerial and social qualifications."<sup>118</sup>

Chaplain William O. Lanier, could consider himself fortunate for he had no questions regarding the realms in which his duties lay. These were clearly outlined for him by a directive issued by the commanding officer of the hospital to which he was assigned. Surgeon W. W. Hurt said the chaplain would preach to the convalescent on every Sabbath. During the week he would visit the sick once a day and give

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<sup>117</sup>"Confederate Diaries," Vol. V, 98-99, typescript volume prepared by United Daughters of the Confederacy, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>118</sup>Brigadier General J. H. Lane, "Glimpses of Army Life in 1864," in Southern Historical Society Papers (Richmond, 1890), XVIII, 409.

any religious instruction he deemed wise. If there were any who desired it he was to pray with them. All officers and men were ordered "to respect Chaplain Lanier and treat him with all courtesy."<sup>119</sup>

After serving with his unit a period of time the chaplain soon found that one of the vexing problems he had to solve was in regard to his duties during time of battle. Many a letter to the editor, dealing with the duties and the place of the chaplain during battle, appeared in the columns of religious papers. A "wounded chaplain" chided his brethren for shirking front line duty. He believed that in a majority of the cases the chaplain's presence was required near the lines, so that he could expose himself and show his men that he was not afraid. This minister said that if a chaplain is "suspected of timidity he loses all influence." This he knew for he had heard the unfavorable comments of officers and men regarding chaplains who did not hazard their lives in battle.<sup>120</sup> A number of chaplains concurred in this belief and insisted on fighting in the lines.<sup>121</sup>

The Southern Churchman, quoting the Religious Herald, advised the chaplain not to be so imprudent as to expose himself unnecessarily to danger. For, if he were killed, or wounded, or captured it would

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<sup>119</sup>General Order by W. W. Hurt, Surgeon's Office, General Hospital, June 7, 1863, in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>120</sup>Southern Churchman, August 8, 1862.

<sup>121</sup>P. L. Rainwater (ed.), A Civilian's Recollections of the War Between the States, H. S. Fulkerson, 1886 (Baton Rouge: Otto Claitor, 1939), 138; Religious Herald, May 1, 1862; South Western Baptist, May 1, 1862; Religious Herald, May 8, 1862.

inevitably be some time before a successor could be chosen and thus the whole regiment would be left for months without spiritual ministrations.<sup>122</sup>

General "Stonewall" Jackson was of the same opinion as was the Religious Herald. On one occasion, seeing one of the chaplains getting too near the front in a battle, he addressed him thus: "the rear is your place, Sir, now, and prayer your business."<sup>123</sup> The position taken by the general in this regard was not shared by one of the chaplains.

Commenting rather bitterly on the episode he said that Jackson "understands better than I the duties of a commander, but he shouldn't judge for me where my duty as chaplain" calls me.<sup>124</sup> Reverend John Granberry, Chaplain of the Eleventh Virginia Infantry agreed with his brother-chaplain, for when he was urged to go to the rear, he always replied that he wanted to remain in the battle lines with the men to assist those who might fall.<sup>125</sup>

In the final analysis each chaplain was usually guided by the opinion of his regiment regarding his station and duties during time of battle. Some were in the infirmaries, others in charge of ambulances, while still others occupied themselves by taking charge of the litter

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<sup>122</sup>Southern Churchman, July 18, 1862.

<sup>123</sup>Religious Herald, July 10, 1862.

<sup>124</sup>Southern Churchman, August 8, 1862.

<sup>125</sup>W. M. Seay, "A Fighting Parson," The Confederate Veteran, XVIII, No. 7, 322.

bearers in battle.<sup>126</sup> Chaplain J. H. McNeilly of Quarle's Brigade remained as near the line as possible with the assistant surgeon. When the wounded were brought in he administered first-aid and frequently, when medical supplies were exhausted, he rushed to the infirmary to replenish them.<sup>127</sup>

So commendable was the work of some chaplains that their commanders could write of them as did Brigadier General William J. Jones when, in his report of the raid on the Northwestern Railroad, he stated: "the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Richard T. Davis, Chaplain of the 6th Virginia Cavalry, was here conspicuously good. His example in courage and his abiding faith in Providence was the admiration of all."<sup>128</sup>

After a chaplain settled to his own satisfaction the question of his duties during battle he usually found many ecclesiastical problems that begged solution. "Can any pastor who has a chaplaincy in the army baptize and admit to the communion table, any soldier making profession of faith in Christ, unless that Chaplain shall happen to have two elders from his own congregation with him?" That was the question placed before the authorities of the Presbyterian Church by one of its chaplains. He was soon informed that since his

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<sup>126</sup>Robert Stiles, Four Years Under Marse Robert (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1903), 143; Jones, Christ in Camp, 522.

<sup>127</sup>Reverend J. H. McNeilly, "A Day in the Life of a Confederate Chaplain," The Confederate Veteran, XXVI, No. 11 (November, 1918); Official Records, Ser. 1, XXXVIII, pt. 3, 933.

<sup>128</sup>Official Records, Ser. 1, XXV, 116.

position was analogous to that of an evangelist he enjoyed the same privileges: namely, the right to "administer sealing ordinances, and organize churches in frontier and destitute settlements."<sup>129</sup>

A chaplain of the Methodist Episcopal Church found himself constrained to inquire of his brethren if it would "be proper for an unordained preacher to administer the ordinance of baptism to a dying man, when no ordained minister was near." This chaplain found, on an occasion when he was replacing the regular chaplain, that a dying soldier requested him to baptize him. Since the soldier made no signs of genuine repentance and the acting chaplain was not an ordained minister, he simply prayed with the dying man and offered him his consolation.<sup>130</sup>

Catholic chaplains knew that they were dependent for some of their priestly powers [faculties] upon the bishop of whose diocese they happened to be in. But suppose they were in enemy territory, suppose it were impossible for them to call upon the local bishop for some time, could they, under these circumstances, continue to exercise the powers of their holy office? So difficult was this problem to solve that it was referred to Rome. Special permission was finally granted them by the Pope to exercise their powers in any and all military circumstances that might arise.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup>Southern Presbyterian, March 5, 1863.

<sup>130</sup>Richmond Christian Advocate, February 27, 1862.

<sup>131</sup>"Some Papers from the Purcell Collection," in the Catholic Historical Review (Washington, 1916), I, 201.

The chaplain found his duties dictated by his own conscience and the opinion of his regiment. In matters dealing with his church and religious practices he was obliged in some cases to consult the authorities in his church. These authorities in order to be better informed about his duties and the way he was performing them frequently required him to submit monthly reports.<sup>132</sup>

Besides these regular duties that devolved upon the chaplain, he soon found that there was no limit to the number of things he could do to improve the morale of his unit and to further the cause of the Confederacy. Some chaplains adopted the practice of acquainting themselves with every man in their unit. From many they obtained the name of the minister or church back home with which those soldiers were affiliated. The minister corresponded with these churches, giving them news of their members in the army and requesting their prayers. In addition to this, the chaplains kept a minute record of, not only the names of the members of the regiment, but of all information about them that could be of assistance in saving the sinner or in sanctifying the believer.<sup>133</sup>

When the sound of battle was heard approaching and the soldier looked about for someone to help him control his frayed nerves, his eyes often fell upon a chaplain, one such as the Reverend E. J. Meynardie. It was the custom of this chaplain to call his men together as the sound

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<sup>132</sup>Richmond Christian Advocate, December 8, 1864.

<sup>133</sup>R. H. McKim, A Soldier's Recollections (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), 219-221; Southern Christian Advocate, March 3, 1864; Southern Presbyterian, March 19, 1863.

of battle approached, and there to ask God's help in the contest that they were about to enter.<sup>134</sup> And once these prayers were over and the fighting had begun, men like Lieutenant John C. Reed witnessed more than one chaplain standing by, patting the men on the back, and "Adjuring them to stand firm."<sup>135</sup>

A chaplain worthy of the name realized that he should not only be solicitous for the welfare of the soldier's soul, but that consideration should also be given to mental and physical needs. Hence in some cases we find him conducting classes in reading, writing and grammar, and before long a mother received the very first letter ever written by her son.<sup>136</sup> One chaplain attempted to set up a library and reading room for the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals.<sup>137</sup> Another, after providing for the spiritual needs of his men, requested permission to leave his post in order to obtain supplies which the hospital needed badly.<sup>138</sup> Conscious of the bodily needs of his men, Chaplain N. A. Davis of the Fourth Texas Regiment could not bear the sight of them going to the front lines barefooted. To alleviate this situation, Davis made use of the columns of the Richmond Whig to plead

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<sup>134</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 17, 1861.

<sup>135</sup>John C. Reed, "From First Manassas to Appomattox in the Line," 24, article in John C. Reed Papers, Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>136</sup>Journal of the 68th Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 86; Jones, Christ in the Camp, 363.

<sup>137</sup>South Western Baptist, February 5, 1862.

<sup>138</sup>James C. Hiden to his commanding officer, June 3, 1864, in Adjutant General Office File, National Archives, Washington, D. C.



with the people of that city to furnish him with at least 100 pairs of shoes and 500 pairs of socks.<sup>139</sup>

A few chaplains undertook missions that demanded their services in foreign lands. In this connection Chaplain Kensey J. Stewart, went to London to have a Confederate Prayer Book published. The book was published and copies of it were sent to the Confederacy on board a blockade runner. A Federal boat captured the ship, and with the possible exception of a few hundred books, the whole cargo was thrown into the sea.<sup>140</sup> Father John Bannon, Chaplain of Price's Brigade, was sent in 1863 by President Jefferson Davis on a secret mission to Rome. He was instructed to seek an interview with the Pope and try to get him to extend recognition to the Confederacy. In this connection Father Bannon was unsuccessful and finding himself unable to get back into the Confederacy he received authorization from President Davis to go to Ireland where he spent the remainder of his life.<sup>141</sup>

Regardless of how well or how poorly a chaplain performed his duties he could not help but be subjected to a considerable amount of criticism. It would appear from the letters and writings of the officers and enlisted men in the Confederate army that they were as vociferous in their condemnation of his work, or lack of work, as they were in

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<sup>139</sup>Nicholas A. Davis, Campaign from Texas to Maryland (Richmond, Virginia: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1863), 13.

<sup>140</sup>Reverend G. MacLaren Brydon, "The Confederate Prayer Book," article in possession of Reverend G. M. Brydon, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>141</sup>Albert C. Danner, "Father Bannon's Secret Mission," Confederate Veteran, XXVII, 180.

their praise of it. Likewise some of the chaplains were not the least bit reticent in expressing their views of some of the officers.

Since it was primarily through the medium of preaching that the chaplain came into contact with the Confederate warrior, it was only natural that his reputation in the army should depend to a great extent upon his oratorical ability and the fervor with which he expounded the Word of God. As far as the soldier was concerned, preaching was the all important thing, and when he found that his chaplain was not a great preacher, he might even refuse to attend services<sup>142</sup> or express his views in his diary<sup>143</sup> or in a letter home as did William R. Stilwell when he wrote: "If we had a good preacher I think we would have good times. We have a chaplain by the name of Tracy, but he can't preach much."<sup>144</sup>

It was very difficult for a chaplain to "acquit himself with credit" or to give complete satisfaction in his preaching, for his regiment was composed of such a heterogeneous group that they had different views regarding preaching.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup>Lieutenant Richard Lewis, Camp Life of a Confederate Boy (Charleston: News and Courier Book Presses, 1883), 11.

<sup>143</sup>James J. Kirkpatrick, MS. diary in the Archives Collection, Library of University of Texas, entry of August 15, 1863.

<sup>144</sup>William R. Stilwell to Mrs. Stilwell, May 13, 1863, in "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," V (unnumbered page), Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>145</sup>Doctor E. P. Becton to Mrs. Becton, October 26, 1862, photostat of MS. in the Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas.

Many men seemed to want a roaring sermon, one in which the preacher shouted and exhorted them to mend their ways or face hell fire and damnation. It was because of the lack of such quality that Lieutenant Josiah Ryland criticised the sermons of Chaplain W. E. Wiatt when he wrote: "Wiatt preached in Captain Marshall's tent, on the passion of Christ. I cannot enjoy his sermons, he is so lifeless."<sup>146</sup> A few Sundays later he still did not like Wiatt's sermons and expressed the opinion that they would be much better "if he would only let go." But either Wiatt improved or the lieutenant changed his standards for seven months later he wrote: "went over to hear Wiatt, who stirred up my dull, cold heart. I think him one of our best Chaplains."<sup>147</sup> However, two years later Josiah Ryland still found occasion to condemn those sermons which did not please him. One Sunday afternoon, January 17, 1864, he went to a village church and there heard a sermon from a Chaplain Miller which he said "did me no good, he stormed and thundered so I wanted him to force the love of Christ upon my heart -- sweetly, persuasively."<sup>148</sup> It would seem that Ryland had been converted to Wiatt's way of preaching.

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<sup>146</sup> Lieutenant Josiah Ryland, typescript diary in possession of Dr. Garnett Ryland, University of Richmond, entry of January 26, 1862.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., August 17, 1862.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., January 17, 1864.

A few chaplains were accused of being prejudiced or one-sided in their views<sup>149</sup> and of delivering dissertations on government instead of preaching the gospel.<sup>150</sup> Two of them were charged with gross ignorance on Biblical questions<sup>151</sup> and one, by his apparent lack of education, so disgusted a surgeon that he complained: "We had preaching Sunday and again today I got enough on Sunday in about fifteen minutes to last me during the campaign--he is a whale all but the oil--he pronounced servile, servile parental parentual- said have come and etc. Friday he gave the boys a regular rant."<sup>152</sup>

One lieutenant condemned his chaplain's preaching by saying that it appealed only to the "lower class of the regiment"<sup>153</sup>--and a member of the Eighth Brigade near Rappahannock Station felt that the problem of preaching had been solved in his brigade when in the course of a battle the "Parson from the concussion of a shell had all discussion knocked out of him for awhile."<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>149</sup>John J. Armfield to Mrs. Armfield, December 25, 1864 in Armfield Papers in Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>150</sup>Captain Cary Whitaker, MS. diary in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, entry of May 2, 1864.

<sup>151</sup>James Hampton Kerrykendall, typescript diary in the Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas, entry of December 17.

<sup>152</sup>Doctor E. P. Becton to Mrs. Becton, August 12, 1862, typescript copy in the Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas.

<sup>153</sup>Lieutenant George W. Willis to his brother, November 16, 1862, in Willis Papers in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>154</sup>James Hamilton to his brother, April 1, 1862, in Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers, in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

The Confederate soldier did write many a word of praise for the sermons delivered by some chaplains. A Louisianian declared that Reed, chaplain of the Fifth Louisiana Regiment, was a "magnificent preacher."<sup>155</sup> A member of the Sixth Virginia Regiment praised Chaplain John C. Granbury as a preacher of fine sermons.<sup>156</sup> Chaplain George Patterson, an Episcopalian, received similar commendations from one of his hearers.<sup>157</sup> Elias Davis believed that he had heard sermons as good as those preached by Parson Renfroe of the Fourteenth Alabama Regiment, but never had he heard "One person preach such a succession of good sermons."<sup>158</sup>

In many instances chaplains won the approbation of their congregations by preaching on subjects that were consoling and non-denominational in character. Peter W. Hairston approved of a sermon exhorting soldiers to be patient in time of trial and disappointment.<sup>159</sup> The listeners of Reverend J. H. DeVotie received his sermons kindly because of their reasonableness and lack of denominational flavor.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>155</sup>A. Flournoy, Jr., to My Sweet Docy, July 8, 1861, typescript copy in possession of Doctor Bell I. Wiley, Emory University.

<sup>156</sup>R. C. Mabry to Mrs. Mabry, October 22, 1864, in Henry C. Brown Papers in Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>157</sup>John W. Hanks to Rev. Mr. Webb, August 29, 1863, in Webb Letters in Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>158</sup>Elias Davis to Mrs. Davis, August 14, 1863, October 5, 1862, in Elias Davis Papers, in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; J. M. Simpson to his Mother, in James Simpson Collection, Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>159</sup>Peter W. Hairston to unknown receiver, September 28, 1861, in Hairston Papers, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>160</sup>South Western Baptist, December 5, 1861.

Some chaplains were able to arouse the men by their preaching, and a few accomplished the same end by neglecting to preach. Neill J. McLaughlin of Company K, Thirty-eighth North Carolina Regiment was very much disturbed at having heard only one sermon since he left home. He wondered if the chaplain felt they were all too good to need preaching.<sup>161</sup> "Our Chaplain is with us but doesn't preach often," complained A. S. Webb; "I don't think he is accomplishing much good in this regiment. I believe a Methodist or Baptist would do much more good."<sup>162</sup> The Confederate soldiers were especially bitter toward the chaplain when he left them in the trenches for long periods of time without attempting to bring them the Word of God.<sup>163</sup>

It was the belief of a number of soldiers that the parsons cared more for their "own precious person" than for "the salvation of souls."<sup>164</sup> Sergeant John F. Sale was scathing in his denunciation when he said: "it seems strange that having three chaplains in the brigade we can not have services at least on the Lord's day and more especially when there is no more danger than there is today, but they are so careful of their precious bodies that they can take none for our souls which is their business. No one would expect them to

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<sup>161</sup> Neill J. McLaughlin to "Parson," April 11, 1862; MS. in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>162</sup> A. S. Webb to his brother, August 8, 1863, in Webb Letters in Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>163</sup> J. B. Mitchell to his father, September 1, 1863, in Mitchell Papers in Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>164</sup> John Crittenden to Mrs. Crittenden, July 15, 1864, typescript copy in the Archives Collection in Library of the University of Texas.

un-necessarily expose themselves but many and many days we lie in positions in which there is no danger and they will never come near us."<sup>165</sup> When the chaplain did not appear the men naturally formed the opinion that he had been scared off by the battle or else, being discouraged and tired of the army, he had gone home to preach to "a few empty benches."<sup>166</sup> Such action caused some soldiers to wish that the Congress would pass a conscription law to force ministers to enter the army.<sup>167</sup>

Sectarianism undoubtedly influenced the feeling of some Confederate soldiers regarding their chaplains. Colonel William Pender, an Episcopalian, could not understand how his chaplain, a Methodist, could be so "childish." The chaplain, suffering from a cold, fretted and worried so about it that he finally went to Petersburg to try and recover. This action on the part of the minister indicated to his commanding officer that he was lacking in Christian fortitude and resignation. The colonel expressed the hope that he would soon resign and if the chaplain did so, he would recommend an Episcopalian for the position, for he believed there were already too many Methodist chaplains.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>165</sup>John F. Sale, MS. diary in Virginia State Library, entry of June 19, 1864.

<sup>166</sup>Colonel Newton Davis to Bettie, April 12, 1863, in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Southern Presbyterian, February 22, 1862.

<sup>167</sup>Welch, A Confederate Surgeon's Letters to his Wife, 109.

<sup>168</sup>Colonel William D. Pender to Mrs. Pender, October 29, 1861, in Pender Papers, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

The most vehement condemnation of the work of chaplains is contained in the writings of an author who styled himself "an English Combatant." It was his opinion that most chaplains were ex-blacksmiths or wood-choppers who patriotically became chaplains for the prestige of the office, but when they found that they were to receive only eighty dollars a month they resigned. While in the service he found that they preached little, appeared at those "messes" which served the best meals and were at times rather proficient in handling cards at a poker game. Of course the soldier found some exceptions and among them he mentioned the Episcopalian and Catholic chaplains.<sup>169</sup>

If the testimony of a member of Mosby's Brigade is reliable, the chaplain of his unit did not follow the straight and narrow path. He was to be found at the gay festivities "dancing to the tune of 'Sugar in the Gourd' or, 'All around the Chicken Roost'." On other occasions he enjoyed himself "at the race betting on the gray mare."<sup>170</sup> Such action degraded the clergy in the eyes of the soldier and made them feel that the chaplain really did not practice what he preached. N. A. Drake expressed the views of some of his fellow soldiers in this regard when he said they had a chaplain who was a good meaning man, but he would not hesitate to defraud some one in a horse swap if the opportunity presented itself.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup>English Combatant, Battle-Fields of the South, I, 277-280.

<sup>170</sup>George Baylor, Bull Run to Bull Run (Richmond: Johnson Publishing Co., 1900), 318-320.

<sup>171</sup>N. A. Drake to Miss Betsy, June 17, 1861, MS. in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library (Permission needed to cite above).



The men of the Twelfth Virginia Cavalry recognized the piety of their chaplain, but this did not prevent their having a good laugh at his expense. On one of their marches the adjutant and another officer [who told the story] suggested that they ride ahead with the chaplain and surgeon to a house up the road to get some food. This sounded tempting to the chaplain and surgeon, so off they went and were highly pleased at the cordial reception given them by two handsomely dressed ladies. Now it happened that this house was known by all the men of the brigade [except the chaplain and the surgeon] to be a house of ill-repute. When the brigade drew near and recognized the horses of their man of God and man of medicine they raised a shout that was heard for miles around. At this the ladies suddenly threw their arms around "these innocents" and gave other demonstrations of a violent affection. The adjutant and other officer quietly left the house followed by two irate and indignant victims of the disciples of Jezebel.<sup>172</sup>

Officers were able to express their opinion of a chaplain in an official way by the endorsements which they placed on his requests for appointments, furloughs, transfers, or for permission to resign. Colonel Marsing, writing to the Adjutant General recommending the appointment of Reverend George E. Butler as chaplain, denounced a former chaplain, Reverend R. F. Mattison. The colonel complained at the conduct of Mr. Mattison which, he said, was unbecoming a minister

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<sup>172</sup>Baylor, Bull Run to Bull Run, 184-185.

of the Gospel.<sup>173</sup> Colonel H. K. Burgwyn of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment complained bitterly about Chaplain S. S. Moore. In requesting the transfer of this minister he informed the War Department that Moore had "discharged his duties in a manner not at all acceptable to the regiment" and that he had made peculiar and personal remarks that were offensive to the officers. He had also failed to go with the regiment on any of its marches. The Secretary of War agreed with Burgwyn and replaced the chaplain with Reverend George Patterson.<sup>174</sup>

Chaplain L. C. Ransom requested the acceptance of his resignation in order that he might become editor of the Selma Observer. The approval of this request was recommended by his commanding officer who had no desire to hold "him in the Chaplaincy against his will." He also felt that Ransom could "no longer pray with unction or grace as Chaplain" while his heart was with the Selma Observer.<sup>175</sup>

The Daily Journal summed up the opinion of some officers regarding chaplains by quoting the following questions and answers written in a "Military Catechism" by an officer:

- Q. What is the first duty of a Chaplain?
- A. Never to mention the subject of religion to the soldiers.
- Q. What is the second duty?
- A. To preach to the regiment only once a year, and not that unless specially requested by the Colonel.

<sup>173</sup>Colonel Marsing to Cooper, February 9, 1863, in Adjutant General Office File, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>174</sup>Colonel H. K. Burgwyn to Secretary of War Seddon, December 25, 1862, MS. in War Department Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>175</sup>C. C. Clay to Seddon, December 26, 1863, in Adjutant General Office File, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Q. What is the third duty?

A. To grumble all the time about the smallness of his pay.<sup>176</sup>

It is not the intention of this writer to convey the impression that the chaplain was generally condemned by the officers and enlisted men, but the facts do clearly indicate that dissatisfaction was felt with a surprisingly large number of them.<sup>177</sup> In spite of this there were some chaplains who were conscientious and faithful, and these chaplains did receive richly deserved praise from the men. It would be impossible to relate here the numerous tributes paid chaplains by the men they served. However, a cursory perusal of their correspondence, editorials of the period, and subsequent reminiscences is sufficient to reveal the nature of their approbation.

Years after the war was over, Major Robert Stiles in his reminiscences recalled the work of Reverend William Owen, chaplain of the Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment. He gave him credit for starting a series of religious meetings around Fredericksburg which eventually resulted in over 500 conversions.<sup>178</sup> Lieutenant Theodore Goodloe of the Thirty-fifth Regiment Alabama Volunteers, in recalling his military service found it appropos to mention the great work of his chaplain. He related how this man had preached for the soldiers and

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<sup>176</sup>The Daily Journal (Wilmington, North Carolina), August 26, 1862.

<sup>177</sup>Elisha Franklin Paxton, Memoir and Memorials (New York: Printed, not published, 1905), 91.

<sup>178</sup>Stiles, Four Years Under Marse Robert, 143-144.

mingled with them and how he formed an acquaintance with him which would last into eternity.<sup>179</sup>

Two Catholic chaplains, greatly admired and lauded in later writings, were Father Daly, chaplain of a Missouri Regiment, and Father John Bannon of Price's Brigade. Bannon, it is said, was energetic, courageous and brave, and liked by Protestants as well as Catholics.<sup>180</sup> The chaplain of the Missouri unit favorably impressed a Protestant by his faithful celebration of Mass, his preaching on Sunday afternoon, and his settling of drunken rows occurring among the Irish of his flock.<sup>181</sup>

When a chaplain was energetic and constantly mingled with the men and manifested a desire to share with them the hardships of army life, he was greatly esteemed.<sup>182</sup> If he belonged to a religious

<sup>179</sup>Albert Theodore Goodloe, Confederate Echoes (Nashville: Smith and Lamar, 1907), 374-75; Albert Theodore Goodloe, Some Rebel Relics from the Seat of War (Nashville: Printed, not Published, 1893), 17.

<sup>180</sup>Danner, "Father Bannon's Secret Mission," Confederate Veteran, XXVII, 180.

<sup>181</sup>Impressed New Yorker, Thirteen Months in the Rebel Army, 43.

<sup>182</sup>James J. Kirkpatrick, MS. diary in the Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas, entry of August 23, 1863; Stephen Moon to his mother, June 14, 1863, typescript copy in "Reminiscences of Confederate Soldiers," III, 108, Georgia Department of Archives and History; Paxton, Memoir and Memorials, 91; South Western Baptist, February 20, 1862; John D. Harris to his mother, December 4, 1864, in John D. Harris Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library; Henry Graves to his father, June 16, 1862, typescript copy in "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," II, 235, Georgia Department of Archives and History; R. W. Locke, MS. diary in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entry of September 6, 1862; Rainwater (ed.), A Civilian's Recollections of the War Between the States H. S. Fulkerson, 1886, 140.

denomination favored by them, his prestige was enhanced. It was undoubtedly sectarianism that influenced A. S. Webb to write to his brother and say that he believed the Methodist and Baptist chaplains did more good than any others.<sup>183</sup>

A sobriquet affectionately applied to Reverend Abner C. Hopkins of the Stonewall Brigade was that of "the fighting chaplain." However, it was not with the musket nor the cross that he won fame, but rather with the frying pan. At Mine Run, Virginia, while the men were busy getting breakfast the enemy attacked them and almost caused a complete withdrawal, but at that moment Chaplain Hopkins leaped forward and with the frying pan in his hand rallied the men. After the enemy was driven off breakfast was resumed.<sup>184</sup>

Chaplain P. H. Fontaine officially learned of the recognition given his work by the War Department when he put in an application for a transfer to a post at Greensborough, North Carolina. The application was returned with the following endorsement: "Disapproved. This officer is faithful, efficient, and has been very successful in effecting a moral and religious improvement in the Regiment."<sup>185</sup> R. B. Hudgins certainly thought a lot of the chaplain of his unit. He even conspired to get him to join his family. In a letter written home he

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<sup>183</sup>A. S. Webb to his brother, July 24, 1863, in Webb Letters in Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>184</sup>J. Ogden Murray, "A Fighting Chaplain," Confederate Veteran, XXX, 391.

<sup>185</sup>Chaplain P. H. Fontaine to Seddon, November 12, 1864, in Adjutant General Office File, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

informed his cousin Virginia that he had recommended her to his minister friend and that she should have her "best bib and tuck" ready in case he called on her.<sup>186</sup>

When a chaplain was beloved by the members of his unit, they sometimes expressed their feelings toward him by the adoption of resolutions. The members of the Christian Association of the Twelfth Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers were so grieved at the resignation of Reverend J. Munroe Anderson that at the suggestion of their colonel they adopted a resolution lamenting that the chaplain had found it necessary to retire and thanking him for his untiring labor in their behalf.<sup>187</sup>

A chaplain in the Confederate army found himself in a very precarious position. If he sat idly by drawing his pay and doing nothing, he was certain to be condemned by the men and some of the officers. If, on the other hand, he was very assiduous and preached often about death, damnation, and against swearing, drinking, and gambling he would soon be referred to as "the scourge of the army." His commanding officer would accuse him of making the men unfit for battle by awaking in them fear of retribution.<sup>188</sup> One hapless chaplain who delivered a

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<sup>186</sup>R. B. Hudgins to his cousin, March 31, 1863, in Thomas F. Boatwright Papers, in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>187</sup>Southern Presbyterian, December 3, 1863.

<sup>188</sup>Religious Herald, July 17, 1862; Jones, Christ in the Camp, 226-230.

sermon against swearing found himself at the mercy of his commanding officer. The colonel charged him with "having taken advantage of his position to lecture him on swearing," and as a result of this he would not hear him preach any more.<sup>189</sup>

What some officers really wanted was a chaplain to serve as an aide-de-camp.<sup>190</sup> Unless such an individual could be found they allowed the position to remain vacant.<sup>191</sup> If, however, the position were filled by someone the commanding officer disliked, he failed to aid and support him and in due time the chaplain found himself forced to resign;<sup>192</sup> for his position in the service made him dependent to a large extent on the support of his commanding officer.

One of these officers who refused to provide his men with a chaplain defended his apparent neglect on the ground that he had no available quarters for a chaplain. He felt it was his duty to provide for the physical welfare of his men before the spiritual. This officer also opposed having divine worship in the camp because it disturbed those who did not wish to hear it. He believed the proper place to have it was out in the woods.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>189</sup>Richmond Christian Advocate, November 6, 1862.

<sup>190</sup>Religious Herald, February 27, 1862.

<sup>191</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, June 11, 1862; Religious Herald, May 1, 1862.

<sup>192</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, February 19, 1863.

<sup>193</sup>Ibid., March 10, 1864.

Of course the above expressed opinions were rather the exception than the rule, for some officers even though they were irreligious tried to obtain the aid of a chaplain in promoting the efficiency of their unit.<sup>194</sup> One such officer said that he would rather have the "assistance of an efficient chaplain than of a Lt. Col. or a Major." A chaplain who received marked courtesy and aid from the officers in forwarding the objective of his mission felt a genuine love for his unit. He would feel as did Reverend H. B. Pratt that in spite of all his inconveniences he would not exchange his regiment for any other.<sup>195</sup>

Regardless of how appointment was obtained, however, many chaplains had ample reason for complaint about the length of time it took for their commissions to reach them from the War Department.

Reverend Joseph H. Jordan, writing to Secretary of War J. P. Benjamin on February 6, 1862, related how, since the previous December, he had been performing all the duties of chaplain for his unit; he had paid for religious reading for the men and had bought himself a tent and its furnishings all out of his own pocket. He had been requested to serve in this capacity by his commanding officer who had also assured him that he would experience no difficulty in obtaining the appointment. The Reverend Jordan sought an immediate reply as he felt he had no actual authority to continue as chaplain without an official commission.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>194</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 9, 1862.

<sup>195</sup>Ibid., May 7, 1863, May 18, 1861.

<sup>196</sup>Chaplain Joseph H. Jordan to Secretary of War J. P. Benjamin, February 6, 1862, War Department Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.



The Most Reverend John Quinlan, Bishop of Mobile, wrote to Secretary of the Navy S. R. Mallory on January 7, 1863, in behalf of Father John Bannon. This reverend gentleman had gone to Price's army from his home in St. Louis upon receiving the earnest entreaty of 1800 Catholic soldiers in his unit. There he had served about a year with no remuneration, living upon "the courtesy and generosity of their officers" and was at this time \$1000 in debt. Bishop Quinlan requested that Reverend Bannon be officially appointed with his commission ante-dated as of January, 1862.<sup>197</sup>

Reverend A. S. Worrell had the misfortune to connect himself with the Thirty-fourth Georgia Regiment, a unit which, for some time, was not recognized by the War Department. Reverend Worrell in November, 1862, travelled to Richmond in an attempt to obtain his commission and those of other officers in Ledbetter's Brigade. He was unable to see the secretary of war, securing only the promise of his assistant that the commissions would soon be forwarded. He wrote the secretary on November 19, 1862, requesting that he either be sent his commission or notified that he would not receive it.<sup>198</sup> Apparently, Worrell received neither notice, for in January, 1863, he wrote again to request an appointment. He had served as chaplain to the Thirty-fourth Georgia since July, 1862, until a few weeks previous when he had severed

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<sup>197</sup> Bishop John Quinlan to Secretary of Navy S. A. Mallory, January 7, 1863, MS. in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>198</sup> Chaplain A. S. Worrell to Secretary of War George Randolph, November 19, 1862, in War Department Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

connections with the regiment and began to publish a paper called The Soldier's Friend. He felt that by editing this paper and by preaching to the men in the field and in the hospitals, he was doing as much good as most chaplains and asked, therefore, that he be commissioned as chaplain "with the privilege of preaching and laboring where I can do the most good," if this was not prohibited by the legal provisions for appointing chaplains.<sup>199</sup> Reverend Worrell received his commission this time, but it was evidently not what he expected. A little more than a year later, May, 1864, he was again writing Richmond. This time he tendered his resignation and vehemently condemned the position of chaplain.<sup>200</sup>

The Confederate soldier often accused chaplains of forsaking him during the winter months for more palatable food and a warmer bed than they were accustomed to receive in the field. This accusation seems somewhat justified when we examine the numerous requests from chaplains for a transfer from the field to a post during the winter months.

Chaplain L. H. Baldwin, Fifth Louisiana Volunteers thought that he would be "more useful" at a post in Monroe, Louisiana, than in his regiment over the winter of 1862-63.<sup>201</sup> Reverend George H. Denny,

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<sup>199</sup>Chaplain A. S. Worrell to Seddon; January 26, 1863, War Department Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>200</sup>Worrell to President Jefferson Davis, May 14, 1864, in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>201</sup>Chaplain L. H. Baldwin to Seddon, December 10, 1862, War Department Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Fiftieth Virginia, felt that a winter spent at a post would give him the time necessary to prepare sermons as well as to recover from "exposure."<sup>202</sup> Chaplain Denny's request was granted but in May, 1864, he again found his health "feeble" and, since his regiment had been captured, he asked assignment to a post, which was granted.<sup>203</sup> The Reverend C. H. Atwood, Fifth Alabama Infantry Regiment, believed he could do more good at a post in Union Town, Alabama, as his wife and family had just moved there.<sup>204</sup>

Various reasons, dictated both by duty to their men and personal desires, were listed by the chaplains in their requests for furloughs. Toward the end of the war, January 25, 1864, Chaplain I. W. Miller applied for a twenty-day leave in order that he might go to the countryside surrounding his post hospital and seek provisions for the sick. There were not many patients in his hospital at the time, but Reverend Miller feared that when the hospital became crowded with the ill and wounded, the scarcity of food and other supplies would prove a great difficulty.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>202</sup>Chaplain George H. Denny to Cooper, November 2, 1863, Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>203</sup>Denny to Cooper, May 28, 1864, in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>204</sup>Chaplain C. H. Atwood to Cooper, March 11, 1864, in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>205</sup>Chaplain J. W. Miller to General Thomas Jordan, January 25, 1864, in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Chaplain J. O. A. Cook described a unique problem to Secretary of War James Seddon on October 8, 1863. He desired a furlough for three very good reasons. First, Reverend Cook had been held a prisoner of war for two months after the army's retreat from Pennsylvania and he wished a leave in order to recruit his health. Second, he wanted to attend the meeting of the Georgia Conference of his church, being held at that same time. Third, he had married the previous March and remained with his wife five days only.<sup>206</sup>

Chaplain Cook received a twenty-day furlough, but six days later he wrote his commanding officer, Major Charles J. Moffitt, requesting a thirty-day extension. The hapless man of God had arrived at his home only to find that his wife had gone to lower Alabama on a visit to her mother. He feared that by the time she returned, his furlough would be almost expired. The chaplain, therefore, requested an extension, and he seemed certain that it would be granted for he appended on his note to the Major a request that his extension should be forwarded to him and expressed the view that he was sure Major Moffitt would sympathize with him.<sup>207</sup>

And so we see that the chaplain was, after all, only human. It does appear, though, that within himself the reverend gentleman contained as great a capacity for bravery as did the most valorous soldier in the army. There were very few chaplains of whom it might be said that courage was not their outstanding virtue.

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<sup>206</sup> Chaplain J. O. A. Cook to Seddon, October 8, 1863, War Department Office File, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>207</sup> Cook to Major Charles J. Moffitt, October 14, 1863, Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

This was, however, the case with the chaplain to the Third Alabama Infantry. One of the men in that company wrote his sister that, "We got into a little row with the Yankee a few days ago and our parson, deeming, no doubt, that 'discretion was the better part of valor,' took to his heels when the shells commenced flying and I have not seen him since."<sup>208</sup> Another soldier, writing home from Headquarters, Second Army Corps, told how General Jubal Early, on seeing a man going toward the rear as the battle approached, asked him where he was going. He replied, "I am nothing but a poor preacher, sir and am going to the rear." At this the General roared: "Why, Sir, I thought you had been praying to get to heaven for fifteen or twenty years and now you can go there in fifteen minutes and will not embrace the opportunity?"<sup>209</sup>

In spite of these isolated incidents, the chaplains, on the whole, reacted to the stress and strain of the battlefield in a manner both distinctive and admirable. Ample evidence to support this contention may be found in the official reports of their commanding officers.

General J. E. B. Stuart maintained that the Reverend John Landstreet, chaplain First Virginia Cavalry, "was as conspicuous for gallantry and usefulness on the field as he is distinguished for eloquence

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<sup>208</sup>Thomas Caffey to his sister Mary, in Montgomery Advertiser, May 9, 1909, publication of "War Letters of Thomas Caffey."

<sup>209</sup>Peter M. Hairston to Fanny, November 25, 1863, in Peter M. Hairston Papers, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

in the pulpit.."210 T. L. Duke, chaplain of the Nineteenth Mississippi Regiment, was mentioned by his superior, General Carnot Posey, as having "remained in front of his regiment with his musket during the series of engagements, and mainly directed the movements of the skirmishers of that regiment."211 General William A. Quarles felt that, on one occasion in particular, J. H. McNeily, chaplain Forty-ninth Tennessee Regiment, "exhibited the qualities of the Christian soldier for following the bloodstained path of his regiment, he was everywhere to be seen ministering to the physical and spiritual comfort of the dying and the wounded."212 Reverend H. T. Sloan, chaplain, First Regiment South Carolina Volunteer Rifles, was mentioned by his commanding officer, Colonel J. Foster Marshall, for the "faithful discharge of the duties of his office under great privations and trials."213 General William E. Jones observed of Chaplain Richard T. Davis, Sixth Virginia Cavalry, that "His example in courage, and his abiding faith in Providence won the admiration of all."214

When a unit marched into battle, the chaplain occasionally took an active part in the fighting. One such was the Reverend James Sinclair, chaplain Fifth North Carolina Regiment, who, at the Battle of Manassas, acted as lieutenant colonel. Sinclair led a number of

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<sup>210</sup>Official Records, Ser. 1, XI, 573.

<sup>211</sup>Official Records, Ser. 1, XXV, pt. 1, 873.

<sup>212</sup>Official Records, Ser. 1, XXVIII, pt. 3, 933.

<sup>213</sup>Official Records, Ser. 1, XI, pt. 2, 876.

<sup>214</sup>Official Records, Ser. 1, XXV, pt. 1, 116.

charges, and at the close of the engagement General Longstreet himself expressed his gratitude, presenting the good chaplain with a sabre which had been captured from the enemy and inviting him to occupy a position on his staff.<sup>215</sup>

In the Battle of Chancellorsville Chaplain W. G. Curry found himself in a position which forced him to make a decision. During the course of the battle he and a fellow soldier found themselves surrounded by the enemy. Reverend Curry and his friend made a run for it, but presently his comrade was hit. The chaplain had to decide whether he would help the dying soldier and risk capture or death or continue in his attempt to escape. Curry ran to the help of his companion, lifted him up and carried him back to his own unit. At that moment he did not realize that his act of gallantry had not only saved the wounded soldier's life but his own as well. For the enemy had been so moved by his conduct that they had ceased to fire.<sup>216</sup>

Another "fighting chaplain" was the Reverend I. T. Tichenor, Seventeenth Alabama Regiment.<sup>217</sup> After the Battle of Shiloh he wrote: "we were under a cross fire....from three directions. Under it the boys wavered. I had been wearied and was sitting down, but seeing them waver, I sprang to my feet, took off my hat, waved it over my head, walked up and down the line, and, as they say 'preached them a sermon.' I reminded them that it was Sunday. That at that hour all their home

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<sup>215</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 10, 1861.

<sup>216</sup>Newspaper clipping, in the Curry Family Biographical Folder, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>217</sup>Rev. B. F. Riley, History of the Baptists of Alabama (Birmingham: Roberts and Son, 1895), 287.

folks were praying for them; that Tom Watts [colonel of the regiment] .....had told us he would listen with an eager ear to hear from the Seventeenth; and shouting [his] name loud over the roar of battle, I called upon them to stand there and die, if need be, for their country. The effect was evident. Every man stood to his post, every eye flashed, and every heart beat high with desperate resolve to conquer or die."<sup>218</sup>

In the heat of the moment, Reverend I. T. Tichenor made of himself an example to be followed by his men, for he slew a Federal colonel, a major, and four privates while the whole regiment witnessed it.<sup>219</sup> The chaplain received a slight flesh wound in this action but other chaplains, similarly engaged during strife, suffered more severely.<sup>220</sup>

Chaplain [later bishop] John C. Granberry, Eleventh Virginia Regiment, insisted on staying at the front with his men.<sup>221</sup> At the Battle of Malvern Hill, he was badly wounded and was left on the field for dead. He later recovered, but lost permanently the sight of one eye.<sup>222</sup> Reverend George G. Smith, chaplain in Phillips' Georgia Legion,

<sup>218</sup>Jones, Christ in the Camp, 537; Religious Herald, May 8, 1862.

<sup>219</sup>Religious Herald, May 1, 1862.

<sup>220</sup>South Western Baptist, May 1, 1862.

<sup>221</sup>W. M. Seay, "Bishop John C. Granberry, A Fighting Parson," Confederate Veteran, XVIII, No. 7, 322.

<sup>222</sup>W. H. Morgan, Personal Reminiscences of the War of 1861-65 (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell Co., Inc., 1911), 137.



was shot through the neck at the Battle of South Mountain;<sup>223</sup> Reverend L. H. Jones was severely wounded in the Battle of Glorietta while "bending with a white flag in his hand over the body of a dying soldier."<sup>224</sup>

After one of the bloody skirmishes of the Battle of Spotsylvania, Chaplain William B. Owen, Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment, had removed from the field the wounded on both sides, had taken note of the dead of his regiment, and was gathering addresses of the Federal dead when his left elbow was shattered by a minie ball. He was rushed to the field hospital where his elbow was resectioned, but his resistance had been lowered by privation in camp and ceaseless laboring. His wound proved fatal.<sup>225</sup>

Father Blieml, chaplain, Tenth Tennessee Regiment, was killed at Jonesboro, Georgia, while administering the last sacrament to a dying officer.<sup>226</sup> In the Battle of Corinth, Chaplain Wm. M. Vanderhurst, Sixth Texas Cavalry, went into the charge with his unit and was killed in the slaughter which followed.<sup>227</sup> A chaplain Weller fell at Shiloh

<sup>223</sup>W. F. Hinman (compiler), Camp and Field Sketches of Army Life Written by Those Who Followed the Flag 1861-65 (Cleveland: N. G. Hamilton Co., 1892), 138.

<sup>224</sup>Southern Churchman, June 20, 1862; The Church Intelligencer, June 13, 1862.

<sup>225</sup>Stiles, Four Years Under Marse Robert, 146; Southern Christian Advocate, June 9, 1864.

<sup>226</sup>J. Pinkney Thompson, "Chaplain of Tenth Tennessee Regiment," Confederate Veteran, XXI, No. 12, 593.

<sup>227</sup>Ibid., XXIII, No. 5, 205.

in the discharge of his duties.<sup>228</sup> At Monett's Ferry, B. F. Ellison, chaplain to Madison's Regiment, was mortally wounded.<sup>229</sup>

All the trials and tribulations encountered by the chaplain corps were not met on the battle field. A number of Confederate chaplains were taken prisoner by the enemy.<sup>230</sup> On October 22, 1863, the Southern Christian Advocate reported that fifteen Confederate chaplains, who were held in Northern prison camps, were being returned.<sup>231</sup> Among those captured during the war were Chaplain L. H. Jones, Fourth Texas Regiment<sup>232</sup> and Chaplain T. McVeight, Second Virginia Infantry.<sup>233</sup> Reverend A. J. Witherspoon, Twenty-first Alabama Volunteers, was captured after the Battle of Shiloh.<sup>234</sup> According to his own statement, he said

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<sup>228</sup>Southern Churchman, June 20, 1862; The Church Intelligencer, June 13, 1862.

<sup>229</sup>Official Records, Ser. 1, XXIV, pt. 1, 620.

<sup>230</sup>The following is a list of chaplains held prisoner at Camp Chase and Johnson's Island. The information is taken from: Joe Barbiere, Scraps from the Prison Table at Camp Chase & Johnson's Island (Doyleston, Pennsylvania: W. W. H. Davis, 1868). Following the chaplain's name appears his unit and the page in this work on which his name appears. W. H. Adams, Forty-second Tennessee, 358; E. Hogan, Eleventh Arkansas, 358; R. A. Owens, Forty-sixth Tennessee, 374; G. B. Overtown, Second Kentucky, 374; N. J. Taylor, Fourteenth Mississippi, 385; A. A. Wilson, Fiftieth Tennessee; R. D. Palmer, Fourth Mississippi, 374; H. H. Robinson, Third Mississippi; A. J. Witherspoon, Twenty-first Alabama, 390.

<sup>231</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, October 22, 1863.

<sup>232</sup>Chaplain L. H. Jones to Colonel R. H. Chilton, October 10, 1862, in Adjutant General Office File in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>233</sup>Colonel J. W. Allen to Cooper, June 17, 1862 in Adjutant General Office Files in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>234</sup>J. H. Thornwell, C. P. Pelham and others to General Beauregard, June 9, 1862, Adjutant General Office File, in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

to his captors: "I had no weapon on the field of battle, but I did not profess to be a noncombatant, for I ...cheered on my gallant regiment to the charge on the first battery taken. I told him that I was with my regiment when it captured his guns, and that I encouraged the men with all my heart..."<sup>235</sup>

Father Francis X. LeRay was captured on several occasions while giving the Last Sacrament to dying soldiers on the field. He was always immediately released,<sup>236</sup> whereas other chaplains, such as A. J. Witherspoon, were forced to remain in prison for as much as five months.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>235</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 30, 1862.

<sup>236</sup>Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana (Chicago, 1892, II, 138; Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Confederacy (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 43.

<sup>237</sup>Typed article in Witherspoon Family Biographical Folder, Alabama State Department of Archives and History; article in Southwestern Presbyterian (New Orleans), November 1, 1891, in Anderson-Thornwell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

## CHAPTER III

### CLERGY IN SECULAR ROLES

One significant reason for the shortage of chaplains in the Confederate army was the fact that many ministers of the gospel went into the army as soldiers and officers.<sup>1</sup> There were, however, a number of these ministers who later became chaplains.

One of them, the Reverend Telfair Hodgson, who had been studying at the General Theological Seminary, volunteered as a private in the Forty-fourth Virginia Infantry. He was later transferred to the First Alabama Cavalry and by receiving regular promotions attained the rank of major, serving on General Joseph Wheeler's staff. In 1864 he was ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church and apparently resigned his commission in order to become a chaplain.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Benton Espy enlisted as a private in Company A, Thirty-first Alabama Infantry. When that regiment was reorganized he was elected chaplain and held that office until the close of the war.<sup>3</sup> Thomas D. Witherspoon, a

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<sup>1</sup>Southern Presbyterian, September 21, 1861.

<sup>2</sup>Newspaper clipping in the Hodgson Family Biographical Folder, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>3</sup>Clipping in the Espy Family Biographical Folder, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

Presbyterian minister, entered the army as a private in the Lamar Rifles, Mississippi Volunteers. Shortly thereafter, he was appointed chaplain and served in this capacity throughout the war.<sup>4</sup> He accepted the chaplaincy only on condition that he be allowed to shoulder his musket and take his place alongside the soldiers in the field.<sup>5</sup>

One minister in the ranks, Reverend William Thomas, received appointment to a chaplaincy in a unique manner. The commander of his unit, General M. W. Gary, was well known for his profanity and held that nothing made men obey an order more quickly than "cussing." This same general had a very low opinion of the courage of "psalm singers" but in a battle at Campbell's Station in East Tennessee the pious Thomas gave the general occasion to change his mind.

During this fight, while the general's forces were retreating, a man was wounded and fell to the ground. His comrades, in their rush to safety, left him where he fell but when "Psalm singer" Thomas came along, he knelt beside the dying man to offer a prayer and to take his last message. Despite enemy fire, the man of God stayed beside his comrade until the soul left the body. When the enemy saw what was happening, they ceased fire and Thomas left the battlefield amid cheers from friend and foe alike. General Gary complimented him upon his

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<sup>4</sup>Birmingham News, January 17, 1937, in Witherspoon Family Biographical Folder, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>5</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 8, 1861.

bravery and the next day issued an order making him chaplain for "distinguished piety on the battlefield."<sup>6</sup>

Reverend T. H. Davenport earned for himself the position of chaplain while in prison. He had entered the Third Tennessee Regiment as a private and after the engagements around Fort Donelson was taken prisoner. While in prison he preached to and prayed with his regiment. When the prisoners were released and reorganized their unit, they elected Davenport chaplain of the regiment.<sup>7</sup>

In some cases ministers in the ranks were detailed to serve as chaplains.<sup>8</sup> If such a minister filled the position competently, chances were that his commanding officer would request his appointment to the chaplaincy. Colonel D. W. Jones wrote of Private R. C. Armstrong: "...he enlisted as a private in the ranks and has...faithfully performed his duties as a soldier...In the meantime by his consistent courage and devotion to his religious duties has gained for himself the respect of his command; he...has been acting in the capacity of chaplain, his course has met the approbation of the men and officers of my command....., and it is their general wish that he have the position which I seek for him..."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>U. R. Brooks, Butler and His Cavalry in the War of Secession (Columbia, S. C., The State Company, 1909), 437-38.

<sup>7</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, November 27, 1862.

<sup>8</sup>South Western Baptist, June 25, 1863.

<sup>9</sup>Colonel D. W. Jones to Secretary of War, October 4, 1863, MS. in War Department Office File, in National Archives.

There is no way of knowing how often such requests were granted. In one case, however, Colonel W. F. Tucker requested that Sergeant H. S. Archer of the Commissary Department be commissioned as chaplain of the Forty-first Mississippi Regiment. The request was returned with the following statement from the Secretary of War: "It is against the policy of the department to take persons from the ranks and make non-combatants of them. Unless the applicant is unfit for field service in the ranks, the application is disapproved."<sup>10</sup> The Reverend Archer felt that he was being discriminated against for he confided to his diary that such a ruling deprived him of eligibility for promotion, a privilege to which all men in the ranks were entitled.<sup>11</sup>

It is probable that this was not an isolated case for on April 19, 1864, Colonel William P. Johnston of the Adjutant General's Office, replying to a letter written by a committee of ministers regarding the same question stated:

The President has received your letter of March 9, and directs me to express to you his deep sense of the importance of regular and earnest religious instruction and consolation to our brave soldiers. He does not presume to doubt the necessity of chaplains in full number and knows of no bar to the promotion of such from the ranks. On the other hand, he considers the spirit that prompts ministers to volunteer as privates in the ranks and serve their country in so glorious and trying a position as an earnest of their fitness for the duties of chaplain, where knowledge of the wants as well as zeal for the good of the soldier is required. The presence of a large number of these

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<sup>10</sup>Colonel W. F. Tucker to Secretary of War, April 19, 1864, MS. in War Department Office File, in National Archives.

<sup>11</sup>H. S. Archer, Microfilm diary, in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, entry of March 25, 1864.

devoted men in the ranks of the army has contributed greatly to elevate and purify the religious tone and sentiment of our gallant soldiers, and while it may not be possible to provide for all of these as chaplains, thus rendering necessary a discrimination as to their claims, no intention exists to preclude them from receiving the sanction and countenance of law, in their honorable efforts, by promotion.....<sup>12</sup>

Conversely, other members of the clergy resigned their chaplaincies for the purpose of raising new companies of fighting men<sup>13</sup> or of accepting a higher, more munificent rank.<sup>14</sup> The Reverend Marcus G. William entered the army as chaplain of the Third Tennessee. When his commission expired he raised a company, the Ninth Alabama Cavalry, and was made captain.<sup>15</sup> Reverend Robert McLain served as a private until he was appointed chaplain to the Fourteenth Mississippi volunteers. When the Thirty-seventh Regiment was organized he was elected colonel and he was acting as brigadier-general to the Fourth Brigade when he received a wound which proved fatal.<sup>16</sup> Reverend William A. Crocker of the Methodist Protestant Church resigned his chaplaincy in order to establish an Intelligence Office, the purpose of which was to provide

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<sup>12</sup>Colonel William Preston Johnston to a committee of Reverends C. H. Otkin, J. B. Chapman and W. Mooney, April 19, 1864, MS. in Adjutant General Office File, in National Archives.

<sup>13</sup>T. H. Jordan to J. P. Benjamin, February 22, 1862, MS. in War Department Office File, in National Archives.

<sup>14</sup>Porter Thompson (ed.), History of the Orphan Brigade (Louisville, 1898), 533-34.

<sup>15</sup>Biographical sketch in the William Family Biographical Folder, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>16</sup>Christian Observer, November 20, 1862.



information regarding sick and wounded soldiers.<sup>17</sup> Reverend J. J. McMahon resigned his chaplaincy in Floyd's Brigade to accept a promotion to colonel.<sup>18</sup>

Reverend William D. Chadick of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church served as a chaplain until October 29, 1861, when he was offered the position of major in an Alabama unit. About a year later he was promoted to first lieutenant colonel and chief of staff to Governor Q. G. Shorter of Alabama. While in command of North Alabama forces, on one occasion, Colonel Chadick was badly in need of additional forces. He sent into the hills of northern Alabama for them, and they came "Old and young, mounted on old horses, colts, and mules, and, as it was cold, and blankets scarce, every man of them brought a bed quilt, and, as all these quilts were of different colors, Colonel Chadick's 'bed quilt regiment' became known as one of the most 'grotesque pictures' of the war."<sup>19</sup>

For a chaplain to be raised to a higher military rank was generally considered a promotion; however, Reverend Fountain E. Pitts, colonel Sixty-first Tennessee Regiment was said to prefer the office of chaplain to that of colonel as his command was "conferred upon him without desire on his part."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Religious Herald, July 10, 1862.

<sup>18</sup>North Carolina Presbyterian, September 27, 1862.

<sup>19</sup>Reverend Hall, "The Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Alabama During the Civil War," in Hall Collection, Map and Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>20</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, January 7, 1864.

Father John Bannon, chaplain to a company of "fighting Irish" from Missouri, was forced to give up his chaplaincy to assume a role unique for a clergyman. The young priest was sent as emissary to Rome for the purpose of convincing the Papacy of the wisdom of extending recognition to the Confederacy. Father Bannon in his report to the President indicated that he felt his mission had been successful, though later developments proved that he had been overly optimistic.<sup>21</sup>

A considerable portion of Southern Christendom disapproved strenuously of their ministers donning the military garb, shouldering the musket and marching off to the wars. W. Duncan, in a letter of June 26, 1861, objected in the following vein to Bishop Polk's appointment as Major General: "Bishop Polk a Major General!!! Whew! We must ask for a like appointment for Bishop Elliott and why not Bishop Acsont Palmer? Miss Julia will propose Bishop Talmadge! But he is too old and infirm. His wife would make a better General."<sup>22</sup>

Expressions of this disapproval are found in letters to the editors of religious periodicals.<sup>23</sup> However, as a rule, the churches in their official capacity recognized that a man was no less a citizen of his country because he was a minister of the gospel. They, therefore,

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<sup>21</sup>Albert C. Danner, "Father Bannon's Secret Mission," in Confederate Veteran, XXVII, No. 5, 180.

<sup>22</sup>W. Duncan to G. Barnsley, June 26, 1861, in Barnsley Collection, Emory University Library.

<sup>23</sup>Religious Herald, July 16, 1863; Church Intelligencer, August 2, 1861; Southern Presbyterian, September 7, 1861.

encouraged each minister to decide for himself whether or not he should actually take up arms.<sup>24</sup>

Although members of the clergy engaged "in the regular discharge of ministerial duties" were officially exempt from military service,<sup>25</sup> innumerable soldiers of the Cross felt called upon to come to the defense of their country.<sup>26</sup> Some, such as the Reverend Thomas J. Beard, felt the call so strongly that in spite of delicate health and almost certain death from the hardships of camp life, they enlisted in the ranks.<sup>27</sup> The Reverend L. W. Allen though over fifty years of age, requested permission to raise a company of men all over forty-five or under eighteen "to act as guides, scouts, guards of baggage or transportation."<sup>28</sup>

Others who found themselves reluctant to leave their religious vocations felt as did General Leonidas K. Polk. The reverend general

<sup>24</sup>Southern Presbyterian, September 7, 1861; Southern Christian Advocate, January 16, 1862; The Church Intelligencer, July 25, 1861.

<sup>25</sup>Official Records, Ser. 4, I, 1081.

<sup>26</sup>Mrs. Earskine Lay to "Bro. Henry," April 30, 1861, in Lay Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; The Central Presbyterian (Richmond), March 2, 1863; Southern Christian Advocate, November 27, 1862; Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church (New Brunswick, N. J.), IX, No. 1, 69; James A. Anderson, Centennial History of Arkansas Methodism (Benton, Arkansas, 1935), 92.

<sup>27</sup>Reverend Francis Hanson, MS. diary in Map and Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History, entry of April 2, 1862.

<sup>28</sup>L. W. Allen to Secretary of War George Randolph, March 25, 1862, MS. in War Department Office File, in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

considered going to war in the same light as a man who, finding his house on fire, realizes he must use every weapon within his grasp to put it out.<sup>29</sup> As early as August 31, 1861, the North Carolina Presbyterian reported that in one of the Georgia regiments there were fourteen ministers of the Gospel.<sup>30</sup> It was said that in 1863 there could be found in the Army of Tennessee alone over one hundred ministers - about fifty serving as chaplains and fifty more in the ranks as soldiers.<sup>31</sup> Though some bemoaned the fact that there were probably enough ministers in the ranks to fill every vacant chaplain's post,<sup>32</sup> others welcomed the salutary effect which a strong religious element in the ranks would have on camp life.<sup>33</sup>

Evidence seems to point up the fact that when a minister donned the military garb he did not necessarily shed his clerical raiment. Because he left his accustomed field of endeavor, his labors were not automatically lost to the Lord's cause.<sup>34</sup> Some soldiers of the cross served in the dual capacity of both chaplain and soldier. One of these

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<sup>29</sup>William M. Polk, Leonidas Polk Bishop and General (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), II, 206.

<sup>30</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 31, 1861.

<sup>31</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, November 5, 1863.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Benjamin W. Jones, Under the Stars and Bars - A History of the Surry Light Artillery (Richmond: E. Waddey Co., 1909), 80; Southern Presbyterian, August 17, 1861.

<sup>34</sup>Journal of the Proceedings of the Seventy Fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina on the 11 and 12th of February, 1863 (Charleston, 1863), 52.

was the Reverend James C. Sturgeon.<sup>35</sup> Another was Reverend William C. Gray, later bishop of southern Florida, who was known as a "fighting parson" and was "proud of his record as a soldier, as he also was of his cross which was bestowed on him by...the youngest granddaughter of President Davis."<sup>36</sup>

Still others, such as Captain Larkins of the Twenty-seventh North Carolina Regiment and Sergeant Chandler, Forty-fifth Tennessee, stood ready to aid the chaplains of their units in conducting prayer meeting and providing other necessary support.<sup>37</sup>

In units which had no regular chaplain, the clergy militant frequently filled a great need by making religious privileges available to the men. The Third Regiment North Carolina State Troops had ministers of the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian denominations in its ranks, and they joined together to conduct prayer meetings for the entire unit.<sup>38</sup> Four ministers of the gospel, attached to the Fourth North Carolina Regiment, administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper when they felt that a battle was drawing near.<sup>39</sup> A soldier of the Twenty-third Regiment, Alabama Volunteers, wrote home that though his regiment

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<sup>35</sup>"Memorial of Rev. J. C. Sturgeon," MS. in Sturgeon Biographical Folder, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>36</sup>"Bishop W. C. Gray, A Confederate Chaplain," in Confederate Veteran, XVIII, No. 18, 173.

<sup>37</sup>Captain James A. Graham to his mother, April 8, 1864, in James A. Graham Letters, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Southern Christian Advocate, May 19, 1864.

<sup>38</sup>Southern Presbyterian, September 21, 1861.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., July 6, 1861.

had no regular chaplain, two of its captains, one lieutenant, and two privates were ministers and were always ready to preach and to pray so that the need of a chaplain was not too great.<sup>40</sup>

Indeed, it seems that soldiers of the Cross and the Confederacy were always willing to preach and to pray for the lost.<sup>41</sup> Captain T. D. McCall, Twenty-third Alabama, did so much preaching toward the last of the war that Bishop J. Andrew named him chaplain, though he was never officially recognized as such.<sup>42</sup> Private P. G. Jenkins, Protestant Episcopal Church, held regular Sunday services for his comrades.<sup>43</sup> Reverend W. R. Stilwell, Fifty-third, Georgia, held Wednesday evening prayer meetings and preached whenever called on.<sup>44</sup> Captain E. J. Willis, Forty-fifth Virginia Regiment, baptized converts.<sup>45</sup> When a Captain Phillips was unable to preach because of bronchitis, Thomas A. Sharpe recorded his regrets in his diary.<sup>46</sup> Another soldier,

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., January 11, 1862.

<sup>41</sup>H. S. Archer, diary, microfilm diary at Vanderbilt University Library, entry of March 12, 1863.

<sup>42</sup>Alabama Christian Advocate, December 10, 1908, clipping in Selma Biographical Folder, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>43</sup>Journal of the Proceedings of the Seventy Fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina on the 11 and 12th of February, 1863, 52.

<sup>44</sup>William R. Stilwell to Mrs. Stilwell, March 15, 1863, in "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," V (unnumbered page), Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>45</sup>Thomas, Memoirs of Joseph P. Thomas, 9.

<sup>46</sup>Thomas A. Sharpe, MS. diary in Georgia Department of Archives and History, entry of August 26, 1864.

James H. Kerrykendall, confided to his journal that the progress of religion in his unit was being impeded because, although there were two Baptist parsons in the ranks, they were embarrassingly ignorant of the Scriptures.<sup>47</sup>

When Reverend Captain L. M. Davis found his regiment, the Twelfth Louisiana, composed of wild and reckless young men, he began to hold prayer meetings and he organized a Bible class. By April 1, 1865, over 100 of these previously high-spirited soldiers had become professors of the faith.<sup>48</sup> Colonel Robert McLain, a Presbyterian minister, instituted in his command, the Thirty-seventh, Mississippi Volunteers, the custom of prayers at Sunday evening dress parade.<sup>49</sup> Through the efforts of Captain Thomas H. Jordan, a revival of religion spread through his squadron of cavalry.<sup>50</sup> Colonel Lewis M. Ball, Forty-first Mississippi, led his troops through fierce fights by day and preached to them at night. It was said he would go into "a great river or a little creek with his military dress and baptize the votaries of his faith."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>James Hampton Kerrykendall, typescript diary in Kerrykendall Papers, Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas, entry of December 17, year not indicated.

<sup>48</sup>The Soldier's Paper (Richmond), April 1, 1865.

<sup>49</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, June 25, 1863.

<sup>50</sup>Minutes of the Georgia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South Held in Columbus, Ga., November 25 to December 3, 1863 (Columbus, Ga.), 5-7.

<sup>51</sup>S. B. Brown, "Fighting Confederate Parsons," in Confederate Veteran, XVII, No. 11, 541-42.

There are many references in letters, diaries and papers of the period to other men in the ranks who conducted religious services. However, the information given leaves a question as to whether or not these men were actually ministers.<sup>52</sup>

Lists of distinguished officers in the Confederate army contain a considerable number of the clergy. These higher-ranking soldiers gave much thought to the position in which they found themselves in this worldly army. General William Nelson Pendleton wrote in his journal, "...When I contemplate my own part in the struggle here my feelings are solemn, yet trustful and hopeful...But as I do not delight in war and would not hurt the hair of the head of any human being save under conviction of public duty; as by prayer, pleadings, and expostulation I have earnestly tried for peace, so I trust the blessing of the peace-maker will not be denied me."<sup>53</sup>

Having decided to take up the sword, these military clergymen did not hesitate to bring the Cross into camp. General Pendleton, who was an Episcopalian minister, wrote to his brother-in-law on May 25, 1861: "I do not know of any company where the associations and influences are as good as in mine. I have prayers at reveille and roll-call every morning, and in my quarters every night for such officers and men as may choose to attend, and on Sunday I shall regularly

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<sup>52</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 31, 1861; John Wood to his aunt, October 27, 1861, in "Diaries and Letters from Confederate Soldiers," IV, 93, Georgia Department of Archives and History; John F. Sale, MS. diary in Virginia State Library, entry of July 17, 1864.

<sup>53</sup>Susan P. Lee, Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton, D. D., Brigadier General, C. S. A. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincot Company, 1893), 236.



preach."<sup>54</sup> That the general carried out his intention to preach often is clearly demonstrated by the number of times soldiers, in writing home, mentioned having heard him.<sup>55</sup>

Peter W. Hairston wrote to his wife, after attending one of Pendleton's services: "...It was a singular sight to see those sun-burnt soldiers kneeling with their sabres and pistols girt around them and responding to the services as their warrior captain went thro' them and all seemed to feel it as he prayed to save and deliver us from the hands of our enemies...."<sup>56</sup>

When revivals of religion swept through the Army of Northern Virginia, it was said that Pendleton was not only engaged in them but that he actually led the movement.<sup>57</sup>

The general expressed his guiding motives as being, "to do my duty, honor God, and do what good service I can in the double capacity

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 141.

<sup>55</sup>James Simpson to Mrs. Simpson, April 22, 1863, in James Simpson Collection, Maps and Manuscripts Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; George M. Neese, MS. diary in Virginia State Library, entry of October 25, 1863; William H. Routt to dear Bettie, September 6, 1863, MS. in Confederate Museum, Richmond; James Peter Williams to his sister, December 9, 1864, MS. in Division of Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Virginia; William R. Stilwell to Mrs. Stilwell, May 28, 1863, in "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," V (unnumbered page), Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>56</sup>Peter W. Hairston to Mrs. Hairston, no month, 1861, in Hairston Letters, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>57</sup>Jennings C. Wise, The Long Arm of Lee or the History of the Artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell Company, 1915), I, 430.

of soldier and minister of Christ."<sup>58</sup> This double capacity involved him in at least one awkward incident. The story is told that the Sunday after the Battle of Manassas, in which Pendleton's men had participated, he was riding through the woods toward the part of the camp where he was to preach, when he came upon four Negro boys engaged in playing cards. "Boys," he asked them, "do you think that is a good way for you to be spending Sunday?" Looking up, one of them answered, "Mister, t'ain't half so bad as what you done last Sunday!"<sup>59</sup>

Though Pendleton did all within his power to bring religion to the men, his efforts did not always meet with their approbation. Private James H. Alexander recorded in his diary an incident which caused considerable difficulty in Pendleton's command throughout the months of January, February, and March of 1862. It seems that the general wished to build a chapel in which he could preach to his regiment. He, therefore, issued orders, detailing men for that purpose. Some of the men resented this. They signed a protest to the effect that Pendleton "had no right to detail for this purpose ——forced labor was not the proper sort by which to build a church ——they were not Episcopalian ——a church was not a military necessity and they had had hard work enough for the present in building their own houses." This petition they sent to the general. Pendleton replied that he "had no desire to interfere with any man's freedom of conscience, but at the same time the work MUST BE DONE and WORSHIP ATTENDED unless

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<sup>58</sup>Lee, Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton, 143.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 153.

better reasons could be shown to the contrary." Private Alexander and the other men were still not satisfied. They took the document to Headquarters and consulted with some of the officers who expressed the opinion that the men were right, their commanding officer was wrong, and they would be justified in sending the protest over Pendleton's head. This was done and in due time the Inspector General "indorsed on the protest that it was properly forwarded over Pendleton's head and that he had no right either to make men build a church or go to one."<sup>60</sup>

It may have been that Pendleton was wrong, but, as he confided to his journal, he endeavored only to be "a faithful soldier of the Cross, while trying also to be a useful soldier" to the Confederacy.<sup>61</sup>

Of General Leonidas K. Polk, Episcopal bishop of Louisiana, it was said that "the Parson decidedly predominates over the General in the Bishop's appearance and manner."<sup>62</sup> This illustrious churchman, who was commissioned a major general at the beginning of the war,<sup>63</sup> was killed on June 14, 1864, by a Union sharpshooter.<sup>64</sup> During his

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<sup>60</sup>James H. Alexander, MS. diary in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, entry of January 22, 1862 to February 28, 1862.

<sup>61</sup>Lee, Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton, 236.

<sup>62</sup>Walter Wilcox to his cousin, January 28, 1864, in James M. Wilcox Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>63</sup>Southern Presbyterian, July 13, 1861.

<sup>64</sup>General Order from General J. E. Johnston, Headquarters, Army of the Mississippi, on June 14, 1864, in William D. Gale Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Robert Selph Henry, The Story of the Confederacy (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1931), 385-86; "Fighting Confederate Parsons," in Confederate Veteran, XVII, No. 8, 391.

days of service, however, he had expended his clerical efforts on other officers of equivalent rank, having baptized Generals Hood, Hardee and Joseph E. Johnston.<sup>65</sup> Even in the midst of battle General Polk retained his ecclesiastical dignity. It was said that, "Major General Frank Cheatham was known throughout the army for his rallying cry to his Tennessee division: "'Give 'em hell, boys, give 'em hell!'" The Bishop General, in a moment of stress, encouraged the same division by a simple paraphrase: "'Give 'em what Cheatham says, boys, give 'em what Cheatham says!'"<sup>66</sup>

Brigadier General M. P. Lowery of Cleburne's Division was another officer who brought Christ's cause to camp. Numerous references are made, by soldiers and chaplains alike, to his preaching and baptizing activities.<sup>67</sup>

Major R. L. Dabney, Presbyterian divine and chief of staff to "Stonewall" Jackson, preached whenever the opportunity presented itself. On one occasion he preached on "Special Providence" and expounded strong Presbyterian doctrine when he said: "Men, you need not be trying to dodge shot or shell or minnie. Every one of these strikes just where the Lord permits it to strike, and nowhere else, and you are

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

<sup>66</sup>Henry, Story of the Confederacy, 386.

<sup>67</sup>South Western Baptist, May 19, 1864; Jones, Christ in the Camp, 561; Southern Christian Advocate, June 11, 1863; Bennett, A Narrative of the General Revival which Prevailed in the Southern Armies, 369.

perfectly safe where the missiles of death fly thickest until Jehovah permits you to be stricken."<sup>68</sup>

As these clergy militant, both distinguished officers and men in the ranks, fulfilled their duties as soldiers of the Cross, just so were they conscientious about fulfilling their obligations as soldiers of the Confederacy. Many became famous for their gallantry upon the battlefield and earned enviable military records for themselves. A minister of this type was the Reverend Dabney Ball. Ball saw service as a first lieutenant in a company of mounted riflemen. He was then appointed chaplain of the First Virginia Cavalry. Subsequently he was named to the position of chief of staff to General Stuart.<sup>69</sup> It is related that at the first battle of Manassas Chaplain Ball, while sitting on his horse, fired his pistol at the enemy until it was empty.<sup>70</sup> For his action in this battle he received an official commendation from his commanding officer, the then Colonel J. E. B. Stuart.<sup>71</sup> Then there was the Reverend James McNeil, major Sixty-third Cavalry Regiment, who received a wound while leading a charge in the fighting at Middleburg, Virginia.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Jones, Christ in the Camp, 252; Southern Churchman, May 9, 1862.

<sup>69</sup>Dabney Ball to President Jefferson Davis, MS. in Adjutant General Office File, in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>70</sup>W. W. Blackford, War Years with Jeb Stuart, (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1945), 91-92.

<sup>71</sup>Official Records, Ser. 1, II, 484.

<sup>72</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, July 16, 1863.

A number of clergymen made the supreme sacrifice in line of duty.<sup>73</sup> Among these was Captain A. B. Renfro, who in the Battle of Chickamauga was killed while he and five others attempted to raise the colors of the regiment.<sup>74</sup> Besides Renfro there is reason to believe that at least ten other ministers died in battle.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Official Records, Ser. 1, XXXVIII, pt. 3, 915; Christian Advocate, August 8, 1861; "Chaplains Killed in the Field," in Confederate Veteran, XXIII, No. 2, 86; Southern Presbyterian, March 8, 1862; General Order from General J. E. Johnston, Headquarters, Army of the Mississippi, June 14, 1864, MS. in William D. Gale Collection, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>74</sup>"Chaplains Killed in the Field," in Confederate Veteran, XXIII, No. 2, 86.

<sup>75</sup>The following are the names of clergymen who were killed on the field of battle. There may be others who also laid down their lives; however, in my research only these listed have come to my attention: General Leonidas K. Polk, Lieutenant Archibald D. Manning, Captain Dabney Carr Harrison, Peyton Harrison, N. D. Renfro, Captain G. Brady, Major James M. Campbell, Mace Rindley, James Y. Griffing, Columbus W. Howard, and A. B. Renfro.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE WARRIOR'S WORSHIP

Religious services of all kinds were held in the army camps and on the battle field. There were preaching services, communion services, prayer meetings, funerals and even weddings. Despite the desolation of war cupid's effect was not destroyed, and there are occasional references to a chaplain performing a marriage ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

One such military wedding was conducted in this fashion; the chaplain, opening the Bible, commanded: "Close up!" "Hand to your partner." "Attention to orders!" He then read aloud, "By order of our directive of General Braxton Bragg, I hereby solemnly pronounce you man and wife, for and during the war, and you shall cleave unto each other until the war is over, and then apply to Governor Watts for a family right of public land in Pike, the former residence of the bridegroom, and you and each of you will assist to multiply and replenish the earth."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>John A. Harris to "a kind widower," May 16, 1862, in possession of Dr. Bell I. Wiley, Emory University.

<sup>2</sup>F. G. DeFontaine, (compiler), Marginalia; or, Gleanings from an Army Note Book (Columbia, S. C., 1864), 219.

A much more frequently performed religious service was the funeral,<sup>3</sup> for whenever time and place permitted, soldiers of the Confederacy were buried with military honors, the drum and musket assisting.<sup>4</sup> One such funeral was held in a Catholic cemetery near Norfolk, Virginia. After the burial service had been read, the company fired four shots and then left their comrade to sleep his long sleep. Henry Graves wrote that this was "the most touchingly solemn sight" he had ever beheld.<sup>5</sup>

Another impressive service was one conducted by Chaplain James H. McNeilly following the Battle of Ezra Church, July 28, 1864. The parson wanted two of the dead men to be buried where they might be found after the war, so he secured permission from a resident of Atlanta to bury the men in his back yard. There the chaplain read the funeral service and led those attending in prayer and singing - and all this at midnight.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>John Collins McCabe to Mrs. A. F. Hopkins, November 19, 1861, MS. in Maps and Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Southern Christian Advocate, August 18, 1864.

<sup>4</sup>O. T. Hanks, "Account of Civil War Experience," 13, photostat in Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas; William J. Whatley to his wife, September 21, 1862, photostat in Whatley correspondence, Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas.

<sup>5</sup>Henry Graves to his Aunt Hattie, "Letters from Confederate Soldiers," II, 210, in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>6</sup>James H. McNeilly, "A Day in the Life of a Confederate Chaplain," in Confederate Veteran, XXVI, No. 11, 471.



Christians throughout the army rejoiced when an opportunity to partake of the Lord's Supper was made available to them.<sup>7</sup> This was particularly true when a battle was imminent. Many felt with Colonel William D. Pender that "I should like once more to partake of that means of grace, although I feel totally unworthy,"<sup>8</sup> and this thought contributed to making it a solemn experience for all concerned.<sup>9</sup>

Members of one regiment were so impressed with their communion service that they felt "that they were prepared to receive the great reviewing officer if they together with the world were marshalled before Him."<sup>10</sup>

In the Twenty-seventh Virginia Regiment the congregation stood in the open air in a circle around their chaplain to receive the bread and wine. Brigadier General Elisha F. Paxton observed that "the whole assembly wore such an air of seriousness and devotion as I have seldom witnessed before."<sup>11</sup>

Administration of the Sacrament in camp raised a question in the mind of devout Baptists.<sup>12</sup> Some assumed that since closed Communion

<sup>7</sup>A. C. Haskell to his mother, September 13, 1863, in A. C. Haskell Papers, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>8</sup>W. D. Pender to his wife, April 27, 1862, in W. D. Pender Papers, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>9</sup>Southern Presbyterian, July 6, 1861.

<sup>10</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, August 14, 1862; Southern Churchman, August 22, 1862.

<sup>11</sup>Paxton, Memoir and Memorials - Elisha Franklin Paxton, Brigadier General, C. S. A., 96.

<sup>12</sup>Thomas F. Boatwright to his wife, April 19, 1863, in T. F. Boatwright Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

was impossible, participating in open Communion was better than nothing, and they proceeded accordingly.<sup>13</sup> During one service, "Stonewall" Jackson himself administered the Sacrament and invited all Christians to partake. A very strict Baptist was in the congregation, and his indecision was apparent to all. However, "the occasion and the man who presided overcame his scruples" and he participated in the service.<sup>14</sup>

It seems that the religious scruples of some extended even to the battle field, for Captain James I. Hall tells how the men in his company of the Fifth Tennessee Volunteer Regiment chose to "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy," and thus, took a chance with their very lives, rather than violate the sanctity of the Sabbath.

After sundown one Saturday evening during the battle around Dalton, men up and down the trenches decided they had better dig all night in order to protect themselves better against the bombardments which they felt sure would follow the next day. The men of Captain Hall's Company decided to dig until midnight, at which time they ceased their labor, loaned their pick and shovel to a neighboring company, and went to sleep.

The next day the enemy batteries pounded the Confederate lines unmercifully. When the enemy was forced to cease fire in order to allow his guns to cool off, Captain Hall's Company took advantage of

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<sup>13</sup>G. W. Roberts, MS. diary in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entry of May 23, 1864.

<sup>14</sup>DeFontaine, Marginalia; or, Gleanings From an Army Note Book, 9.

the opportunity to hold its regular Sunday Bible reading and prayer meeting service.

Later in the afternoon firing was resumed and these men soon heard an outcry from the company which had borrowed their pick and shovel the night before. A solid ball had pierced the earth and passed through the men lying on the bottom of their trench. Two had been killed and one was wounded. From midnight until daybreak of that Sunday this company had dug two feet deeper into the ground. Had they stopped at midnight, the ball would have passed harmlessly beneath their trench. As it was, these men had spent a part of the Sabbath Day digging their own graves. Captain Hall considered this as a "wonderful Providence."<sup>15</sup>

There are many instances recorded in which whole regiments knelt in prayer on the battlefield.<sup>16</sup> J. F. J. Caldwell described one such event which occurred immediately before the Battle of the Wilderness. Chaplain Frank Mullaly of Orr's Rifles held prayers and "it was one of the most impressive scenes I ever witnessed. On the left hand thundered the dull battle; on the right the sharp crack of rifles gradually swelled to equal importance; above was the blue, placid heavens; around us a varied landscape of forest and fields,

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<sup>15</sup> Captain James I. Hall, "Notes of the War, 1864," II, 21-24. These are handwritten notes in two notebooks in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>16</sup> Southern Presbyterian, August 17, 1861.

green with the earliest foliage of spring; and here knelt...browned veterans shriving for another struggle with death."<sup>17</sup>

Special hardships were felt by the Jewish soldiers who wanted to worship while in the army. They were seldom able to attend services of their own religion. On one occasion the Reverend M. J. Michelbacher of the House of Love in Richmond wrote the commanding generals requesting them to grant furloughs to the Jewish soldiers in the army near Richmond so that they might attend the Passover Festival and High Holy Days Services. These requests were reluctantly denied in view of imminent military moves which precluded the possibility of furloughing an entire group of men at one time.<sup>18</sup>

Some of the Jewish soldiers felt that it was better to attend Christian services than none at all, especially if they were not made the objects of attempted proselyting. Henry Beck recorded in his diary his attendance on Sunday services almost every week while he served in the Army of Northern Virginia. Solomon Emanuel of Dalton, Georgia, wrote to his mother that the chaplain of his unit had "preached a very interesting sermon suitable to the times and the occasion" on the Confederate fast day, April 8, 1864.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>J. F. J. Caldwell, Gregg's South Carolina Brigade (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1866), 27.

<sup>18</sup>Bertram W. Korn, American Jewry and the Civil War (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1951), 93-94.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 96-97.

Prayer meetings were probably the most frequently held type of service, if not the best attended. Letters of Confederate soldiers abound with references to the great number of prayer meetings. These meetings were not held in accordance with any specific liturgy. They required no eloquent preacher to conduct them, they could be long or short, held in a chapel, in a woods or in a private tent. This service, since it only required the presence of a few God-loving souls and an individual with the will to lead in prayer, was adaptable to any and all circumstances.

A very vivid and picturesque description of a prayer meeting is furnished by George M. Neese. He tells of a meeting held just after sunset. The chaplain stands in front of his tent, and sitting around him on the ground in a semicircle were the men eager to hear the word of God. The only light furnished was that provided by two candles.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes these meetings were held around a camp-fire.<sup>21</sup> If a minister or professor of religion were present he usually opened the meeting with a short commentary on some part of the Bible.<sup>22</sup> The leader of the meeting or some member of the congregation then led his brethren in prayer. Prayer meetings were nearly always characterized by hymn singing.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>George M. Neese, MS. diary, in Virginia State Library, entry of June 22, 1862; Neese, Three Years in the Confederate Horse Artillery, 78.

<sup>21</sup>Southern Presbyterian, September 21, 1861.

<sup>22</sup>William R. Stillwell to Mrs. Stillwell, September 7, 1863, March 15, 1863, April 28, 1863. Typescript copy in "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," V, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>23</sup>Southern Presbyterian, March 29, 1862, October 11, 1862.

In Surry's Light Artillery, Sergeant N. B. Pond's tent was the scene of some of these nightly prayer meetings. The men gathered and prayed and sang hymns. This group of soldiers soon became noted for singing the refrain "Scotland's burning! Scotland's burning! Cast on water! Cast on water!" It soon got monotonous, and a few mischevious members of the unit decided to take matters into their own hands. Sergeant Pond's tent had a fireplace with a dirt chimney. The little religious band was singing the old refrain and at the words "Scotland's burning, cast on water" down the chimney came a bucket of water. It put out the fire and the song. The choir came running out to escape from the smoke and in search of the culprit. The would-be fireman was not found, and it was with a great deal of foreboding that this song was ever rendered in the future.<sup>24</sup>

Prayer meetings furnished the soldier with a place to go. There were no motion pictures or Red Cross clubs, and minstrels were few and far between. Prayer meetings were close at hand, and everyone was invited. Some came out of curiosity and to get away from their lonely tents. Others came with a sincere and true heart. Thus it was not uncommon at these meetings to witness a conversion or even a little humor. On one such occasion a private with a pegleg, unable to kneel, sat and bowed head, while a member of the congregation offered up prayer. The brother prayed loud and long that strength and courage might be given them. However, his supplications were soon cut short by

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<sup>24</sup>Benjamin W. Jones, Under the Stars and Bars - A History of the Surry Light Artillery (Richmond: E. Waddey Company, 1909), 81-82.

the devout pegleg soldier urging him to pray for more provisions, for he was certain they had too much courage for their own good.<sup>25</sup>

If we can believe the religious papers and the letters of some Confederate soldiers, the Southern warriors were more than anxious to have prayer meetings in their units.<sup>26</sup> This was especially gratifying to chaplains of those units which remained stationary for any length of time. It was exceedingly difficult for the chaplain or anyone else to stir up ecclesiastical interest in men who were constantly on the march.<sup>27</sup> Often various parts of the unit were so scattered that it was physically impossible for the chaplain to keep in touch with all of his charges, so he welcomed any move which concentrated the regiment in one place.<sup>28</sup>

It frequently happened that no sooner had the men begun to show a readiness to hear the gospel than they were ordered to prepare

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<sup>25</sup>Colonel James Cooper Nisbet, Four Years on the Firing Line (Chattanooga: The Imperial Press, 1914), 79.

<sup>26</sup>John W. Ryland, MS. diary at the University of Richmond, entry of March 14, 1864; Josiah Ryland, typescript copy of diary in possession of Dr. Garnett Ryland, University of Richmond, entry of January 5, 1862; Southern Presbyterian, February 19, 1863; James Simpson to Mrs. Simpson, April 22, 1863, in James Simpson Collection, Maps and Manuscript Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>27</sup>Southern Presbyterian, November 27, 1862; Robert C. Mabry to his wife, October 1, 1863, in Mabry Papers, Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>28</sup>Reverend Colin Shaw to his wife, September 22, 1861, in Shaw Papers, Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

to march.<sup>29</sup> On one occasion the Sixth Virginia Regiment was gathered with the rest of the brigade for preaching when the drums rolled out a call for two of the regiments to go on picket duty. This, of course, broke up the service.<sup>30</sup>

The Reverend J. L. Girardeau recounted a particularly discouraging experience. He had been holding nightly prayer meetings for two weeks and found the attendance encouraging when the regiment was ordered to move. Services suffered an interruption. After the move was completed, the chaplain renewed his efforts. The soldiers began to think seriously of religion once more and one man even applied for admission into the church. But, again the regiment was ordered to move and services were again interrupted.<sup>31</sup>

A battalion at Camp Walker, Drury's Bluff, Virginia, in June, 1862, had prayer meetings regularly every evening, and with some exceptions the entire unit turned out to sing and pray.<sup>32</sup> The same conditions prevailed in a unit at Camp Gladden, South Carolina.<sup>33</sup>

Innumerable units might be listed as having had nightly prayer meetings during all or part of 1862 and especially 1863.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, May 28, 1863.

<sup>30</sup>R. C. Mabry to his wife, September 17, 1863, in R. C. Mabry Letters, Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>31</sup>Southern Presbyterian, April 23, 1863.

<sup>32</sup>Henry Graves to his father, June 16, 1862, typescript copy in "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," II, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>33</sup>Biblical Recorder (Raleigh, N. C.), July 9, 1862.

<sup>34</sup>Elias Davis to Mrs. Davis, October 30, 1863, in Davis Papers, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; James



William Dunlap was proud to tell his sister of this fact for he wrote, "We have prayer meeting in our regiment every knight [sic]."<sup>35</sup> Some units found it impractical to hold evening prayer meetings. Others felt a need for more than one service a day. To meet these situations services were sometimes held at high noon.<sup>36</sup>

In time the soldier grew weary of these continual meetings, especially if he always had to listen to the same preacher. John W. Ryland in March of 1864 got the men of his unit to agree to have prayer meetings every other night. For several nights he seems to have met with a great deal of success in arousing the religious interest of the men. But several weeks later he was forced to write, "I am sorry to say the brethern seemed to be getting tired of it, that is judging from their actions."<sup>37</sup>

In some units a type of devotion known as family prayer was held. This service usually consisted in those men having some common

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J. Kirkpatrick, MS. diary, in Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas, entry of November 16, 1862; Religious Herald, May 15, 1862; Robert M. Gill to Mrs. Gill, June 8, 1863, in possession of Dr. Bell I. Wiley, Emory University.

<sup>35</sup>William Dunlap to his sister, May 18, 1863, in Adam L. Dunlap and Daniel Rifle Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>36</sup>Southern Presbyterian, May 18, 1861; James J. Kirkpatrick, MS. diary, in Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas, entry of August 23, 1863.

<sup>37</sup>John W. Ryland, MS. diary, at the University of Richmond, entry of March 14, 1864.

tie, such as eating in the same mess or belonging to the same company, coming together just before retiring and saying their prayers together.<sup>38</sup>

Certain days were periodically set apart by presidential proclamation for fasting and for prayer. Some men meticulously observed the fast;<sup>39</sup> others, fraught with good intentions, could not resist the call of hunger;<sup>40</sup> and still others went about their usual occupation without endeavoring in any way to mark the occasion.<sup>41</sup> Toward the end of the war especially, the soldier contended that rations were so scarce that every day was Fast Day anyhow.<sup>42</sup> When a particular unit seemed generally intent on abiding by the solemnity of the occasion, it was said that camp would seem almost deserted as the men stayed quietly in their tents.<sup>43</sup>

In other camps the faithful took full advantage of the religious privileges made available to them by men of God who always attempted to

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<sup>38</sup>Religious Herald, December 31, 1863; May 9, 1861; Jones, Christ in Camp, 484.

<sup>39</sup>T. J. Ford, MS. diary, in Heartman Collection, Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas, entry of May 16, 1862; Southern Presbyterian, January 8, 1863; James A. Graham to his mother, April 8, 1864, in Graham Papers, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>40</sup>James J. Kirkpatrick, MS. diary, in Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas, entry of August 21, 1863.

<sup>41</sup>Southern Presbyterian, January 1, 1863.

<sup>42</sup>A. Wideman to his sister, April 26, 1864, in Warrick Letters, Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>43</sup>James A. Graham to his mother, April 8, 1864, in Graham Letters, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

preach at least once a day, though the elements sometimes prevented it.<sup>44</sup> Numerous letters were written home giving accounts of memorable sermons appropos of the occasion.<sup>45</sup>

Other brigades and regiments felt that to hear preaching only once was not proper observance of the day, and so they instituted four periods of worship: regimental prayer meeting was at 9:00; preaching at 11:00; brigade preaching was at 3:00 and social meetings at night.<sup>46</sup> In General Gordon's Brigade on April 28, 1864, prayers were held at sunrise, followed by a sermon. Preaching was at 10:00; prayer service was held in the afternoon; and sermons were delivered again at night.<sup>47</sup> Small wonder that sometimes five or six soldiers were converted by the end of a Fast Day.<sup>48</sup>

We will never know of the religious devotions which the soldier performed in private. Yet it seems logical to suppose that in an army as religious as the Confederate seems to have been, many a soldier

<sup>44</sup>Thomas Warrick to his wife, April 9, 1864, in Warrick Letters, in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>45</sup>George Willis to "Mary," June 15, 1861, in W. H. Willis Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Adrian B. Carruth to his sister, December 10, 1863, in possession of Marshall Adams, Tupelo, Mississippi; John Paris, MS. diary, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, entry of August 2, 1863; Southern Christian Advocate, April 9, 1863.

<sup>46</sup>Southern Presbyterian, April 30, 1863; Southern Churchman, April 17, 1863.

<sup>47</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, April 28, 1864.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., September 17, 1863.

must have read his Bible, recited his Rosary, or knelt in prayer in the privacy of his tent or in a secluded spot in the woods.<sup>49</sup> Some may have done as John T. Pound, who in the evening at about twilight went out into a deserted field and there, falling upon his knees, made known to God all his sorrows and griefs.<sup>50</sup> If we could but know of these devotions, these private devotions, we would have a glimpse of the real Johnny Reb. But of these things we can only surmise.

The Thirty-seventh Mississippi Volunteers, held a unique form of service on Sunday. They had prayers offered up at dress parade. The men would be drawn up at attention. When the order "parade rest" was given "they came to the position of rest." The colonel gave the command: "Attention to prayer by the Chaplain -- heads uncovered." The chaplain looked at the regiment and then offered up a short prayer.<sup>51</sup>

On one occasion a Methodist clergyman addressed Wilson's Zouaves, a regiment of Louisiana soldiers who knew very little English.

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<sup>49</sup>Milton to his mother, no date, in Edward William Collection, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library; Charles Manly to Lizzie Manly, October 1, 1861, in Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; W. E. Duncan to his father, November 26, 1861, typescript copy in Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Casper W. Boyd to his brother, May 14, 1862, MS. in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>50</sup>John T. Pound to his father and mother, September 29, 1861, typescript copy in "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," 560, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>51</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, June 25, 1863.

At the close of the parson's address, to which the men had listened attentively, Colonel Wilson gave "the boys" a short talk: "boys, I want you to remember what the minister has told you. It is all for your good; take his advice, and follow it; for there is no knowing but what in less than six months every d-d one of you will be in h-ll!" At this point a voice from the ranks called out, "three cheers for h-ll," and they were given with zest. The pastor demanded an explanation of this behavior, and Colonel Wilson replied, "the boys don't know much about Scripture. They think h-ll is somewhere between Montgomery and New Orleans, and they are d-d anxious to get down in that neighborhood."<sup>52</sup>

Some units held a religious service which they referred to as an experience meeting. One such meeting was attended by John H. Kiracofe, and in writing home to tell his wife of the effect it had on him he stated: "Last Sunday morning we had an experience meeting and the Lord was with us, our hearts ware [sic] made to lep [sic] for joy to know that though we war [sic] far from home among strangers that the Lord would condecend [sic] to bless us."<sup>53</sup> During the course of these meetings those who experienced religious feelings usually got up and testified to the change that the Lord had wrought within them.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>The Daily Journal (Wilmington, N. C.), June 3, 1861.

<sup>53</sup> John H. Kiracofe to Susan Kiracofe, August 26, 1861, in John H. Kiracofe Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>54</sup> Albert Quincy Porter, typescript diary, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entry of April 22, 1864.

In one of these experience meetings held in the Army of Northern Virginia, a soldier arose and "delivered himself of his experience" in a very graphic and moving fashion. He told of what a sinner he had been. When a battle started and the shells were flying, he promised to mend his ways. Of course when the battle was over he forgot his promise. The next battle refreshed his memory. Finally, after making and breaking his promise three times, this soldier went into the woods and fell on his knees and poured out his heart to God. From that moment, he testified, that he lived a better life. Such testimony as this had a tremendous effect on the congregation.<sup>55</sup>

Another type of meeting which aroused considerable interest was the Bible class. While General Polk's army was stationed at Demopolis, Alabama, a missionary of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the Reverend J. S. Cooper, secured permission to institute a Bible class in each company, at regimental headquarters, and then at the headquarters of each brigade of the division [Loring's]. Two thousand men in the division enrolled at the outset. A regular procedure was set up according to which each company class examined the same passage of Scripture. Then each class in the regiment met at regimental headquarters to exchange views and receive instructions. Once a week all classes gathered at brigade headquarters and again discussed the doctrines contained within the text. They also chose a lesson for the next week. Each company class chose a superintendent;

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<sup>55</sup>Stiles, Four Years Under Marse Robert, 140-42.

the chaplain of each regiment acted as superintendent for the regimental class; all chaplains and missionaries present acted as superintendents of the brigade classes.<sup>56</sup>

This system of Bible classes also provided a practical means of distributing tracts. General W. S. Featherston became so interested in the results of the organization that he promised to take care of the transportation of the books used by the classes whenever the brigade had to march, even if he had to use his private ambulance.<sup>57</sup> Many units throughout the army instituted Bible classes and before the end of the war every company in Doles' Brigade, Army of Northern Virginia, had such a class.<sup>58</sup>

Beset by the trials of war and the temptations of camp life, young Christians in the army began to feel a need for closer fellowship with other soldiers who faced the same problems.<sup>59</sup> For this reason they began to band together to form Soldiers' Christian Associations.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup>Albert Quincy Porter, typescript diary, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entry of April 18, 1864; South Western Baptist, June 2, 1864.

<sup>57</sup>South Western Baptist, June 2, 1864.

<sup>58</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, February 25, 1864; Jones, Christ in the Camp, 357, 363.

<sup>59</sup>Southern Presbyterian, May 7, 1863.

<sup>60</sup>The writer has found evidence of the existence of Soldiers' Christian Associations in the following units: Posey's (later Harris' Mississippi) Brigade; Anderson's Brigade, Hood's Division, First Army Corps, Northern Virginia; Doles' Brigade, Rodes' Division; Forty-fourth Virginia Regiment; Second Mississippi Regiment; Anderson's Brigade; Third Alabama Regiment; Twenty-first Georgia Regiment; Seventh Georgia Regiment; Sixth Alabama Regiment; Sixtieth Georgia Regiment; Sixteenth Georgia Regiment; First South Carolina Cavalry Regiment; Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment; Forty-sixth Mississippi Infantry Regiment; Twenty-seventh North Carolina Infantry Regiment; Twelfth Regiment South Carolina Volunteers; Sixth Virginia Infantry; Thirty-fourth Virginia Infantry.

The first such organization of which we have record was that formed in the Twenty-first Georgia Regiment on September 8, 1861.<sup>61</sup> It does not appear, however, that such associations gained much affluence or became very effective until the winter and spring of 1863.<sup>62</sup>

The Associations might be organized through the efforts of the chaplain,<sup>63</sup> through the efforts of a small group of devouts, or, as in the Sixth Alabama Regiment, it might be "traced to the particular exertions of no man or set of men; but [sprang] up spontaneously in the hearts of church members in the ranks."<sup>64</sup>

Membership was customarily recruited from the ranks of a regiment or brigade. Denomination was no consideration, for membership was open to all who were professors of the faith or who earnestly desired to lead more Godly lives.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to providing companionship with fellow travelers on the "straight and narrow path," the Soldiers' Christian Association had other objectives and participated in a variety of activities. Members visited the sick, prayed for one another, tried to provide good reading matter, met frequently for prayers and religious

<sup>61</sup>Southern Presbyterian, October 5, 1861.

<sup>62</sup>See footnote two.

<sup>63</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, January 29, 1863.

<sup>64</sup>Montgomery Daily Mail, April 10, 1863.

<sup>65</sup>H. J. David to his parents, April 17, 1863, typescript copy in Georgia Department of Archives and History; Southern Presbyterian, June 4, 1863; Southern Christian Advocate, February 19, 1863; January 29, 1863; Montgomery Daily Mail, April 10, 1863.



instructions, and attempted to care for the bodily needs of brothers wounded on the battle field.<sup>66</sup> In the winter of 1863-64, the Association of Posey's Brigade voluntarily resolved to fast one day each week so that they might send that day's rations to the poor in Richmond.<sup>67</sup>

These activities, along with the wave of religious enthusiasm which swept the army at this time, combined to make membership in the various associations appealing to the Christian soldier. When the Association in Anderson's Brigade of Hood's Division was organized in November of 1862, the membership was small. By March, 1863 it had increased to 112, and two months later it had climbed to 300.<sup>68</sup> The Association in the Twenty-seventh North Carolina Regiment was organized the week of April 8, 1864, and before the week was out it had a hundred members.<sup>69</sup>

Many of the Associations had a formal type of organization -- including a constitution, bylaws, pledges, and committees.<sup>70</sup> Rules

<sup>66</sup>Southern Presbyterian, October 5, 1861; Southern Christian Advocate, January 29, 1863; Elais Davis to his wife, September 5, 1863, in Davis Letters, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Southern Presbyterian, May 28, 1863.

<sup>67</sup>Franklin L. Riley (ed.), Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society (Oxford, Mississippi, 1906), IX, 34.

<sup>68</sup>Southern Presbyterian, March 12, 1863, June 4, 1863.

<sup>69</sup>Captain James A. Graham to his mother, April 8, 1864, in Graham Letters, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>70</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, March 12, 1863; Thomas F. Boatwright to his wife, September 9, 1863, in Boatwright Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

governing the Soldiers' Christian Society of the Sixtieth Georgia Regiment prohibited "swearing, gambling, quarreling and fighting."<sup>71</sup> Some members such as Major R. W. Locke, Second Mississippi Regiment, opposed the use of bylaws. The major felt that they resembled too nearly articles of faith or a creed.<sup>72</sup> W. P. Chambers, Forty-sixth Mississippi Infantry, refused to join the Association in his unit because its constitution contained some things which he, as a staunch Baptist, was unable to subscribe to.<sup>73</sup>

Though as a rule the Associations themselves functioned with no dispute regarding denominationalism,<sup>74</sup> the Religious Herald, a Baptist paper, raised the question as to whether the Soldiers' Christian Association of the Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment was a method of smoothing the way to open Communion. The chaplain of the regiment, William B. Owen, denied that he was proselytizing. In a spirited letter he replied that he was not accustomed to doing his Master's work in such a sly way.<sup>75</sup>

Soldiers of the Confederacy took their religion with them when they became prisoners of war. A captain held at Johnson's Island

<sup>71</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, February 19, 1863.

<sup>72</sup>Major R. W. Locke, MS. diary, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entry of May 16, 1863.

<sup>73</sup>W. P. Chambers, MS. diary, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entry of September 9, 1864.

<sup>74</sup>H. J. David to his parents, April 17, 1863, typescript copy in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>75</sup>Religious Herald, April 30, 1863.

wrote in 1864 that the captives had preaching every Sunday, prayer meeting several times a week, meetings of a Young Men's Christian Association; and he himself was accustomed to making private devotions in his room every night. He reported that there had been about a hundred conversions in the prison.<sup>76</sup>

The Federals frequently provided ministers, but fellow prisoners often officiated as well. Captain George B. Johnston of the Twenty-eighth North Carolina Volunteers read the Episcopalian Liturgy, from prison at Point Lookout, Maryland, and preached a sermon regularly each Sunday morning.<sup>77</sup>

William Hooper Haigle wrote to his wife that no denomination except the Roman Catholic offered his fellow prisoners any spiritual advice or comfort. One morning a notice appeared on the bulletin board that Mass would be solemnized the next day. Early the following morning, Haigle wrote, a crowd assembled, wanting to know where the "Mass Meeting" was going to be held. Haigle acknowledged that there was a type of "Methodistical street preaching" all over the prison camp, but he scathingly denounced the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Baptist denominations for their neglectfulness.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 16, 1864.

<sup>77</sup>George Burgwin Johnston, typescript diary, in Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, entry of September 14, 1862.

<sup>78</sup>William Hooper Haigle to Kate, date unknown, in Hoyle Prison Letters, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

Haigle recounted another incident which indicates that the street preaching did have some effect. "Anderson and Malloy are boon companions and tent mates, and are always joking with each other:..... this morning the Sergeant....[said] that one of his men was nearly dead with religious fervor, -- and begged that the Hospital Doctor be sent for at once. 'If however he don't come soon' said the Sergeant, 'give him an emetic, and make him throw up his religion, or it will kill him!' 'No' said Malloy who was sitting by 'give him an injection of Anderson, that will put devil enough in him to drive any religion out.'" <sup>79</sup>

Thomas A. Sharpe, a prisoner of war at Camp Chase, Ohio, recorded in his diary that a Bible class was instituted there on September 11, 1864. Only twenty-five men out of 200 enrolled on that day, but Sharpe felt confident that others would join the class at a later date. A week later during a meeting of this class, the fourth and fifth chapters of Matthew were the topics of a lively discussion. Educated members of the group considered the meaning of certain words within the text, their roots and derivations. Sharpe felt that this class would do a great deal of good by stimulating the men to read their Bibles "which next to preaching the gospel is the greatest means of disseminating the truth." <sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Thomas A. Sharpe, typescript diary, in Georgia Department of Archives and History, entry of September 11, 1864.

## CHAPTER V

### THE WORD OF GOD AND RIGHTEOUS WRITINGS

"I am glad that I can say that I delight to see the Sabbath day when we can assemble together and worship our heavenly Father here among the tented fields."<sup>1</sup> These sentiments expressed by Thomas F. Boatwright of Company A, Forty-fourth Virginia Regiment in February, 1863, were shared by a large proportion of his fellow-soldiers.

T. S. Taylor wrote from the camp of the Sixth Alabama Regiment on August 30, 1863, that he had just returned from a meeting at which the minister had addressed an audience numbering about 200,<sup>2</sup> and Robert C. Mabry, writing from the camp of the Sixth Virginia Infantry on April 25, 1864, related how the whole brigade had "turned out en masse" to hear a sermon the day before.<sup>3</sup> James B. E. Lampkin, on December 5, 1863, at Kingston, North Carolina, stated that it was

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas F. Boatwright to Mrs. Boatwright, February 16, 1863, in Boatwright Papers, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>2</sup>T. S. Taylor to Mrs. Taylor, August 30, 1863, MS. in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>3</sup>Robert C. Mabry to Mrs. Mabry, March 28, 1864, in Mabry Papers, Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

quite cold to go to preaching, but he believed the majority of the men had attended.<sup>4</sup>

General Lee had issued orders in 1861 requiring noncommissioned officers and privates to attend religious services, and it was known that commissioned officers were expected to attend of their own accord.<sup>5</sup> The soldiery apparently responded well, for at camp near Norfolk, Virginia, on June 23, 1861, about 600 soldiers had attended the meeting.<sup>6</sup> September, 1861, found a large congregation, representative of every regiment in the brigade, assembled near Fairfax Court House, Virginia.<sup>7</sup> Reverend Charles H. Ryland, Missionary to the army, wrote from Warm Springs, Virginia, on October 30, 1861, that while he had been in camp he had preached and held prayer meeting and "men and officers all attend."<sup>8</sup>

It is probable that General Lee's orders were not completely responsible for this all-out attendance, for other officers may have felt as did Lieutenant T. W. Montfort, that, "I try to do my duty in every respect and, therefore, attend preaching and prayers regularly."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup>James B. E. Lampkin to Mrs. Lampkin, December 5, 1863, MS. in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>5</sup>T. W. Montfort to Mrs. Montfort, November 1, 1861, MS. in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>6</sup>"Enyap" (pen-name) to Montgomery Advertiser, June 23, 1861, typescript letter found in Mrs. M. L. Kirkpatrick's scrapbook, I, 30, in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>7</sup>Southern Presbyterian, September 21, 1861.

<sup>8</sup>Charles H. Ryland to Mary Peachy Ryland, October 30, 1861, in possession of Dr. Garnett Ryland, University of Richmond.

Be this as it may, large congregations were not characteristic of every unit in the Rebel ranks in this first year of the war.

One officer found that preaching at Camp Barton was a dull thing as only about half the men turned out to hear it.<sup>10</sup> Of the members of the Ninth Georgia Regiment in 1861, only ten to twenty men regularly attended worship.<sup>11</sup> A chaplain, corresponding with the Southern Presbyterian on June 26, 1861, explained that "...it seems impossible to draw out the men at all numerously to a morning service. They want to "wash up," put their quarters in order, prepare their arms for inspection, write home and the like....."<sup>12</sup>

But those missionaries and chaplains to the army who did not become discouraged were privileged later to preach to large and attentive audiences,<sup>13</sup> numbering at times as many as 800.<sup>14</sup> Reverend W. Harrington, after visiting one of the army fronts in early 1863, was constrained to say that when he was surrounded by great groups of staunch soldiers, he felt that the ministry was almost wasting its efforts by preaching to the "little squads in the Churches."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Captain S. G. Pryor to "Nep," September 8, 1861, typescript copy in "Letters from Confederate Soldiers," III, 57, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>11</sup>John P. Fort to his mother, November 24, 1861, in Tomilson Fort Collection, Emory University Library.

<sup>12</sup>Southern Presbyterian, July 6, 1861.

<sup>13</sup>South Western Baptist, March 26, 1863; Jones, Christ in the Camp, 363; Southern Presbyterian, December 4, 1862, October 29, 1863, November 20, 1862.

<sup>14</sup>South Western Baptist, December 18, 1862.

<sup>15</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, July 30, 1863.

There was often no chapel or house of worship available to shelter the preacher and the congregation; hence, divine services in the camp frequently gave rise to scenes both impressive and picturesque. Worship was conducted in the open air in the midst of camp,<sup>16</sup> in front of one of the tents,<sup>17</sup> or in some secluded spot beneath the shade of a large pine or oak.<sup>18</sup> The listeners usually sat or reclined on the ground<sup>19</sup> or occasionally took advantage of rustic seats made of "logs, rails, (and) rocks."<sup>20</sup> A barrel, a camp stool,<sup>21</sup> or a caisson<sup>22</sup> provided the minister with a rostrum, and cedar torches<sup>23</sup> or candles<sup>24</sup> furnished him illumination by which to read the gospel when service was held at night.

As might be expected, open air services led to several regrettable incidents,<sup>25</sup> such as the one which occurred near Dalton, Georgia, in the spring of 1864. After the sermon, while members of

<sup>16</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 24, 1861.

<sup>17</sup>Southern Churchman, May 30, 1862; Southern Presbyterian, November 23, 1861.

<sup>18</sup>Southern Presbyterian, May 18, 1861, May 31, 1862.

<sup>19</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 29, 1861; South Western Baptist, July 31, 1862, June 25, 1863.

<sup>20</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 25, 1863.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., August 24, 1861.

<sup>22</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, August 18, 1864.

<sup>23</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 25, 1863.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., November 23, 1861.

<sup>25</sup>George W. Barrow to his mother, n.d., in G. W. Barrow Collection, Emory University Library.



the congregation were crowding the altar for prayer, a large tree came crashing down into the midst of the assembly, killing about ten soldiers and severely injuring several others.<sup>26</sup>

These impressive meetings held under the canopy of heaven, plus the fact that battle and prospective death were frequently imminent,<sup>27</sup> added to the appealing and able discourses of the minister, all contributed to making sermons most effective. A soldier in General "Stonewall" Jackson's army, after hearing Doctor R. L. Dabney preach, was so overcome that he "galloped away as soon as the services were over to hide (his) feelings."<sup>28</sup>

Other worshipping warriors were not so prone to conceal their feelings. Many a letter written to loved ones and to church papers described how the close of a touching sermon found tears coursing down the cheeks of hardened soldiers who would never have flinched in battle.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Colonel Newton Davis to Mrs. Davis, May 4, 1864, in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Southern Christian Advocate, June 2, 1864; Bromfield L. Ridley, Battles and Sketches of the Army of Tennessee (Mexico, Missouri, 1906), 283.

<sup>27</sup> N. A. Drake to Miss Betsey, June 17, 1864, in Mathew N. Love Collection, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library (Permission needed to cite).

<sup>28</sup> Southern Churchman, May 9, 1862.

<sup>29</sup> Southern Presbyterian, June 15, 1861; North Carolina Presbyterian, July 19, 1862; Mary A. H. Gay, Life in Dixie During the War (Atlanta, C. P. Boyd, 1897), 79; A. Flournoy, Jr. to "Sweet Docy," July 8, 1861, typescript copy in possession of Doctor Bell I. Wiley, Emory University.

The story is told that when the editor of the Tennessee Baptist was three-quarters through preaching to Crittenden's unit, one soldier broke out into a loud shout. "The General promptly rose, called his Adjutant, and ordered the man to the guard house. When the officer went to arrest him he found him in tears, and was told that the man did not intend to interrupt, but (he was a Methodist) that was only his way of enjoying the sermon."<sup>30</sup>

Some of the soldiers gave expression to their feelings by going up at the end of a sermon and kneeling to be prayed for.<sup>31</sup>

Many of the units had had preaching services available to them on the Sabbath from the very first, but when the chaplains, missionaries and ministers from nearby towns began to see their labors bearing fruit, they frequently redoubled their efforts.<sup>32</sup> Kershaw's

<sup>30</sup>Religious Herald, February 27, 1862.

<sup>31</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 31, 1861; Elias Davis to Mrs. Davis, October 5, 1862, in Davis Letters, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Colonel Newton Davis to Bettie, May 12, 1863, MS. in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Doctor William H. Hodnett, typescript copy of diary in "Confederate Diaries and Letters," VIII, Georgia Department of Archives and History, entry of October 4, 1862.

<sup>32</sup>James A. Graham to his mother, June 17, 1861, in Graham Letters in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Private Robert A. Moore, typescript copy of diary in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entries of August 25, September 8, September 15, 1861, November 23, December 21, 1862; John H. Kiracofe to wife and daughter, August 28, 1863, in John H. Kiracofe Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library; Milton S. Walker to mother, September 13, 1862, in Milton and Oliphant S. Walker Letters, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library; South Western Baptist, July 23, 1863; Southern Presbyterian, August 20, 1863; James C. Witherspoon to Reverend William M. Reid, August 29, 1864; in William Moultrie Reid Letters, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library; Private Hubert A. Stephens to his sister, January 31, 1864; typescript copy in possession of Doctor Bell I. Wiley, Emory University; Southern Christian Advocate, March 3, 1864.

Division began to have preaching almost daily in July, 1864, when interest was manifested throughout the brigade.<sup>33</sup> In August, 1863, the Fourth Alabama Regiment had preaching three times daily.<sup>34</sup> Doctor Stiles reported in December, 1863, that for the past month he had been preaching something like twice a day.<sup>35</sup>

Of course, attendance on religious services was frequently determined by the elements. Since worship was held outside, extremely cold weather,<sup>36</sup> heavy rains,<sup>37</sup> and sometimes even slight showers<sup>38</sup> discouraged the fair-weather Christian from attending. But those soldiers who were truly sincere in their desire to hear the Gospel preached apparently deemed physical discomfort a minor consideration.<sup>39</sup> One group of devouts stood forty minutes in a driving rain to hear their Sunday services, and another group, fourteen among them barefooted, stood in several inches of snow for a similar length of time to hear the Word of God.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Confederate Baptist, (Columbia, South Carolina), July 27, 1864.

<sup>34</sup>P. T. Vaughan, MS. diary in possession of Miss Fanny Hailes, Montgomery, Alabama, entry of August 27, 1863.

<sup>35</sup>Southern Presbyterian, December 4, 1862.

<sup>36</sup>John P. Fort to his mother, November 24, 1861, in Tomlinson Fort Collection, Emory University Library.

<sup>37</sup>South Western Baptist, December 18, 1862.

<sup>38</sup>Robert A. Moore, typescript copy of diary in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entry of September 15, 1861.

<sup>39</sup>Southern Presbyterian, December 4, 1862.

<sup>40</sup>Jones, Christ in the Camp, 248-249.

Worship was sometimes rudely interrupted by the enemy. On one occasion, in the midst of service, the congregation heard the sound of firing nearby and marched into the woods. When it became evident that the shots were a false alarm, services were resumed, but the men were fidgety and scattered widely. The general, rising, asked the preacher to wait a minute and called out, "Men, get up close together here in front, till your shoulders meet. You can't make a fire if the sticks don't touch."<sup>41</sup> And the meeting progressed.

Untold difficulties accompanied the minister and men who attempted to hold formal worship at the battle front. One group began early one Sunday morning to assemble for preaching; however, by the time all had gathered and found a place of comparative safety, by the time they had been interrupted twice by the enemy and once by a shower of rain, twilight was closing in upon them. It is pleasant to note that the efforts of this determined group were blessed with success, for they were finally enabled to hold their service without further mishap.<sup>42</sup>

During another hour's worship held in the line of battle, three minie balls struck in the midst of the congregation.<sup>43</sup> This sort of thing occasionally gave rise to an incident which was at least slightly amusing. In the early part of the service one Sunday, while a good congregation was seated on the ground, an enemy shell exploded

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<sup>41</sup>Stiles, Four Years Under Marse Robert, 138.

<sup>42</sup>Southern Presbyterian, October 27, 1864.

<sup>43</sup>South Western Baptist, October 27, 1864.

several hundred yards from the assembly. A Negro cook at the rear of the gathering put his pack on his back and said aloud, "This nigger is gwine to git out o' here." Smothered laughter responded to this remark, but all remained in their seats. At this point the chaplain began his lengthy morning prayer and, a good many minutes later, when he opened his eyes, he found that the worshipping warriors, all but five or six, had followed the cook.<sup>44</sup>

When possible, soldiers often went to church in a nearby town for preaching or for Mass,<sup>45</sup> sometimes attending in a body.<sup>46</sup> It was a refreshing experience for many a sentimental soldier to be able once more to hear the Word of God expounded in a building of stone and masonry, to hear soprano voices blending with the bass, in hymns of praise, accompanied by the melodious swelling notes of an organ.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>"Ludicrous War Incident," in Confederate Veteran, VI, 297.

<sup>45</sup>George M. Neese, MS. diary in Virginia State Library, entry of January 24 and 28, 1864; G. W. Hopkins to his mother, May 12, 1861, MS. in Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Adolph R. Pitcher, MS. diary in Archives of North Carolina Historical Commission, entry of August 25, 1861; Neill J. McLaughlin to "Parson," April 11, 1862, in Hector H. McNeill Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>46</sup>Henry A. Chambers, MS. diary in Archives of North Carolina Historical Commission, entry of February 14, 1863.

<sup>47</sup>Rufus W. Cater to Fannie, May 14, 1863, in Cater Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Douglas Cater to Fannie, July 4, 1864, Ibid.; R. Channing Price to his father, September 8, 1861, in R. Channing Price Letters, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; F. C. Clewell to his sister, March 22, 1863, in F. C. Clewell Papers, Archives of North Carolina Historical Commission.

Or the soldier might make of his trip to the town church a sight-seeing tour. He visited churches of denominations other than his own, frequently from mere curiosity. The Baptist and Methodist soldier were often impressed by the difference between their own services and those they witnessed in the Catholic, Episcopalian, and Dunkard churches.<sup>48</sup>

One soldier, writing home, vividly described a revival meeting he attended in a church near camp: "The church was filled to overflowing with soldiers — the doors, windows, and even the loft was full when the excitement commenced. They got upon the benches and every ten minutes a bench would break down and then some one would fall out of the window and I never heard such loud singing in my life. It seems that they would make me deaf. One lady said that she had seen Jesus and a soldier said, 'she was mistaken that it was a soldier in the loft that she saw,' and a thousand other expressions too sacreligious to repeat."<sup>49</sup>

Since it was not always possible for the soldier to get to church in town, and since it was impossible to supply every unit with

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<sup>48</sup>W. P. Chambers, MS. diary in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entry of June 31, 1862; George M. Neese, MS. diary in Virginia State Library, entry of May 4, 1862; Francis C. Clewell to his sister, April 5, 1863, in Francis C. Clewell Papers, Archives of North Carolina Historical Commission; James C. Newton to his father and mother, September 9, 1861, in "Confederate Soldiers' Letters," II, 334, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>49</sup>G. E. Waller to Sallie, January 27, 1864, in George E. Waller Collection, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

a chaplain, many soldiers were not often able to hear the Word of God. However, all the churches soon realized that every soldier should have access to the written Word. Tracts, Bibles, religious papers, hymn books, and New Testaments were urgently needed. Many requests for such material poured into the various publication offices which had been established to handle such matters.

Years previous to the war, the Baptists in Virginia had been engaged in printing and distributing religious literature throughout the state. Their efforts in this direction apparently dated from their break with the American Tract Society over its decision to enter into the slavery controversy.<sup>50</sup> When Confederate troops swarmed into the Old Dominion the Baptist Sunday School and Colportage Board saw this as a God-sent opportunity for evangelism and began the work of furnishing the soldier with Testaments, books and tracts.<sup>51</sup> At this time there was no similar organization of any proportion engaged in this work. Two-thirds of all the colporters in the South were in the Baptist employ. The Board received appeals from chaplains and men in the army, and contributions from Christians of all denominations when word of the work being done began to spread.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia for the Sessions of 1861 and 1863 (Richmond, MacFarlane and Fergusson Printers, 1863), passim.

<sup>51</sup>South Western Baptist, November 21, 1861.

<sup>52</sup>Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia for the Sessions of 1861 and 1863, passim.

Quickly was it obvious that the Board would be unable to cope with its tremendous task unassisted; hence, at the meeting of the General Association in 1861, it was decided to appeal through secular and religious newspapers for financial support from other denominations and other states of the Confederacy.<sup>53</sup> Since every state and every denomination had troops stationed in Virginia; and, since the Baptist publications were said to be acceptable to soldiers of all denominations,<sup>54</sup> the plea was justified and was given a liberal response.<sup>55</sup>

The demand for religious literature called into being new agencies with the expressed purpose of filling this need. These agencies fell into two categories: those which were inter-denominational in character and those which were sponsored by the various denominations.<sup>56</sup>

The Evangelical Tract Society was the largest, the most prolific of the inter-denominational societies, and the most widely recognized. [ There were two others in existence at the time. One was headed by W. J. W. Crowder with headquarters in Raleigh, North Carolina.<sup>57</sup> The other was of pre-war vintage and had its headquarters

<sup>53</sup>Jones, Christ in the Camp, 156; Minutes of the 39th Annual Session of the Alabama Baptist State Convention held at Marion, Alabama -- Nov. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1861 (Tuskegee, Alabama: Printed at the office of the South Western Baptist, 1861), 6; Religious Herald, March 5, 1863; South Western Baptist, November 21, 1861.

<sup>54</sup>Religious Herald, March 5, 1863.

<sup>55</sup>South Western Baptist, November 21, 1861.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>The Church Intelligencer (Raleigh), July 4, 1861; Southern Presbyterian, June 29, 1861; Religious Herald, September 12, 1861.



in Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>58</sup> Begun in Petersburg, Virginia, July 18, 1861, this society engaged in the publication of tracts, Bibles, hymn books, and the Army and Navy Messenger. This latter was a semi-monthly paper which was hailed as a favorite in the camps.<sup>59</sup> It clearly expressed the purpose of the society in its May 1, 1863, issue as being the circulation of the "pure Word of God" and other religious literature which expounded Christian doctrine common to Evangelical denominations.<sup>60</sup>

To ensure that denominational tenets would not be violated, all leading Protestant Christian churches in the Confederacy were equally represented on the Board and Publishing Committee by Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian ministers.<sup>61</sup> No tract was published unless it met with the approval of every member of the committee.<sup>62</sup>

When the infant organization began to function, its first results were hailed with pride.<sup>63</sup> As to the quality of these tracts, there is the testimony of Reverend F. B. Converse of Richmond: "I must say that I am very much pleased with the judgment exhibited by

<sup>58</sup>Richmond Christian Advocate, February 27, 1862.

<sup>59</sup>Southern Presbyterian, November 19, 1863; Evangelical Tract Society Depository No. 18, Petersburg, Virginia, November 28, 1864, filed with Van David Papers in Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas.

<sup>60</sup>The Army and Navy Messenger, May 1, 1863.

<sup>61</sup>Evangelical Tract Society Depository No. 18, Richmond Daily Dispatch, July 5, 1862; Richmond Christian Advocate, February 27, 1862.

<sup>62</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 2, 1862; Richmond Daily Dispatch, July 5, 1862.

<sup>63</sup>Religious Herald, September 19, 1861.

your committee in the selection of tracts to be published, their energy in getting out so excellent a variety in so brief a time, and their skill in getting them up in so handsome a style... Your tracts compare very favorably in appearance with those of any other Society, and a tract that is inviting in appearance is, I think, a great deal more likely to be read, especially by a sick man, than one badly printed."<sup>64</sup>

By 1863, the Society was not only publishing tracts, Bibles, hymn books and papers, but it was also in the process of translating some of the tracts into French and Italian for the benefit of those soldiers who read only those languages.<sup>65</sup>

These publications were distributed gratuitously and indiscriminately to the men in the camp.<sup>66</sup> Efforts were made to supply every army with sufficient religious reading matter,<sup>67</sup> though the lack of tracts was especially noticeable in the Western theater. A visitor to that department in May, 1863, reported that he could find no evidence of tracts. The shortage was occasioned by the difficulty in expressing pamphlets to that area.<sup>68</sup>

The work of the organization as a whole was, apparently, a success. There are many accounts of the favorable results produced by the tracts. All concerned seemed pleased with the results; yet, it is

<sup>64</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 2, 1862.

<sup>65</sup>Southern Churchman, June 12, 1863.

<sup>66</sup>Richmond Christian Advocate, February 27, 1862.

<sup>67</sup>Southern Presbyterian, November 19, 1863.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1863, August 26, 1863, August 13, 1863.

possible that the Southern Presbyterian voiced the sentiments of other denominations in its August 9, 1862, issue. It pointed out that, while Presbyterians were grateful for the work of the Evangelical Tract Society, they recommended it "merely as a temporary expedient," and were hopeful that the church would find "safer" means of supplying the soldiers' wants as soon as practicable.<sup>69</sup>

So other denominations began the work of publishing and distributing tracts and other religious reading matter. Ministers in their sermons and through the medium of the religious press appealed to the patriotism and Christianity of their congregations.<sup>70</sup>

It seems hard to believe that these appeals could have met with the success indicated in a letter of C. L. Refo to his wife wherein he stated that, "I was at the Baptist church Friday night and the cause of sending religious works among the soldiers was the subject of consideration and some twenty or thirty thousand dollars was collected for that benevolent enterprise."<sup>71</sup>

The Presbyterian General Assembly recommended the Bible Society of the Confederacy to the patronage of its churches.<sup>72</sup> It also instructed the Presbyterian Publication Committee to begin the

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., August 9, 1862.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., May 25, 1861, September 24, 1863.

<sup>71</sup>C. L. Refo to his wife, April 24, 1864, in Refo Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>72</sup>Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America (Augusta, Georgia: Steam Power Press Chronicle and Sentinel, 1861), 19.

publication of tracts;<sup>73</sup> a hymn book, "Hymns for the Camp;" and The Soldiers' Visitor.<sup>74</sup>

Methodists set up the Soldiers Tract Association in March, 1862. They produced tracts, Testaments, hymn books, and the Christian Advocate.<sup>75</sup> As the various state conferences of the Methodist church began to take vigorous measures for the support of the association,<sup>76</sup> immense quantities of Bibles and tracts were issued. There were also two semi-monthly newspapers, one issued from Richmond and the other from Mason, Georgia.

At the annual meeting of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Alabama, a resolution was adopted proposing to the bishop that he not only raise funds to procure religious literature, but that from time to time he should send members of the clergy to the army to distribute them.<sup>77</sup> The Episcopalian Diocesan Missionary Society in Virginia brought forth a few thousand tract pages but concentrated its

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<sup>73</sup>Southern Presbyterian, December 22, 1864.

<sup>74</sup>Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, 307-308.

<sup>75</sup>Christian Advocate, July 3, 1862.

<sup>76</sup>Minutes of the Georgia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South Held in Columbus, Georgia, November 25 to December 3, 1863, 29.

<sup>77</sup>Journal of the Proceedings of the 33rd Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Alabama (Mobile: Farrow & Dennett, 1864), 24.

efforts on preparing and publishing a Camp Prayer Book.<sup>78</sup> It contained sixty-four pages and included occasional prayers, collects, burial service, and hymns, all selected from the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>79</sup>

The chart on the following page clearly indicates the comparative results produced by the various denominations and the Evangelical Tract Society. It is obvious that the Baptist output was numerically superior. True, this denomination had the advantage of a framework for service already laid, but the sincerity and the intensity of their efforts after the outbreak of war was recognized by all. Moses D. Hoge, Presbyterian divine, said in March, 1862, "Scarcely anything has been done in supplying our soldiers with evangelical literature except what has been affected by the Baptists. They have done nobly, having circulated thousands and even millions of pages. As long as the Southern Confederacy shall endure,...., they will be honored for the good work in which they are engaged in behalf of the souls of our soldiers."<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Reverend G. MacLaren Brydon, "Diocese of Virginia in the Southern Confederacy," in Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church, December, 1948 (Reverend Brydon kindly allowed author to read this article before publication.).

<sup>79</sup> Southern Churchman, May 1, 1863.

<sup>80</sup> Religious Herald, March 6, 1862.

## ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS LITERATURE DISTRIBUTED

BY

## VARIOUS DENOMINATIONS

Year	Denomination	Tracts Published	Pages Distrib.	Bibles Testaments	Hymnals	Papers
1861	Baptist	-	700,000	12,000		
1862	Baptist	40	6,187,000	6,095	13,845	
	Methodist		162,721	52	36	824
	Evangelical (Nondenominational)	110	5,000,000	10,000		
1863	Baptist	100	24,000,000	25,000		
	Evangelical (Nondenominational)	200	23,000,000			
	Presbyterian	46	1,312,000		15,000	59,000
1864	Methodist		20,000,000	50,000	100,000	800,000
	Episcopalian		30,000	34,000 P. Books		
	Presbyterian		13,719,750		15,000	
	Evangelical (Nondenominational)		50,000,000			
	Baptists	100	50,000,000		100,000	

Statistics in the above chart are, in some instances, cumulative. They were compiled from the following sources: South Western Baptist, November 3, 1861; Southern Presbyterian, January 25, 1862; Christian

Advocate, July 3, 1862; Southern Churchman, March 9, 1862; Religious Herald, April 17, 1862; South Western Baptist, June 25, 1863; Southern Churchman, June 12, 1863; Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America (Augusta: Steam Power Press Chronicle & Sentinel, 1861); W. W. Bennett to President Jefferson Davis, December 7, 1864, in Adjutant General Office File, National Archives; Reverend G. McLaren Brydon to Lawrence F. London, Historiographer Diocese of North Carolina, May 24, 1948, University of North Carolina; Southern Presbyterian, December 22, 1864; Southern Presbyterian; November 19, 1863; South Western Baptist, July 14, 1864.

The desire for reading material of a religious nature was so great in some units that the soldiers took matters into their own hands. Company A of the Twelfth Georgia Regiment raised the sum of sixty dollars. The money was given to the chaplain in the hope that with it he could keep them supplied for at least twelve months.<sup>81</sup> William H. Arehart solicited contributions in his company and he raised seventy dollars and sixty cents.<sup>82</sup> The men of the Tenth and Nineteenth Regiments, South Carolina Volunteers, contributed more than

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<sup>81</sup>Captain S. G. Pryor to his wife, April 26, 1863, typescript copy in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>82</sup>William H. Arehart, MS. diary in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, entry of August 13, 1864.

\$200.<sup>83</sup> A recently converted soldier to the Baptist faith sent ten dollars to the Sunday School and Publication Board with the request that it forward to him tracts that would be suitable for distribution among the unconverted.<sup>84</sup> These soldiers were prepared to pay for the Word of God themselves. However, many felt that this need for religious writings should be met by the churches at home.

Reverend George H. Northam voiced the sentiments of many when he wrote the Baptist Sunday School and Colportage Board that he would serve as a colporter, if he could be supplied with Bibles and tracts. Northam was not willing to sell a soldier a Bible or Testament while he was in the service of his country.<sup>85</sup>

What special virtue did the little tracts contain? What was it about them that would make some soldiers use hard-earned cash to purchase them and others to use their scanty leisure time to write letters requesting them? The answer lies, partially, in one soldier's letter. He said that the men in his regiment would appreciate "tracts or anything else" that they could get.<sup>86</sup> Apparently the men were eager for something to read and since there was a lack of reading material, in the army, they read anything sent to them.<sup>87</sup> There were even cases of soldiers who were not Christians reading the Word of God simply

<sup>83</sup>Southern Presbyterian, March 17, 1864.

<sup>84</sup>Religious Herald, June 13, 1861.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., July 4, 1861.

<sup>86</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 17, 1861.

<sup>87</sup>Army and Navy Messenger, May 1, 1863.



because they had nothing else to read.<sup>88</sup> Tracts were small enough to be carried in the pocket or placed in a Bible or prayer book. In length they were usually four pages; however, some had sixteen and a few contained twenty-four. They were written in simple style and frequently made use of a story or parable to teach their lesson. In this fashion they could be understood by those with little education.

Nearly all the great Southern divines made use of tracts as vehicles for getting their messages to the Confederate soldier. Many subjects were discussed in these pithy little sheets. The necessity of conversion was stressed; soldiers were urged to shun bad company and the vices so common to army life; they were exhorted to have faith in God and to accept the trials and tribulations of their military status with true Christian fortitude. Many references were made to Washington and other great Christian soldiers. Their virtues were extolled and the Confederate soldier was urged to emulate them.<sup>89</sup>

"A Mother's Parting Words to Her Soldier Boy," written by Reverend J. B. Jeter, was undoubtedly the most popular tract published. It is estimated that at least 250,000 copies of it were issued.<sup>90</sup> This tract, eight pages in length, was written in the form of a letter from a mother to her son in the service. She tells him that she gladly gave him up because he was going to fight to uphold "the great fundamental

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<sup>88</sup>Richmond Inquirer, April 15, 1862.

<sup>89</sup>The reader may note the many subjects covered in the tracts by examining the list furnished in the appendix.

<sup>90</sup>Jones, Christ in the Camp, 182.

principles of the American Revolution: that all authority is derived from the consent of the governed." In support of such a cause she would not hesitate to give up ten sons if she had them to give. As a true Christian she is opposed to war, but this war was forced upon the South. Although Christ is the "Prince of Peace," the son is told, there is nothing in the Scriptures to indicate that a Southern Christian cannot defend himself. The mother then proceeds to give her boy some advice on the kind of life he should live in the army. First, he was urged to become a Christian and, as such, to avoid profanity and beware of drunkenness. Secondly, in all things he was to immitate such soldiers as Washington and Cromwell. Then the mother ends her letter on a note of hope. She hopes that if he should fall in battle that some day they may meet in "a world, where wars and rumors of wars can never disturb us; but where love, peace, and joy, forever reign."<sup>91</sup>

"A Mother's Parting Words to her Soldier Boy" may have been inspired by another tract, probably published in 1862, entitled, "A Letter to a Son in Camp." In this tract a father writes a letter to his son, in which he glorifies secession and war. The father makes a few suggestions touching on his son's duties in his "new mode of life." He is told to take care of his health by observing a few simple rules such as drinking lots of cold water and chewing his food properly.

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<sup>91</sup>J. B. Jeter, A Mother's Parting Words to Her Soldier Boy (Raleigh: General Tract Agency, 1863). A copy of this tract may be found in the Rare Books Room, Library of Congress and in the Keith M. Read Collection, Emory University.

His officers were to be strictly obeyed and he was to avoid profanity and drink, have regular prayers in his tent, go to preaching whenever possible, and read his Testament every morning and evening.<sup>92</sup>

The soldier found additional advice in a group of pamphlets with such vague titles as, "Neither Cold Nor Hot," "Why Sit Ye Here Idle," "The Sentinel," "The Voice of Conscience," and "The Muster." Many officers were highly critical of such tracts because they feared that in making their men think of death, judgment, heaven and hell, their consciences might be disturbed and they would be unnerved for battle.

To counteract these official fear, tracts aimed at bolstering the soldiers faith and courage soon made their appearance. "How Do You Bear Your Trials?" was a tract urging its readers to seek the help of God in all of their misery, and in all of their sorrow.<sup>93</sup> "Christ's Gracious Invitation," a pamphlet of the same nature, quoted the very consoling words of scripture, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."<sup>94</sup>

The necessity of having faith was vividly impressed upon the Confederate soldier by a story related in a little pamphlet called, "A Few Words to the Soldiers of the Confederate States." The story describes a dinner party at which a colonel and a bishop were guests.

<sup>92</sup>A Letter to a Son in Camp (Charleston: South Carolina Tract Society, n. d.).

<sup>93</sup>How Do You Bear Your Trials? (Charleston, South Carolina Tract Society, n.d.).

<sup>94</sup>Christ's Gracious Invitation (Raleigh: General Tract Agency, 186?). A copy is in Rare Books Room, Library of Congress.

The colonel was bitterly opposed to religion and during the course of the dinner he made many remarks expressing his views on the subject. However, much to his chagrin, the bishop ignored them. Finally the colonel stated that he once knew an army officer who on the eve of battle uttered the following prayer: "O God, if there be a God, have mercy upon my soul, if I have a soul. Amen." After some moments of silence the bishop looked at the colonel and said that he knew another army officer who before he went into battle offered a prayer in which he said: "O Lord God, if in the heat of action I forget Thee, do thou not forget me. Amen."<sup>95</sup> "The Life Preserver," "The Precious Blood of Christ or How a Soldier was Saved," "The Sword of the Spirit," and "Harden Not Your Hearts," were all tracts which, like the one described above, were for the purpose of increasing the belief of the soldier in God and His mercy.

Besides those tracts, which urged the soldier to take certain positive action along the road to Christian perfection, there were some of a negative character, negative in that they advised against the performance of certain deeds. They counseled against falling a victim to the three great plagues that beset the army: namely, drinking, gambling, and cursing. (It is probable that sexual immorality also was a plague to the army, but the soldier did not discuss this problem in his letters to the folks back home. Thousands of tracts were aimed

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<sup>95</sup>Words to the Soldiers of the Confederate States (Charleston: Female Bible, Prayer Book and Tract Society, n.d.). A copy is in the Rare Books Room, Library of Congress.

at drinking, gambling and cursing, but not one tract agency had the temerity to publish a pamphlet discussing adultery.)

The tract, "Pitching the Tent Toward Sodom," warns its reader to beware of gambling. The story is told that there was once a pious young man who shunned gambling. But army life was too monotonous, so "he consented to take a single game of cards. True, it was only a social game with no money staked upon the issue. Conscience whispered it was wrong, yet he consented. The tent was pitched toward Sodom. In a day or two came another game, then another - then a whole night spent in the excitement of the card table - then a little money, simply to give interest to the game; and then he went down to gambler's hell."<sup>96</sup>

If the above-mentioned tract did not impress the soldier with the evils of gambling, he might have recourse to one called "The Gambler's Balance Sheet." According to the bookkeeping of this author, the gambler will gain lewd and wicked companions; idleness; poverty; affliction of body and anguish of mind. His friends will disown him, his mother will be ashamed of him, his sisters will blush when his name is mentioned, he will lose his soul and the result will be eternal misery.<sup>97</sup>

The inconsistency of seeking freedom from Lincoln's usurpations and then becoming a slave to liquor was pointed out in a tract captioned

<sup>96</sup>Pitching the Tent Toward Sodom (Petersburg: Evangelical Tract Society, n.d.) A copy is in the Rare Books Room, Library of Congress.

<sup>97</sup>The Gambler's Balance Sheet, in collection of tracts at the University of North Carolina.

"Liquor and Lincoln and Liquor." So-called "Surgeons" who give whiskey for medicinal purposes and who "advocate giving soldiers a nip... on the eve of battle" were referred to as "drunken ignoramuses," and statistics prepared by sanitary officers of the British army proving that temperance regiments are healthier and better soldiers than those that imbibe, were pointed to with pride.<sup>98</sup> The well-known story of the father who spent his salary on drink while his wife and children starve was retold in a tract with the heart-rending title of "The Eventful Twelve Hours, or the Destitution and Wretchedness of a Drunkard."<sup>99</sup>

J. N. Andrews called attention to the third great evil in the army in a pamphlet entitled, "Why Do You Swear?" He tried to show that profanity did not add to a man's stature. Instead it was a positive evil, debilitating and injurious to a person's character.<sup>100</sup> The author of a tract called "The Silly Fish" compared the swearer to a fish that bit on a bare hook - neither derived any satisfaction from their action.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Liquor & Lincoln & Liquor (Columbia: South Carolina General Tract Agency). A copy of this tract is in the University of North Carolina Library.

<sup>99</sup>The Eventful Twelve Hours, or the Destitution and Wretchedness of a Drunkard (Columbia: South Carolina Tract Society, 1862). A copy of this tract is in the University of North Carolina Library.

<sup>100</sup>J. N. Andrews, Why Do You Swear? A copy of this tract is in the University of North Carolina Library.

<sup>101</sup>The Silly Fish (Columbia: South Carolina Tract Society, 1862).

These tracts were produced by the millions of pages, sent to the armies and there distributed through the aid of pious soldiers, chaplains, and ministers in the army and near army encampments.<sup>102</sup> It was even said that General "Stonewall" Jackson was occasionally seen giving tracts out in his army.<sup>103</sup> The most important group engaged in distributing tracts was the colporter.

The term colporter is a French word and was first used during the Reformation to describe Christians who took the writings of the reformers to the peasantry and talked with the people about salvation. The term was first used in this country in the 1840's to refer to those who distributed the publications of the American Tract Society.<sup>104</sup> With the rise of other tract societies the word colporter became synonymous with anyone who distributed religious literature.

Yet the colporter in the Rebel ranks was not exclusively concerned with distributions. He discussed religion on a personal level with the soldier, held prayer meeting,<sup>105</sup> gave comfort to the dying, and courage to the living.<sup>106</sup>

The activities of colporters like J. Lester Shipley, of Jackson's army, indicate that indiscriminate distribution was an exception

<sup>102</sup>L. G. Hutton diary, typescript copy in Archives Collection, University of Texas Library.

<sup>103</sup>South Western Baptist, June 26, 1862.

<sup>104</sup>Army and Navy Messenger (Petersburg), December 15, 1864.

<sup>105</sup>Charleston Daily Courier, January 28, 1862.

<sup>106</sup>Religious Herald, February 19, 1863.

rather than a rule. Shipley adopted the policy of talking with each person and learning all possible regarding his state of religion. Then he selected the most suitable tract for that soldier's particular condition. Thus he hoped to make a separate sermon of each tract.<sup>107</sup>

Some men who became colporters volunteered for this service.<sup>108</sup> Others received salaries ranging from the twenty dollars a month plus traveling expenses offered by the Soldiers Tract Society to the \$300 provided by the Evangelical Society to some of its employees.<sup>109</sup>

During the war the Evangelical Society made use of some 150 distributors. The Baptist Sunday School and Colportage Board employed more than did any other denominational organization, having ninety in their employ by 1864.<sup>110</sup>

Chief complaints of the colporters were scarcity of tracts and other religious literature, frequent moves necessitated by the army life, and consequent difficulty in becoming acquainted with the soldiers.<sup>111</sup> Despite these and other difficulties, the majority of men thus employed received intense satisfaction from the work.<sup>112</sup> Reverend William Howard wrote that he had never spent a month more pleasantly or more profitably than the one he passed in March, 1863,

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<sup>107</sup>Christian Advocate, July 3, 1862.

<sup>108</sup>Religious Herald, July 4, 1861.

<sup>109</sup>North Carolina Presbyterian, October 14, 1862.

<sup>110</sup>South Western Baptist (Tuskegee), July 14, 1864.

<sup>111</sup>Biblical Recorder (Raleigh), March 25, 1863.

<sup>112</sup>Religious Herald, March 5, 1863.



intent on his work in the army. He found a hearty welcome everywhere he went and was firmly supported by the commanders of the units he visited.<sup>113</sup>

Many colporters felt themselves most needed in the hospitals.<sup>114</sup> There was an obvious lack of spiritual guidance in most of these places. Reverend Howard found several hospitals containing 3,000 sick soldiers near Meridian, Mississippi, in 1863. In four of these points he could discover no attention being given to the spiritual interests of the men. Hospitals also possessed great advantages for colportage: easiness of access, constant change of patients,<sup>115</sup> and the omnipresent tendency of the ill to turn their thoughts to God and eternity.<sup>116</sup> It must have been this combination of facts which led J. W. Jones to remark, "The work of the colportage and the work in the hospitals run into each other so naturally that it is really difficult to separate them...."<sup>117</sup>

In the cry for tracts one discordant note was to be found. It was raised in an editorial entitled, "Saving Souls," which appeared in The Countryman. The writer of this article wanted to know how one tract could save a soul. If a tract could save a soul, why did God send His Son on earth to die on the Cross? Why didn't he send a whole

<sup>113</sup>South Western Baptist, May 21, 1863.

<sup>114</sup>Religious Herald, March 13, 1862.

<sup>115</sup>South Western Baptist, January 29, 1863.

<sup>116</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 31, 1861.

<sup>117</sup>Jones, Christ in the Camp, 196.

lot of tracts instead? To say that one tract could save a soul was blasphemy. The writer of this editorial could find no value in tracts.<sup>118</sup>

While the few expressed dissatisfaction with the wholesale distribution and glorification of tracts, no group recognized the tracts' limitations more completely than did those religious leaders who were trying to put virtue in the heart of the Confederate soldier. They realized that tracts and religious papers might tell him about the Word of God, but that only in the Bible could he find the Word itself. The Bible was looked upon as a primary weapon in the fight against moral depravity. It became essential for the South to produce this weapon, because most Northern Bible societies, with the exception of the American Bible Society, took the position that the sacred book was contraband and refused to ship it.<sup>119</sup> Hence, it was not long before considerable difficulty was experienced in procuring Bibles and the shortage became acute.<sup>120</sup>

The first Bible printed in the South appeared in 1861. Marks, Graves and Company of Nashville, Tennessee, was the printer. The stereotype plates used in this work were bought in Philadelphia, and were run through the blockade at Louisville.<sup>121</sup> This pocket edition

<sup>118</sup>The Countryman (Turnwold, Georgia), June 17, 1862.

<sup>119</sup>Coulter, The Confederate States of America 1861-1865, 528.

<sup>120</sup>Southern Presbyterian, December 25, 1862, March 29, 1862.

<sup>121</sup>Coulter, The Confederate States of America 1861-1865, 529; Newspaper article with no name, place, or date on it, in a "Confederate Scrapbook," in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

was published by the Southwestern Publishing House. It was a neat volume containing 956 pages, bound in muslin, and sold for fifty cents. This book met the demands of those who complained that some of the Bibles they received from home were too large.<sup>123</sup>

However, it was not long before the ban placed by the North on the shipment of Bibles to the South made itself felt. With the end in view of meeting the soldier's need in this respect a convention with delegates from South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Florida, and Tennessee met at Augusta, Georgia, from March 19 to 21, 1862. The Bible Society of the Confederate States of America was formed and a constitution adopted. The King James Version of the Bible was to be published. They agreed to employ the stereotype plates that the Tennessee Bible Society in Nashville was willing to donate.<sup>124</sup>

A very energetic individual in the search for Bibles was Doctor Moses D. Hoge of the Presbyterian Church. He successfully eluded the blockade and went to England to purchase Testaments from the British and Foreign Bible Society. This organization gave Hoge 10,000 Bibles; 50,000 Testaments; and 250,000 Gospels and Psalms.<sup>125</sup> However, only a small portion of these got through the blockade.

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<sup>123</sup>Henry L. Graves to his mother, April 22, 1863, in "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," 283, in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>124</sup>Southern Churchman, April 11, 1862.

<sup>125</sup>Southern Presbyterian, April 16, 1863; Southern Churchman, April 17, 1863; Religious Herald, April 9, 1863; Harold R. Willoughby, Soldiers' Bibles Through Three Centuries (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), 23-29.

To facilitate the purchase and publication of Bibles considerable funds were needed. Most of the money was raised by religious groups such as "The Ladies Christian Association of Charleston, S.C.". This organization contributed fifty dollars to be used in the purchase of Bibles.<sup>126</sup>

When sufficient funds were not available or when publication facilities were inadequate, attempts were made to remedy the deficit by acquiring Bibles from home. Chaplain R. L. Wiggins, of the Fourth Florida Regiment, pleaded in an open letter with the people at home to mail him the Bibles that were "spilling upon their shelves."<sup>127</sup> Chaplain J. O. A. Cook was convinced that the army would be well supplied if every family sent one of the several Bibles he believed to be lying about their homes.<sup>128</sup>

The shortage of Bibles concerned a number of soldiers. William Batts, whose feelings were probably shared by others, complained to his sister that there was only one Bible in his mess and everyone wanted to use it at once. Batts suggested that he would be glad to have one of his own.<sup>129</sup> When they had the money, soldiers did not hesitate to purchase Bibles, if they were to be had, and one organization

<sup>126</sup>Southern Presbyterian, April 12, 1862; Religious Herald, May 8, 1862.

<sup>127</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, February 19, 1863.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., February 25, 1864.

<sup>129</sup>William Batts to his sister, August 23, 1861, in Keith M. Read Collection, Emory University Library.

sold over \$400 worth of Bibles and Testaments.<sup>130</sup> A colporter reporting on his sale of Holy Writ said one soldier told him he would have to have a copy of the Testament even if he had to sell his coat to enable him to purchase it.<sup>131</sup> So acute did the shortage of Bibles become in 1863 that Northern prisoners in Richmond were pictured as selling Bibles and Testaments for twelve or fifteen dollars.<sup>132</sup>

There can be little doubt that the Confederate soldier was deeply affected by the Bible, when he took time to read it. Edward Stuart found his mind in a state of uncertainty after reading his. He wrote his father asking for information relative to the great points about "which there is such a variety and diversity of opinion."<sup>133</sup> C. W. Boyd gave expression to his feelings regarding the Bible when he stated to his brother that... "the greatest pleasure that I have is when I am reading my Bible and praying to my Creator [sic] my Heavenly Father for in his care a lon [sic] do I feel safe. I som [sic] time tak [sic] my Bible on the Sabath [sic] and go to som [sic] grove where I have no one in my way. I am often shocked by wicked oathes [sic] that my fellow soldiers role [sic] out."<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 25, 1863; George R. Richardson to his mother, n.d., MS. in Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

<sup>131</sup>South Western Baptist, July 18, 1861.

<sup>132</sup>Willoughby, Soldiers' Bibles Through The Centuries, 27.

<sup>133</sup>Edward Stuart to his father, September 18, 1864, in Oscar Stuart and Family Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

<sup>134</sup>C. W. Boyd to his brother, May 14, 1862, MS. in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

George W. Hooker vowed to his father that the only book he read was his Bible, because from it he obtained consolation.<sup>135</sup> The same could be said of J. M. Simpson, who found great comfort in the passage, "Blessed is the man who trusteth in Thee O Lord." This and other passages, he wrote his mother, inspired him to pray even when others were "carrying on" and drinking around him.<sup>136</sup>

A most revealing incident indicative of the effect of the Bible on the soldier, occurred on one of the battle fields around Richmond. There, several days after a battle had been fought, the body of a Confederate soldier was found. The worms were already eating the flesh from his hand, a hand that rested on a page in his Bible containing the Twenty-third Psalm wherein is written: "Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me."<sup>137</sup>

Besides the many instances in which the Bible saved the spiritual life of the soldier there are a few cases in which it saved his physical life as well. The story is related that two soldiers were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. One of them, not knowing that his gun was loaded, discharged his rifle at the command, "fire." The Reverend George W. Holland, happened to be passing by and the ball struck the Bible in his pocket over his heart, glanced off

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<sup>135</sup>George W. Hooker to sister Mollie, December 17, 1863, in the J. F. Newson Letters, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>136</sup>J. M. Simpson to his mother, October 14, 1862, MS. in possession of Mrs. John Scott Marks, Birmingham, Alabama.

<sup>137</sup>A Confederate, The Grayjackets (Richmond: Jones Brothers & Co., 1867), 268.

and broke his left arm which later had to be amputated. So impressed was the minister with this manifestation of Providence that he promised to deliver his next sermon from the text of the first leaf of his Bible that was untorn by the ball.<sup>138</sup>

Private Caswell Smith of Company "B", Thirty-ninth Mississippi Regiment, likewise owed his life to the Bible. Smith was on guard duty. A stranger approached who could not give the password and would not halt. As Smith called for the corporal of the guard he received a blow with a knife from his adversary who disappeared around a corner and escaped. The guard, a little stunned from his encounter, found that the knife, in addition to having passed through his thick coat, had also cut through most of the New Testament he was carrying in his shirt pocket. It pierced as far as the Seventeenth verse of the Tenth Chapter of Mark.<sup>139</sup>

The religious periodicals published by the church organizations during the course of the war were of two types. In the first category were such publications as the Army and Navy Herald, The Soldiers Paper, Army and Navy Messenger, Soldiers Visitor, Soldiers Friend, and Soldiers Nazarine. These papers were published especially for the reading of the soldier. They were actually tracts in the form of a paper. In the second category were the Religious Herald, Southern Christian Advocate, Southern Presbyterian, South Western Baptist, and Southern Observer. These were the official organs of the various

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<sup>138</sup>Southern Presbyterian, October 26, 1861.

<sup>139</sup>Article in Scrap Book of S. B. Hall, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

denominations, and they carried not only church news but also letters to the editor written by chaplains, colporters, and other correspondents from the army. Since they were more regular in publication, and contained news of the home church as well as articles on religion, it would appear from the comments of the soldiers that they were more popular than those written especially for the army.<sup>140</sup>

The Soldiers Visitor owed its origin to the Presbyterian Board of Publication. The board conceived the idea of issuing a sheet containing tracts, because it felt that in this form they would be more generally read. Other reading matter was also to be added whenever space permitted. From its beginning in August, 1863, to March, 1864, 59,000 copies of it were distributed. Since this paper was primarily to be a tract issuing medium it was circulated in the army free of charge. The expense of the paper was met by voluntary donations from the congregations at home.<sup>141</sup>

The Army and Navy Herald was a paper published semi-monthly by the Soldiers Tract Association Methodist Episcopal Church South. It was the answer of that church to the belief that the soldier preferred to read a paper to a tract.<sup>142</sup> An investigation of the articles

<sup>140</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 15, August 17, June 15, 1861.

<sup>141</sup>Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America (Columbia: Evans & Gogswell, 1864), 306; Southern Presbyterian, December 22, 1864.

<sup>142</sup>Southern Presbyterian, September 21, 1861; March 19, 1863; August 31, 1861; Southern Christian Advocate, April 23, 1863; September 10, 1863.



published in one edition of this paper indicates its tractish nature. It contained the following: "The Soldiers Pocket Bible," "Tribute to Woman's Power," "Come to Jesus," "A Model Boy," "How Washington Died," "The Sure Foundation," "Washington's Will," "Prolific Controversy," "Sunday Mails," Editorials in the same edition were: "Is It Right," and "The Whiskey Erysipelas." Newsey items in this paper were: "Summary of the News," "Letter from Bishop Andrew," "Religion in Camp," and "Great Revival Among Troops Below Richmond."<sup>143</sup>

All of the religious papers had a rather precarious existence. They suffered from want of funds, because in most cases they were given free to the soldiers; they experienced shortage of paper; and sometimes occasioned official displeasure. The governor of one state, in 1864, issued an order allowing the publication of secular papers, but suspending the publication of religious papers.<sup>144</sup> The Southern Observer felt the paper shortage, for one edition appeared partly on foolscap paper, partly on brown wrapping paper, and partly on wall-paper.<sup>145</sup>

The high value placed on these periodicals, as well as their apparent shortage, is indicated by the fact that they went through a good many hands.<sup>146</sup> It was not uncommon for a dozen or more to peruse

<sup>143</sup>Army and Navy Herald, October 15, 1863. A copy of this paper is in the Van David Papers, in the Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas.

<sup>144</sup>South Western Baptist, July 14, 1864.

<sup>145</sup>Hall, "The Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Alabama During the Civil War," in Hall Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>146</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 29, 1861.

the same copy.<sup>147</sup> One soldier rather caustically commented that "a paper is not much account after we all in our part of the camp get through with it." His mess mate had asked him to keep the paper hidden in the tent until he had thoroughly digested its contents.<sup>148</sup>

The singing of hymns forms an integral part of most religious services. This was true of those held in the Confederate army. And soldiers, like many other people, felt that their spirits were lifted up when they sang old hymns that brought back fond memories. Many were the instances in which they were heard to sing these hymns in their tents or while on the march.

Shortly after the war started there was a great demand for hymn books.<sup>149</sup> This demand was partially met by the publication of two hymnals intended specifically for the soldiers' use. They were the Army Hymn Book and The Soldier's Hymn Book.

The Army Hymn Book was published by the Presbyterian Committee of Publication. It contained eighty-two of the most common hymns and an appendix of six popular tunes with the music and words.<sup>150</sup> The type of hymn designed to appeal to the soldier may be surmised from the titles of the following which appeared in the hymnal: "A charge to keep I have," "According to Thy Gracious Word," "Alas and did my Saviour Bleed," "All hail the power of Jesus' name," "Am I a soldier

<sup>147</sup>Religious Herald, March 6, 1862.

<sup>148</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 8, 1861.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., April 9, 1863.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., March 3, 1864, December 22, 1864.

of the Cross," "Come, Holy Spirit come," and "Nearer my God to Thee."<sup>151</sup>  
About 15,000 copies of this hymnal were published.

The Soldier's Hymn Book was published by the South Carolina Tract Society. The selection of hymns was made by Reverend Goulding and contained such hymns as: "The Christian Warrior - see him stand," "Soldiers of the cross, arise," "Beneath the cross of Jesus" and "God Bless our native land."<sup>152</sup>

There can be little doubt that the printed Word of God, in the form of tracts, papers, Bibles and hymn books, did much to stimulate interest in the spoken Word as expressed in revivals. Soldiers who had no books to read, few newspapers, and hours to spend in waiting, were eager and glad to read any material they could get their hands on. They read of the great mysteries of religion, the Sermon on the Mount, the forgiveness of sins, the nature of God, and life-everlasting. Reading about these matters was frequently not sufficient to answer all the questions in the soldier's heart. Tracts usually made him only more curious about the problems at hand. He heard there was a revival in camp and he felt sure that here he could find the answer to the questions that these tracts raised in his mind. It would be an absurdity to say that tracts were responsible for the Great Revival in

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<sup>151</sup>The Army Hymn Book (Presbyterian Committee of Publication 1864), 18-115.

<sup>152</sup>H. B. Pratt to Reverend Goulding, February 27, 1864; John M. Waddel to Reverend Goulding, September 26, 1863, all in Goulding Collection, Emory University Library; The Soldiers Hymn Book (Columbia: South Carolina Tract Society, 1863), 126-223.

the Southern Army, and yet there can be little doubt that they played a great part in stimulating interest in it.

It is interesting to note that many articles written in the papers of that time dealing with the subject of revivals also mention the distribution of tracts. While a revival was going on in Barksdale's Brigade, Colporter A. L. Dickinson was with the unit distributing tracts and Testaments.<sup>153</sup> A veritable avalanche of religious writings descended upon the armies, and the effects of this were soon manifested in the Great Revivals of the fall of 1863.

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<sup>153</sup>South Western Baptist, April 9, 1863.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE GREAT REVIVAL

When the chaplain of a particular unit felt that "the field was white," he would begin protracted meetings which, all things being equal, resulted in a revival and a "harvesting of the fruits."<sup>1</sup> In some cases the chaplains of several units united to hold these meetings.<sup>2</sup> In other cases - especially in the Army of Tennessee which suffered for want of spiritual guidance<sup>3</sup> - deep religious emotion remained latent until missionaries sent by the various churches appeared and stirred it up. Pious officers and men occasionally took the initiative in stimulating revival interest when no chaplain or missionary was available.<sup>4</sup>

Such a revival occurred in the First Company, Richmond Howitzers, in the winter of 1864. There was no chaplain in this battery and only

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<sup>1</sup>Religious Herald, January 8, 1863; Southern Christian Advocate, August 6, 1863; The Army and Navy Messenger, August 15, 1863.

<sup>2</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, June 4, 1863.

<sup>3</sup>South Western Baptist, July 23, 1863; Colonel Newton Davis to Bettie, May 12, 1863, MS. in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

<sup>4</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, June 4, 1863.

a few Christian soldiers, but those who were Christians became accustomed to gathering in their little log chapel for prayer meeting every afternoon. The services were simple. They consisted in scripture reading, a prayer, and singing. It was also understood that if anyone wished to make a few appropriate remarks he was free to do so. Gradually, interest in and attendance on these meetings increased. Then one day, one of the most respected men in the battery rose up and declared, "I think it honest and right to say to my comrades that I have resolved to be a Christian. I here declare myself a believer in Christ. I want to be counted as such, and by the help of God, will try to live as such." This took the men by surprise, and a solemn silence fell upon the group for it emphasized the feelings about religion which had lain unexpressed in their own minds. Interest spread rapidly, and the men who were concerned, still without a chaplain, got into the habit of talking with their comrades who were avowed Christians. The movement went quietly on with no excitement or overt demonstration until sixty-five men, two-thirds of the whole battery, had confessed the faith.<sup>5</sup>

Another remarkable "shower of grace" was precipitated by one of the men at Camp Nineveh in October, 1862. Captain Thomas J. Kirkpatrick, ruling elder in the Lynchburg Presbyterian Church, related how one night he had joined a group of men sitting around the campfire and singing hymns. He had spoken informally with them, telling them

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<sup>5</sup>William Meade Dame, From the Rapidan to Richmond and the Spottsylvania Campaign (Baltimore: Green Lucas Company, 1920), 51.

what a blessing it would be if those there would consecrate themselves to God. To the captain's amazement, every man present but one expressed himself as being prepared to turn to God and to lead a new life from that night on. The meetings around the campfire continued, the Christian elder speaking with the men on the doctrines of faith, until between forty and fifty members of his own company had been converted and members of other companies had begun to show an interest.<sup>6</sup>

Young chaplains who were often novices in the revival field occasionally called upon the older, more experienced missionary to assist them when a promising seriousness pervaded their units. This happened when the Reverend Dr. Stiles, Presbyterian missionary to the Army of Northern Virginia, was requested by three Baptist chaplains of General Isaac Trimble's Brigade to cooperate with them in holding a meeting. At the end of three days of services, about seventy men and officers came forward requesting to be prayed for, and Dr. Stiles thought there may have been more who were unable to reach the altar because of the crowd.<sup>7</sup>

The revival tide flowed forcefully and rapidly throughout the armies of the Confederacy. Chaplain J. M. Stokes, Third Georgia Volunteers, expressed the belief that there never before had existed a greater revival spirit than the one which pervaded the Army of Northern

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<sup>6</sup>Southern Presbyterian, December 4, 1862; North Carolina Presbyterian, November 15, 1862.

<sup>7</sup>Southern Presbyterian, November 6, 1862; North Carolina Presbyterian, November 15, 1862; The Index (London, February 12, 1863), II, No. 42, 254.

Virginia in the spring of 1863.<sup>8</sup> It was said that protracted meetings were in progress in every regiment.<sup>9</sup> The Eleventh South Carolina Regiment, which allegedly contained but two church members, experienced a revival in the fall of 1863; after its force was spent, a chaplain wrote that but few more than two were not professors of religion.<sup>10</sup> Revivals were reported in the brigades of Barksdale, Lawton, Walker, Paxton, Hoke, Cobb, Jones, Posey, Wilcox, Kershaw, the Stonewall Brigade and many others.<sup>11</sup> Reverend B. T. Lacy announced that nearly 1000 souls of the Second and Third Corps had professed faith in September, 1863,<sup>12</sup> and it was estimated that 15,000 men in this Army of Northern Virginia alone made some profession of faith during the war.<sup>13</sup>

The Army of Tennessee received a similar outpouring of grace. Reverend Benjamin Palmer, Presbyterian missionary to this army, said in July, 1863, that interest in religion was universal despite the singular lack of chaplains. Those chaplains who were engaged in this field and other missionaries to the army preached "every where, every

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<sup>8</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, June 4, 1863.

<sup>9</sup>The Army and Navy Messenger, June 15, 1863; South Western Baptist, June 11, 1863.

<sup>10</sup>The Soldier's Paper (Richmond), November 1, 1863.

<sup>11</sup>Southern Churchman, April 17, 1863.

<sup>12</sup>Southern Presbyterian, September 24, 1863.

<sup>13</sup>Noll (ed.), Doctor Quintard, Chaplain, C.S.A., 3.



day, and often twice a day."<sup>14</sup> Another missionary, A. D. McVoy, announced that religion penetrated every brigade and regiment, and in one week [that of April 26, 1864], 292 men from this army were reported to have been converted.<sup>15</sup>

Chaplain J. H. Bryson of the Ninth Kentucky Regiment commenced a meeting in the early part of March, 1863. Interest in the services was so profound that pious soldiers frequently came to the church two hours ahead of time to assure themselves of seats. The house was always overflowing and many stood along the aisles, in the door ways, and on the porch throughout the exercises, so eager were they to hear the Word of God.<sup>16</sup> Daniel L. Kelly, a soldier stationed in Chattanooga, described the state of religion which existed in the army in September, 1863, when he wrote to his cousin and said: "I am going to tell you some good news and that is all threw [sic] the whole Army of Tennessee there is a Revival of Religion going on protracted meeting are now being held all threw [sic] the entire Army so fare [sic] as I notice and souls are being converted to God every day this I am delited [sic] to see for nothing gives me greater pleasure than to see men forsake their wicked ways and turn to the ways of truth."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Southern Presbyterian, July 2, 1863.

<sup>15</sup>The Southern Christian Advocate, May 12, 1864.

<sup>16</sup>Southern Presbyterian, March 26, 1863.

<sup>17</sup>Daniel L. Kelly to Miss S. J. Honnell, September 12, 1863, MS. in Archives Collection, Emory University Library.

Because of military duties-- scouting, skirmishing, and picketting-- the cavalry branch of the Army of Tennessee was belatedly affected by the revival. However, in July, 1863, a missionary arrived at the camp of Terry's Texas Rangers where, together with Reverend R. F. Bunting, chaplain to the unit, he began a protracted meeting. The timing was apparently propitious, for the church was crowded with attentive listeners from the first; soon more than forty men were asking what they might do to be saved. It is interesting to note that soon after the revival began the regiment was invited to a ball being given by their superior officers a few miles away. The "acting functionary" declined respectfully and invited the would-be-hosts to come to the "very interesting meeting in progress at this place."<sup>18</sup> The meeting continued for more than four weeks during which time services were held daily. At the end of this time thirty men proclaimed themselves ready to make a public profession of faith and about 130 more were said to have come under the influence of the meeting.<sup>19</sup>

Every known type of religious service was pressed into use during the revival. Preaching and Sunday school, prayer meeting and Bible class, enquiry, exhortation and singing meetings all became instrumentalities of the revival.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 13, 1863.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., August 27, 1863.

<sup>20</sup>Southern Presbyterian, June 11, 1863; The Army and Navy Messenger, June 15, 1863; Christian Observer, November 6, 1862; Religious Herald, July 9, 1863.

One soldier described the revival in Jackson's army as "one great Methodist Camp Meeting-- they build log fires, sing, pray and preach, and when they ask for the mourners they come in hundreds some falling on the ground crying for mercy."<sup>21</sup>

When the revival was at its height and interest seemed to warrant it, preaching was held several times a day and every day in the week. Doctor Stiles reported 1200 to 1500 members in one congregation,<sup>22</sup> and ministers seemed unanimous in praising the conduct of soldiers during services.

Preachers of the revival seemed to have come from four distinct groups: the chaplains; ministers and Christian laymen in the service; those preachers whose churches were in the vicinity of camp; and divines who were commissioned by their respective denominations to go as missionaries and colporters to the army.

Of the chaplains, it was generally conceded that they devoted themselves to their work with commendable zeal,<sup>24</sup> and those units which

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<sup>21</sup>South Western Baptist, December 25, 1862.

<sup>22</sup>The Index (London), February 12, 1863; the North Carolina Presbyterian, November 15, 1862.

<sup>23</sup>Richmond Christian Advocate, September 17, 1863; Southern Christian Advocate, June 11, 1863; Southern Presbyterian, October 29, 1863.

<sup>24</sup>Christian Advocate, August 27, 1863; Albert Goodloe, Confederate Echoes (Tennessee, 1907), 375-376; Stiles, Four Years Under Marse Robert, 142-43.

were not blessed with a chaplain frequently contained in their ranks willing ministers and laymen who conducted revival services quite ably.<sup>25</sup>

Many pastors from churches near camp contributed their time and efforts and these were usually well received by the men.<sup>26</sup> One minister, a Reverend Craigle who was pastor of two churches fifteen miles from a camp in Virginia, was described as "one of the greatest preachers I ever listened to" by Thomas F. Boatwright.<sup>27</sup>

However, it seems that the labors of the missionaries were most greatly appreciated and were blessed with the greatest response. Perhaps the reason for this was, as Chaplain F. S. Petway expressed it, that "We need the ministrations of such men, whose age and mature experience can give greater weight to the truths promulgated, and serve as a sure directory to the young and more inexperienced."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Dane, From the Rapidan to Richmond, 150-51; William R. Stillwell to his wife, March 15, 1863, typescript copy in, "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," V, in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>26</sup>North Carolina Presbyterian, October 18, 1862; Christian Advocate, October 2, 1863; Colonel Newton Davis to Bettie, May 12, 1863, in Military Records Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Southern Presbyterian, December 4, 1862.

<sup>27</sup>Thomas F. Boatwright to his wife, April 9, 1863, in Boatwright Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>28</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, June 11, 1863.

Those missionaries who seemed to have been most active were: Reverends J. B. McFerrin, J. C. Stiles, Benjamin F. Palmer, A. Broadus, and A. E. Dickinson.<sup>29</sup>

A letter to the Southern Christian Advocate gave a soldier's opinion of Reverend J. B. McFerrin. It said, "We want to see Brother J. B. McFerrin among us. Will he not come? The soldiers say when he preaches to them their wounds get easy, and the sweet memories of long ago are brought back."<sup>30</sup>

Interest in the services or the size of the congregation did not depend on the eminence of the preacher, for soldiers gathered in large numbers to hear their chaplain, a visiting clergyman, or a pious layman preach.<sup>31</sup> One soldier's heart was "filled to overflowing" after hearing a divine from Baltimore preach.<sup>32</sup> Another termed a discourse delivered by a third sergeant in his company as one which for "simplicity, earnestness, and appropriateness to the occasion, I have seldom heard excelled."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Southern Presbyterian, April 14, 1864; Southern Presbyterian, September 10, 1863; Christian Observer, November 20, 1862; South Western Baptist, April 9, 1863; North Carolina Presbyterian, November 15, 1862; Southern Christian Advocate, June 2, 1864; Religious Herald, July 9, 1863; R. C. Mabry to his wife; April 20, 1862, in R. C. Mabry Papers, North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>30</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, April 28, 1864.

<sup>31</sup>Stiles, Four Years Under Marse Robert, 140.

<sup>32</sup>Thomas F. Boatwright to Mrs. Boatwright, April 9, 1863, Boatwright Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>33</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 31, 1861.

Chaplain J. Monroe Anderson, in giving an account of a revival at Camp Gregg, Virginia, stated that all services had been conducted in as quiet a manner as possible. He refused to see inquirers anywhere but in the privacy of his tent and had "studiously avoided everything which might seem like getting up an excitement."<sup>34</sup>

It would seem that Chaplain Anderson's procedure was the exception rather than the rule. Letters from soldiers, missionaries, and other chaplains are replete with descriptions of services which indicate that they were generally conducted in the following manner. After the sermon was completed, a hymn was sung and the minister called upon all those who felt the need of special prayers to come to the front. There the anxious soldiers, sometimes as many as 100 at a time, came forward and, as the spirit moved them, they sat upon the "mourners bench," knelt upon the ground, or prostrated themselves before the altar seeking forgiveness for their sins."<sup>35</sup>

The Due-West-Telescope, a secular newspaper, took issue with this method of conducting the revival in camp. It said: "A discourse is preached which has but little in it. After it is over, the preacher goes down among the soldiers and begins his song. 'We are bound for Canaan's happy land.' He sings, and shakes hands -- he sings and

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., June 11, 1863.

<sup>35</sup>R. C. Mabry to his wife, September 5, 1863, in R. C. Mabry Papers, North Carolina Historical Commission; A. S. Webb to his brother, July 24, 1863, in Webb Letters, North Carolina Historical Commission; South Western Baptist, June 25, 1863; Stiles, Four Years Under Marse Robert, 140; R. B. Hudgins to his uncle, April 12, 1863, in Boatwright Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

exhorts -- he tells the war worn soldier about the horrors of Hell and the glories of Heaven. He points him to the 'better country,' and represents a mother, a sister, a wife, or a babe as there in glory, and he beckons the soldier to come along and join the happy throng. The soldier is moved, others are excited; they join together and go forward to be prayed for; and this is called a revival, and the world is told that there is great religious interest in the camps."<sup>36</sup>

Be this as it may, some degree of religious excitement occasionally arose without solicitation. Chaplain M. Bibbs, Sixtieth Virginia Regiment, found it unnecessary to beg the men to identify themselves as seekers of religion as they were ready and anxious to do so.<sup>37</sup> Doctor Stiles declared that at one meeting a number of the men began to shout and were "weepingly converted" so that he was forced to request them to retire from the meeting for "rest and meditation."<sup>38</sup>

The inquiring soldier did not hesitate to go to the altar for prayers when he was attending services in a civilian church. One soldier wrote his mother on September 10, 1863, that he had gone to preaching at a country church and had witnessed half the soldiers present go up to be prayed for.<sup>39</sup>

Direct appeals to the unconverted were also made in those prayer meetings which were led by laymen and ministers in the army and,

<sup>36</sup>Religious Herald, October 8, 1863.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., May 14, 1863.

<sup>38</sup>Southern Presbyterian, December 4, 1862.

<sup>39</sup>The Mobile Advertiser and Register, October 1, 1863.

apparently with good results.<sup>40</sup> A private in Otey's Battery wrote that his unit had no chaplain, but it had been blessed with a revival through the efforts of "Comrades in arms," and regular prayer meetings were held.<sup>41</sup>

Frequently following preaching or prayer meeting, a large proportion of the congregation would frequently retire to the woods and remain in prayer and supplication till well after midnight.<sup>42</sup> These sessions almost always resulted in conversions.

Ministers were always happy when they could report the conversion of an officer.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, when officers were brought under the influence of religion, it often worked to the benefit of the revival as a whole, for these officers were then willing to suspend roll call and drill in order to enable the men to attend divine services.<sup>44</sup>

It is a well known fact that General Lee was a devoutly pious man. However, some of his generals were less religiously inclined than he and became accustomed to making Sundays the time for drills and reviews. The story is told that two chaplains went to Lee and requested

<sup>40</sup> William R. Stillwell to his wife, September 7, 1863, typescript copy in, "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," V, Georgia State Department of Archives and History; Goodloe, Confederate Echoes, 389.

<sup>41</sup> Southern Christian Advocate, June 4, 1863.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., March 12, 1863; Religious Herald, May 14, 1863; Southern Presbyterian, December 4, 1862.

<sup>43</sup> Southern Presbyterian, December 4, 1862.

<sup>44</sup> Jones, Christ in the Camp, 552-553; R. B. Hudgins to his uncle, April 12, 1863, in Boatwright Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.



him to order limitations of military activities on the Sabbath. The general made no promise and the conversation turned to the progress of the revival. It was noted that Lee was highly pleased with the report the chaplains gave him on this subject. As the ministers rose to leave one said, "I think it right that I should say to you, General, that the chaplains of this army have a deep interest in your welfare, and that some of the most fervent prayers we offer are in your behalf." Tears came to the general's eyes as he replied, "Please thank them for that Sir. I warmly appreciate it. And I can only say that I am nothing but a poor sinner, trusting in Christ alone for salvation, and need all the prayers they can offer for me." Shortly thereafter he issued an order requiring better observance of the Sabbath day.<sup>45</sup>

When the soldier felt that his prayers had been heard and that his sins had been forgiven, he professed a faith in the saving grace of Christ. In one meeting of thirty days in Featherston's Brigade, 140 men professed the faith;<sup>46</sup> and 100 men of Barksdale's Brigade did likewise during a meeting of twenty-one days.<sup>47</sup> A soldier in the Fourteenth Virginia Regiment wrote a friend that some seventy-five or 100 members of the Corps had made a profession;<sup>48</sup> and Lieutenant Josiah

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<sup>45</sup>Douglas S. Freeman, Robert E. Lee (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1934-35), III, 244.

<sup>46</sup>Rainwater, A Civilian's Recollections of the War Between the States, 141.

<sup>47</sup>South Western Baptist, April 9, 1863.

<sup>48</sup>S. P. Read to R. C. Mabry, September 6, 1863, in Mabry Letters, North Carolina Historical Commission.

Ryland recorded in his diary that 185 members of the Twenty-sixth Virginia Regiment had felt the hand of the Lord upon them by August 10, 1863.<sup>49</sup>

True profession and sincere repentance were not easily obtained. They often necessitated long and arduous seasons of meditation and self analysis. John H. Hartman wrote on August 30, 1863, that "I am also a morner [sic] and have bin [sic] for the last three or four days and ant [sic] through yet."<sup>50</sup> J. B. E. Lampkin wrote his wife that he had wanted to make a profession when he was home, "but I was afraid I was not good enough, for I think one should feel perfectly satisfied that he is good enough to jine [sic] a church before he became a member ."<sup>51</sup>

When a soldier felt the power of the revival, he usually acted in the manner of John H. Hartman, who wrote to his wife "that I have profest of my sins and I am going to gine [sic] the church and be baptized in a few days."<sup>52</sup> Those who were Christians already were eager to tell the folks back home of the effect of the revival on their friends

<sup>49</sup>Lieutenant Josiah Ryland, typescript diary in possession of Doctor Garnett Ryland, University of Richmond, entry of August 10, 1863.

<sup>50</sup>John H. Hartman to Asa Ribelin, August 30, 1863, in John Hartman Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>51</sup>J. B. E. Lampkin to his wife, August 21, 1863, typescript copy in, "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," II, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

<sup>52</sup>John H. Hartman to Mrs. Hartman, September 1, 1863, in Hartman Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

in the service.<sup>53</sup> Some told of the conversions, the attention during the religious exercises,<sup>54</sup> and of soldiers standing around after the services with Testaments in their hands. When the soldiers saw this great outpouring of grace, they began to hope for and to expect supernatural intervention on behalf of the Confederacy.<sup>55</sup>

Letters to friends and to church papers make frequent mention of the writers having witnessed or participated in a baptism of converts into the various churches.<sup>56</sup> A meeting in Wood's Brigade in the spring of 1863 resulted in about 100 conversions.<sup>57</sup> Kirkland's Brigade contributed forty-seven converts and Walker's about thirty in one week of May, 1864.<sup>58</sup> More than 200 members of Mahone's Brigade joined a church in the fall of 1863.<sup>59</sup> Reverend Doctor McFerrin, missionary to

<sup>53</sup>Thomas, Memoirs of Joseph P. Thomas, 9; William Dunlap to his sister, May 28, 1863, in Adam L. Dunlap and Daniel Rifle Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>54</sup>Andrew Jackson Brown, typescript copy of diary in possession of Doctor Bell I. Wiley, Emory University, entry of September 22, 1864.

<sup>55</sup>Eggleston, A Rebel's Recollections, 240-241.

<sup>56</sup>South Western Baptist, September 4, 1863; John Crittenden to his wife, March 29, 1864, typescript copy in Crittenden Letters, Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas; F. W. Thompson to his sister, August 14, 1863, in F. W. Thompson Papers, Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas; William R. Stillwell to his wife, April 28, 1863, typescript copy in "Letters of Confederate Soldiers," V, Georgia Department of Archives and History; R. C. Mabry to his wife, May 20, 1864, in Mabry Papers, North Carolina Historical Commission; South Western Baptist, March 24, 1864.

<sup>57</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, June 11, 1863.

<sup>58</sup>Richmond Christian Advocate, May 12, 1864.

<sup>59</sup>Southern Christian Advocate, October 2, 1863.

the Army of Tennessee, reported that after a meeting of twenty-one days he received fifty-three candidates for membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>60</sup>

Baptisms became so commonplace that the following story began to go around: Colonels "A" and "B" commanded rival regiments in the same brigade and each kept close watch to prevent the other from excelling him in performance. One day "B" was surprised to hear that a revival had commenced in A's regiment. Colonel "B" then turned to his adjutant and told him to issue a general order assembling a revival immediately. Then on learning that fifteen men in "A"'s regiment had been baptized, Colonel "B" ordered his adjutant to form a special detail of twenty men to be baptized forthwith, for, said "B", "I will be hanged if I don't get ahead of "A" this time."<sup>61</sup> This story was told so many times in both the North and the South that it became a part of the folk-lore of both sections.

If extreme rivalry existed between the denominations, it is not evident; for meetings were often held jointly with ministers of the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches participating.<sup>62</sup> Usually at the close of the meeting, the doors of the church were opened to all who were ready to profess, and at that time the soldiers

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., June 2, 1864.

<sup>61</sup>The Southern Field and Fireside (Augusta, Georgia), May 2, 1863.

<sup>62</sup>Piller McDavid, to his sister, August 15, 1863, in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library; Southern Christian Advocate, February 18, 1864.

made known the denomination of their choice. If a qualified representative of that denomination were present, he took the soldier by the hand, questioned him, and later made arrangements for baptizing him.<sup>63</sup> If no representative were present, the soldier was forced to wait until one came to camp or until he could go to church in town.<sup>64</sup>

A private in the Sixteenth Mississippi wrote from Orange, Virginia, that "The Boys are taking to the Camelite persuasion [sic] we have an Exclant [sic] preacher to preach to us every day. He talks good sense and if he is right this is certainly an easy way to get to Heaven."<sup>65</sup> Despite this soldier's enthusiasm for the "Camelite persuasion [sic]," a correspondent of the Religious Herald estimated that as many soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia joined the Baptist Church as those who joined all other denominations together.<sup>66</sup>

Soldiers who felt that they were prepared to accept the saving grace of Christian faith made themselves known to their chaplain or visiting missionary and received the Sacrament of baptism.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>George G. Smith, The Boy in Gray -- A Story of the War (Macon, Georgia: Macon Publishing Company, 1896), 147; Southern Presbyterian, September 21, 1861; John H. Hartman to Mrs. Martha Hartman, September 1, 1863, in Hartman Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.

<sup>64</sup>Southern Presbyterian, August 27, 1863.

<sup>65</sup>Jerome Yates to sister Marie, May 4, 1864, in Hartman Collection, Archives Collection, Library of the University of Texas.

<sup>66</sup>Religious Herald, September 24, 1863.

<sup>67</sup>Henry A. Chambers, MS. diary in North Carolina Historical Commission, entry of September 27, 1863; J. E. Green MS. diary in North Carolina Historical Commission, entry of June 21, 1863; Robert C. Mabry to his wife, April 25, 1864, in Mabry Papers, North Carolina Historical Commission; G. W. Roberts, MS., diary in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, entry of May 31, 1863.

Perhaps the baptism service which received more notice than any other in the Confederate army was that administered to Colonel William D. Pender. He was baptised by Chaplain A. T. Porter in the presence of his entire regiment on October 7, 1861. There, before his men, "Having responded in a clear voice to all the questions asked, he knelt down at the feet of the minister, with his hands folded on his breast, his eyes swimming with tears, and by holy baptism... made an open profession of the religion of Jesus, and was dedicated to the service of Almighty God." The impression that this made upon the soldier in the ranks may easily be judged.<sup>68</sup>

The trials of war and unfavorable elements had their effect upon the baptism service. J. W. Jones relates how on one occasion he was forced to cut the ice from a mill pond in order to immerse a group of interested men.<sup>69</sup>

A Baptist chaplain in Kershaw's Brigade gave an account of a service in which occurred a novel experience. He, a Methodist, and a Methodist Episcopal minister were all engaged in administering the rite of baptism to three groups of young men at the same time when several minie balls whizzed through the congregation and lodged themselves in a hill to the rear.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>William D. Pender to his wife, October 7, 1861, in Pender Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Southern Presbyterian, November 16, 1861.

<sup>69</sup>Jones, Christ in the Camp, 224.

<sup>70</sup>Confederate Baptist, July 27, 1864.

On Sunday, June 29, 1863, while A. P. Hill's Corps was marching toward Gettysburg, an immense assembly of soldiers lined the banks of the Antietam River near Hagerstown, Maryland. No sound of cannon or shriek of shell was heard. Instead there were songs of praise; and while a profound seriousness stole over those gathered together, fourteen veterans marched into the river to be baptised.<sup>71</sup>

Pious intentions were sometimes relegated to the background when worldly dangers were imminent-- even during a solemn baptism. A story was told of one Dock Knight, a man who was harelipped and, therefore, unable to speak plainly. Dock was about to be baptised, but, as the chaplain led him into the water, he espied a moccasin snake directly over the place toward which the chaplain was obviously headed. Dock began to pull back saying, "Don't you see that Okerson over there?" The chaplain not understanding the man's words urged him forward. The hapless soldier seeing himself almost upon the snake jerked away and yelled, "Oh damit don't you see that Okerson." This time the chaplain understood what Dock had said, but it only served to convince him that the man was in greater need of baptism than he had realized, so he dunked poor Dock again.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Riley (ed.), Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, IX, 35.

<sup>72</sup>Stephen L. Moon to his mother, n.d., typescript copy in "Reminiscences of Confederate Soldiers," III, 107, in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

Episcopal bishops made occasional visits to the army, and many soldiers took these opportunities to have themselves confirmed.<sup>73</sup> It was said that Bishop Lay, "Missionary Bishop to the Army of Tennessee," confirmed numbers of men - "some on sick beds, under an arbour, and sometimes, at an unexpected encounter, under the shade of a tree on the roadside."<sup>74</sup>

A revival's effectiveness is usually measured in terms of the number of converts or the number of persons who have been made to see the evil of their ways and repent. Since the chaplains and missionaries to the Confederate armies were not required by their churches to make written reports regarding the number of persons they converted, it is impossible for us to know just how many Confederate soldiers professed conversion. However, some chaplains and missionaries have attempted to make an estimate. Some place it as high as 150,000<sup>75</sup> while others estimate as low as 50,000. Chaplain James H. McNeilly of the Forty-ninth Tennessee Regiment believed 100,000 would be a fair estimate.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Bishop H. C. Lay, MS. diary in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, entry of September 11, 1864; Journal of the 69th Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia (Richmond, Virginia, 1864), 13; William D. Pender to his wife, May 25, 1862, in Pender Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>74</sup>Undated manuscript written by Bishop Lay in the Bishop Lay Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>75</sup>Jones, Christ in the Camp, 390.

<sup>76</sup>James H. McNeilly, "Religion in the Confederate Armies," in Confederate Veteran, XXI, No. 5, 230; South Western Baptist, November 24, 1864.



An interesting fact is that the leaders of the Confederacy were equally affected by the revival. Generals Bragg, Ewell, Hood, Joseph E. Johnston and President Jefferson Davis all entered the church at this time.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>Henry Steele Commager (ed.), The Blue and the Gray, (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1950), I, 302.

## CHAPTER VII

### THY WILL BE DONE

The primary concern of a soldier is dying and killing--he walks in the shadow of death. It is true that in the midst of battle the thought of death does not plague him; but certainly during the long and arduous periods that precede an engagement, thoughts of suffering, dying and departing from this life into a state of uncertainty are constantly before him. These thoughts are most unpleasant for him to contemplate. Religion makes it possible for a soldier to dispel the uncertainty; it gives him the courage to bear his trials; it offers him the hope of a better life in the hereafter. In short, it makes of him a less fearful and, therefore, a better soldier. The contention of some officers, that religion unnerves the soldier by making him think of the torments of hell, is not supported by the facts. Military leaders must realize the importance of religion in warfare or else they would not make its services available to their command.

There can be no doubt that the military leaders in the Confederate States of America encouraged and promoted the religious sentiments of the soldier. Religion in the Rebel ranks was as ever-present as was the war itself. In spite of the Confederacy's meager resources and of the great demand for manpower and material, over 600 chaplains were commissioned

to preach to the Confederate warrior. The government allowed the various religious denominations to literally flood the army with missionaries, colporters and millions of pages of tracts and religious reading material. Special days for fasting and prayer were set aside. The placing of such great emphasis on religion in conjunction with the Southerner's natural inclination toward the emotional aspect of religion resulted in the great revivals of 1863-64. These revivals encompassed whole armies. In the Northern armies they were local in character and were restricted only to regiments and brigades. Comparatively few converts were made.<sup>1</sup>

It is of interest to observe that the revivals in the Confederate armies reached their height in 1863, or about the time of the Southern defeat at Gettysburg. Could it be that these revivals were an unconscious effort on the part of the South to secure Divine intervention in its behalf? John M. Daniel of the Examiner said that President Jefferson Davis was "relying on a miracle to save the country instead of mounting his horse and putting forth every power of the Government to defeat the enemy."<sup>2</sup> Robert Hill, writing home about the revivals in June of 1863, voiced the belief of some of his comrades in arms when he said: "There is a great revival of religion going on in the infantry hundreds yes thousands have professed religion and the work is still going on. Our chaplain says that they cannot supply the army with Bibles

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<sup>1</sup>Bell I. Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1952), 274.

<sup>2</sup>Coulter, The Confederate States of America, 532.

and hymn books and religious tracts such is the great demand for them. Do you think such men who are thus favored by God can be conquered?"<sup>3</sup>

It seems reasonable to believe that some Southerners expected a sign from heaven. Maybe they did not expect a Joan of Arc to emerge from the cotton fields, or for Lee to see a fiery cross in the sky with the words "In Hoc Vince" emblazoned over it, or for a heavenly army to appear on the field of battle. But could not Providence make itself felt by sending the British or French armies to bolster Lee's wavering lines? Could God not make the North agree to Southern independence? Upon these questions we may speculate.

However, there seems little doubt that the church was the greatest single institution in the maintenance of morale in the Confederate army. For many a soldier it was the connecting link between camp life and home. As he prayed and sang hymns of praise his thoughts could not help but wander to his home church wherein he felt a mother, a father, a wife, or a child might be united with him in asking for his speedy and safe return. Such thoughts as these were a source of comfort to the soldier.

Even the North was fully cognizant of the religious force that pervaded the Southern army. President Abraham Lincoln was told that "the rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness...than our own troops."<sup>4</sup> Andrew Johnson gave mute testimony to the way in which

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<sup>3</sup>Robert Edward Hill to Mary Scott Hill, June 21, 1863, in John W. Hill Letters, in Archives Collection, University of Texas Library.

<sup>4</sup>Arthur Charles Cole, The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), VII, 393, Arthur Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox (eds.), A History of American Life.

religion was being used when he accused the ministers of Christ of having poisoned and corrupted the minds of the people.<sup>5</sup>

The Confederate army was an army in which religion played a very real and vital role. It served as a sustaining force in helping the soldier endure four long years of hardship and deprivation. The Rebel soldier, unlike his foe from the North, had had to witness the virtual destruction of his home land, for the war was primarily fought in the South.

With the coming of Appomattox and the realization that the Southern cause was destined to be the Lost Cause, some soldiers were given to despair as was Captain H. A. Chambers when he exclaimed:

Oh! God, how can we bear this! Will not some terrible retribution yet, - even in the mad intoxication of the hour, - come upon this motley crew who have waged upon us so unjust, so barbarous a warfare! - upon this soldiery who have burned our houses, desecrated our altars, plundered our wealth, waged unrelenting warfare upon the aged, the weak, and the helpless, - insulted and dishonored our lovely women! upon that heartless and fanatical people who have by every means in their power - by money, by chicanery, by fraud, by passion, by superstition, by a fanatical religion, by the hope of immense rewards, and by the blandishments of beauty ever urged on these hell-hounds in their fiendish work! Can it be, - can it be? - that after so noble a struggle - after so many deeds of heroism and valor, - after the shedding of so much precious blood, - after so much sorrow and suffering, - borne too, with such Spartan fortitude, - can it be that after all this, we are to be subjugated! and by such a people! Oh God! our burden is almost too heavy to be borne....."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>James W. Silver, "Propaganda in the Confederacy," in Journal of Southern History, XI (1945), 493.

<sup>6</sup>Henry A. Chambers diary, in North Carolina Historical Commission, entry of April 9, 1865.

Despite such fervent pleas it was the will of God that the South be subjugated for, as important as is religion to the spiritual and psychological makeup of mankind, it is not the decisive factor in the art of human warfare. History does not show that only pious generals lead soldiers to victory. The believer in God does not have earthly treasures heaped upon him simply because he believes. Armies do not defeat the enemy solely because they are made up of men with deep religious sentiments. For, if these propositions were valid, the Southern army could not have been subjugated.

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# APPENDIX I

## List of Tracts

<u>Name of Tract</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Location of Tract</u>
Act of Faith, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Address to Churches Upon Present Crises	Evangelical Tract Society	DLC
Address to the Soldiers of the Southern Armies	Gen. Tract Agency-- Soldier's Tract Assn.	UNC Duke
Advice to Soldiers	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
An Affectionate Entreaty	S. C. Tract Society	UNC
Alarm to the Careless	S. C. Tract Society	UNC
Alliense's Alarm		
All Sufficiency of Christ	Gen. Tract Agency	
Am I Self-Deceived	S. C. Tract Society	
Anecdotes For Our Soldiers	S. C. Tract Society	UNC
Angel Lilley		
Anxious Inquirer		
An Appeal to the Young	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Appeal to the Youth, and Especially to the Soldiers of the Confed. States	S. C. Tract Society	Duke
An Appeal to Young Soldiers	S. C. Tract Society	UNC
Are You Forgiven		UNC
Are You Not Afraid to Die	S. C. Tract Society	
Are You Prepared	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Are You Ready	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Ashamed of Christ		
Attractions of Heaven		
Backsliding	Evangelical Tract Society	
Balm for the Weary and the Wounded	P. E. Publishing Assn.	
Baxter's Call		
Be Ye Also Ready	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Bible in my Trunk, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Bible or Atheism, The	Gen. Tract Agency	
Bible Reading for the Soldiers	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
Bible the Word of God, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Bob, the Cabin Boy!		UNC



<u>Name of Tract</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Location of Tract</u>
Bold Blasphemer, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Brand Plucked from the Fire, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Brief Account of the Religious Society of Friends		
Bury the Soldier	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Call to Prayer	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Camp and the Cross, The	Soldier's Tract Assn.	Duke
Can I Be Religious While I Am a Soldier?		
Captain Devereill: or From Darkness to Light	Soldier's Tract Assn.	Huntington
Casting Our Burden on the Lord	S. C. Tract Society	
Centurion, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Character & Death of Captain John D. Andrews	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Christ, A Covert From the Tempest		
Christian Duty to the Times, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Christian Officer, The	Evangelical Tract Society	
Christian Scholar & Soldier---Memoirs of Lewis Minor Coleman, The	S. C. Tract Society	Huntington
Christian Soldier, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Christian Traveller, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Christian's Consolation or the Operation of Faith, The		UNC
Christian Warriors	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
Christ in You	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Christ the Only Refuge From the Wrath to Come	Evangelical Tract Society	Boston Ath.
Christ's Gracious Invitation		UNC
Claims of the Church	P. E. Church Pub. Assn.	
Colonel Baptized in the Presence of His Regiment	S. C. Tract Society	
Colonel's Conversion, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Colonel Gardiner As a Man, A Christian and A Soldier	S. C. Tract Society	
Colporter's Commission, The		UNC
Come and Rest	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Come and Welcome	S. C. Tract Society	
Come Thou With Us and We Will Do Thee Good		
Come to Jesus	Evangelical Tract Society	UNC
Come to the Rescue	Evangelical Tract Society	DLC
Come With Us	Soldier's Tract Assn.	Boston Ath.

Name of Tract	Publisher	Location of Tract
Coming of the Lord Into the Heart, The	Female Bible, Prayerbook & Tract Society	
Confederate Hero and His Heroic Father, The	S. C. Tract Society	Huntington
Confession A Fundamental Doctrine of the Gospel Economy		UNC
Consider Your Ways	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
Contrast, The	Soldier's Tract Assn.	Duke
Convenient Season, A	S. C. Tract Society	
Converted Soldier Becomes A Zealous Missionary, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Counsel to the Convicted	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Crimean Hero: The Late Captain Vicars, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Dairyman's Daughter, The		UNC
Daniel Murray, Late Lt. in the American Navy		UNC
David	Sunday School & Pub. Bd.	
Day of Adversity, The	P. E. Church Pub. Assn.	
Day of Trial, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Dead Soldier of Bomarsund, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Death Bed Repentance	P. E. Church Pub. Assn.	
Death of a Christian Soldier	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Depredations on Private Property		
Dialogue Between the Bible & A Sinner	S. C. Tract Society	
Discharged - I Am Going Home	S. C. Tract Society	
Divine Grace Illustrated	S. C. Tract Society	
Doers of the Word	P. E. Church Pub. Assn.	UNC
Don't Laugh	Gen. Tract Agency	
Don't Put It Off	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Don't Swear!	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Do Thyself No Harm	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Do You Love God?		
Doubting Christian Encouraged, The	P. E. Church Pub. Assn.	Virc. Lib.
Do You Enjoy Religion	S. C. Tract Society	
Do You Want A Friend?	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Drinking, Disobedience, and Death	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Duty of Forgiveness, The		UNC
Dying Officer in Barracks, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Dying Robber, The	S. C. Tract Society	Huntington
Effect of Ardent Spirit Upon the Human Body & Mind, The	Evangelical Tract Society	

<u>Name of Tract</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Location of Tract</u>
Enlist! Enlist! An Appeal to Young Soldiers	Evangelical Tract Society	
Entire Devotedness to God	Presby. Pub. Comm.	Huntington
Episcopacy and Confirmation -- A Tract For the Young	P. E. Pub. Assn.	
Eventful Twelve Hours, Or The Destitution and Wretchedness of A Drunkard, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Every Man The Friend of The Enemy of Christ	S. C. Tract Society	
Evils of Gaming, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Faith and Works		Boston Ath.
Faith in God		UNC
Fatal Delusions	S. C. Tract Society	
Fatal Mistake, or the Midnight Shipwreck, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Few Words to the Soldier of the Confederate States, The	Female Bible, Prayerbook and Tract Society	UNC
Fight by Faith, The	Evangelical Tract Society	GEU
First Epistle General of John		UNC
For the Confederate Army	S. S. & Pub. Board	UNC
Fox Hunter, The	Evangelical Tract Society	
Fragments for the Sick	P. E. Church Pub. Assn.	
French Soldier, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Friendly Conversation	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Future Good - The Explanation of Present Reverses	P. E. Pub. Assn.	DLC
Gambler's Balance Sheet		UNC
Gate of Prayer, The		Boston Ath.
George Giles, or "My Mothers' Bible"	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Give God His Day	Gen. Tract Agency	
God's Providence, A Source of Comfort and Courage to Christians	S. S. & Pub. Board	UNC
God the Giver of Victory and Peace	Gen. Tract Agency	
Goodness Conquers	S. S. & Pub. Board	
Gospel of Peace, The	Evangelical Tract Society	Boston Ath.
Gospel Shower	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Government		UNC
Great Amnesty, The		
Great Day of Wrath and of Glory, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Great Gathering, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Great Question Answered, The	S. S. & Pub. Board	UNC

<u>Name of Tract</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Location of Tract</u>
Great Question Asked, A		Boston Ath.
Great Sermon by a Great Preacher, A		UNC
Grieving The Spirit of God	S. C. Tract Society	
Guard House, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Halting On This Side of Jordan, Or Shall Your Brethren Go To War & Shall Ye Sit Here?		
Harden Not Your Hearts	Soldier's Tract Assn.	DLC
Hast Thou Faith...	Evangelical Tract Society	
Have You.....?	S. C. Tract Society	
Have You Heard The Good News?	Gen. Tract Agency	
Hearing or Hardening	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Here Is My Heart — "Weep Not"	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Happy Jack	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Henry Havelock, Sir	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Hinder Me Not	S. C. Tract Society	
Hints on Confirmation	P. E. Pub. Assn.	UNC
History of a Piece of Wood, The	Evangelical Tract Society	
Holy Shield (From "Myrtle Leaves"), The		UNC
"Home, Sweet Home"		UNC
Hospital Made a Bethel, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
How Do You Bear Your Trials	S. C. Tract Society	USC
How I Was Delivered From Two Cruel Invasions		UNC
How Long Have I To Live		Boston Ath.
How Long Have You Been Sick?	S. C. Tract Society	USC
How Shall I Live?	Evangelical Tract Society	
How To Become a Christian	Gen. Tract Agency	
How To Dispose of Care	S. C. Tract Society	
I Can't Make Myself Different	Presby. Pub. Com.	USC
I Don't Like Professions	S. C. Tract Society	USC
I Have Brought My Little Brother Back		UNC
Improvident Traveller, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Infidel's Creed, The	S. C. Tract Society	
In Camp	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Individual Effort, or What Can I Do?		
In The Enemy's Lines	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
It Is A Fearful Thing to Live	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
It Is The Last Time		UNC
I've Never Thought of Dying So	S. C. Tract Society	
Jesus Christ Has Spoken For Me	Presby. Pub. Com.	

<u>Name of Tract</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Location of Tract</u>
Jesus The Soldier's Friend	Evangelical Tract Society	UNC
Joyful Tidings, The		
Kind Words To A Wounded Soldier	S. C. Tract Society	
Kind Word To The Officers Of		
Our Army, A	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Kind Word to the Soldier	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
Lasting Peace, A	Gen. Tract Agency	
Last Time, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	Boston Ath.
Letters To A Man Bewildered		
Among Many	P. E. Pub. Assn.	Huntington
Letter to a Soldier Who Drinks	S. S. & Pub. Board	
Letter To a Son in Camp	Evangelical Tract Society	
Letters to Christians in the		
Army: Lieutenant R: or,		
the Tract Read in the Theatre	S. C. Tract Society	
Life Preserver, The	Gen. Tract Agency	DLC
Liquor & Lincoln & Liquor	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Living Oracle, A	S. S. & Pub. Board	UNC
Long Roll, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Lord Reigneth, The	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
Lost Convictions	S. C. Tract Society	
Lovest Thou Me	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Love to an Unseen Saviour	Evangelical Tract Society	
Major's Account of Himself, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Marks of Religious Declension	Evangelical Tract Society	
Midnight Cry, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Military Execution: Sin		
Found Out	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Missionary's Nephew, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Mortally Wounded	S. C. Tract Society	
Mother's Last Words	Presby. Pub. Com.	DLC
Mother's Parting Words To Her		
Soldier Boy, A	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Mother's Prayer Answered, A	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Motives to Early Piety	Gen. Tract Agency	
Mourner, The	S. S. & Pub. Board	
Muffled Drum, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Muster, The	S. C. Tract Society	Duke
Mustered Into Service	S. C. Tract Society	USC
My Spirit Shall Not Always		
Strive	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
My Time Is But A Day	S. C. Tract Society	
Napoleon's Argument For The		
Divinity of Christ	S. C. Tract Society	USC
National Rectitude the Only		
True Bases of National		
Prosperity		

Name of Tract	Publisher	Location of Tract
Navy Surgeon, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Neither Cold Nor Hot	Soldier's Tract Assn.	DLC
New Year, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Noah's Carpenters	Gen. Tract Agency	USC
Noble Testimony, A	Gen. Tract Agency	
Not Happy In Heaven	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Now!	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Obstacles to Conversion	S. C. Tract Society	
Often Warned	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Old Soldier, The	S. C. Tract Society	
On the Home of Future Repentance	Evangelical Tract Society	
Once to Die	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
One Mediator For Many Sinners	Evangelical Tract Society	Boston Ath.
One Sin: Or, The Dying Father and His Son	Soldier's Tract Assn.	Duke
One Word Now		UNC
Open Sepulchre	P. E. Pub. Assn.	Virc. Lib.
Our Danger and Our Duty	Soldier's Tract Assn.	DLC
Our Father's Call		DLC
"Our Father's Care"	Presby. Pub. Com.	DLC
Our Triumph	Soldier's Tract Assn.	GEU
Our War, Our Cause, and Our Duty	S. C. Tract Society	GEU
Past Feeling	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Patriotic Sermon, A	S. C. Tract Society	
Patriotism Not Piety	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Peace in Believing		DLC
Piety Gives Courage and Peace in Battle	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Pitching The Tent Toward Sodom	Evangelical Tract Society	DLC
Plain Speaking	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Plain Tract on Confirmation, A	P. E. Pub. Assn.	
Poor Joseph	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Prayer	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Prayer For the Sick and Wounded	P. E. Pub. Assn.	
Precious Blood of Christ or How A Soldier Was Saved, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Prepare For Battle		UNC
Prepare to Meet Thy God	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Price of A Soul, The		
Private Devotion	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Process of Conversion, The	P. E. Pub. Assn.	Virc. Lib.
Proclamation of Peace, A	S. S. & Pub. Board	

Name of Tract	Publisher	Location of Tract
Procrastination	S. C. Tract Society	
Profane Swearing	S. C. Tract Society	Virc. Lib.
Quench Not The Spirit	S. C. Tract Society	
Question That Has Never Been Answered	P. E. Pub. Assn.	
Railway Guide, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Receiving Christ		UNC
Remember The Sabbath Day To Keep It Holy	Soldier's Tract Assn.	Boston Ath.
Repentance of David	P. E. Pub. Assn.	
Repentance of Judas	P. E. Pub. Assn.	UNC
Ring Leader, The	Evangelical Tract Society	Boston Ath.
Ruinous Consequence of Gambling	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
Sailor and the Soldier, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Sailors Home, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Scripture Illustration of the Sufficiency of Christ	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Season of Divine Mercy, The		UNC
Self-Dedication to God	Gen. Tract Agency	
Sentinel, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Shew Me Myself	S. C. Tract Society	
Shiloh, A Sermon	S. S. & Pub. Board	
Shiloh	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Sick and the Physician, The	Gen. Tract Agency	
Silly Fish, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Sin & Its Wages	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Sinner and the Saviour, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Sinner His Own Destroyer, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Sinner's Friend, The	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Sins Going Before To Judgment	Presby. Com. of Pub.	Huntington
Sketch of Davney Carr Harrison..	Evangelical Tract Society	GEU
Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers		UNC
Soldier, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Soldier Boy and His Father	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Soldier Do You Believe the Bible	S. C. Tract Society	
Soldier's Almanac, The	S. S. & Pub. Board	
Soldier's Bible, The	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
Soldier Conquer Your Gr. Enemy	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Soldier's Dying Grief and Glory	S. C. Tract Society	USC
Soldier's Grave, The	Soldier's Tract Assn.	UNC
Soldier's Guide	S. S. & Pub. Board	
Soldiers in Hospital: or, Come to Christ	S. C. Tract Society	

Name of Tract	Publisher	Location of Tract
Soldier's Memorial of M. H., Late Sergeant in the Royal Irish Regt.	Presby. Pub. Com.	Boston Ath.
Soldier's Pocket Bible	S. C. Tract Society	
Soldier's Text Book, or Confidence in Time of War Soldiers Victory	Gen. Tract Agency S. C. Tract Society Soldier's Tract Assn.	UNC
Southern Soldier, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Spirit Grieved, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Strong Consolation	S. C. Tract Society	
Substance of the Gospel, The	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Suffering of the Lost	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Sunshine		
Swearer's Prayer, or His Oath Explained	Presby. Pub. Com.	Boston Ath.
Swearer's Prayer, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Swearing	S. S. & Pub. Board	
Swearing Drunkard Soldier Converted, The	S. C. Tract Society	UNC
Sword of the Spirit, The	S. C. Tract Society	UNC
Simplicity of Faith	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Sympathy With the Afflicted Christian	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Taproot, The		UNC
Temperate Soldier, The	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
There is Room for You	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
There's A Good Time Coming	P. E. Pub. Assn.	Huntington
Things To Think Of	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Third Epistle of John		UNC
Three Words	S. C. Tract Society	
Tongue, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	
To Arms! To Arms!	S. S. & Pub. Board	
To A Christian in the Army	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Tract For the Army, A		UNC
Tract for Passion Week, A		
Tract for the Soldier, A	Gen. Tract Agency	
True Conversion	S. C. Tract Society	Boston Ath.
True Riches & Security		UNC
True Story of Luck Now, A	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Two Soldiers, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Two Steps to Immediate		
Conversion, The	Soldier's Tract Assn.	Boston Ath.
Value of the Soul, The		UNC
Very Short and Very Long,		
& the Strict Search	S. C. Tract Society	
Victory Won, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington



Name of Tract	Publisher	Location of Tract
Voice From Heaven, A	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Voice From the Austria, A	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Voice of Conscience, The		
Voice of Washington, The		UNC
War and Its Close, The	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
Warfare Ended, The	Soldier's Tract Assn.	Boston Ath.
Way of Peace, The	S. C. Tract Society	Huntington
Way of Salvation Made Plain	Presby. Com. Pub.	Huntington
Way to Heaven, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
We Pray for You at Home	S. S. & Pub. Board	
What Are You Fit For	S. C. Tract Society	USC
What Has Sin Done	Gen. Tract Society	
What Can I Do?	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
What Is It To Believe on Christ?	S. C. Tract Society	
What Must I Do To Be Saved?	Presby. Pub. Com.	
What Think Ye Of Christ?	Evangelical Tract Society	Boston Ath.
What Will You Do With It?	Soldier's Tract Assn.	
What Will Thou That I Should Do?	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Where Are You Going?	S. C. Tract Society	UNC
Where Are the Christians in the Army?	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Where Art Thou?	P. E. Pub. Assn.	Virc. Lib.
Whether Bound?		UNC
Who Slew All These?	Evangelical Tract Society	
Who Will Show Us Any Good?	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Why Do Ye Sit Still?	S. C. Tract Society	
Why Do You Do It?	Presby. Pub. Com.	Huntington
Why Do You Swear?		UNC
Why Sit Ye Here Idle?	S. C. Tract Society	DLC
Why Will Ye Die?	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Why Yet Impenitent	S. C. Tract Society	
Will You Labor For Salvation?	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
Will Thou Be Made Whole?		UNC
Within & Without	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Women's Words To The Soldier	S. S. & Pub. Board	
Wonderful Escape, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Word From the Ladies of the Soldier's Relief Association	S. C. Tract Society	
Word of Comfort For the Sick Soldier, A		UNC
Word of Warning, A	S. C. Tract Society	
Word of Warning To An Impenitent Sinner, A	Soldier's Tract Assn.	

<u>Name of Tract</u>	<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Location of Tract</u>
Word of Warning To The Sick Soldier, A		UNC
Words of Counsel to Confederate Soldiers	P. E. Pub. Assn.	DLC
Work of Salvation, The	P.E. Pub. Assn.	Virc. Lib.
Worship		UNC
Would You Be Happy?	Evangelical Tract Society	
Wounded, or a Time To Think, The	Presby. Pub. Com.	
Wounded Soldier, The		UNC
Wrath To Come, The	S. C. Tract Society	
Ye Shall Not Surely Die	S. C. Tract Society	
You Are In Danger	Gen. Tract Society	
You Must Labor For Salvation		UNC
Young Deserter, The		UNC
Young Officer's Start in Life, The	S. C. Tract Society	
You Must Labor For Salvation	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC
You Pray In Secret	S. C. Tract Society	
Your Soul—Is It Safe?	Gen. Tract Agency	UNC

These abbreviations were used above:

UNC—	University of North Carolina
DLC—	Library of Congress
Virc--	University of Richmond Library
GEU—	Emory University
USC--	University of South Carolina

## APPENDIX II

### List of Chaplains

<u>Name</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>Denomination</u>	<u>State</u>
Acton, James C.	Hospl. Cuthbert, Ga.		Tenn.
Adwood, Francis	Hospl. Charleston, S. C.		S. C.
Adams, George F.	Gen. Magruder		Va.
Aldrich, N.	Fort Moultrie, S. C.		S. C.
Aldrich, W. A.	1st Va. Regt.		Va.
Alexander, D. H.	27th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Alford, J. R.	51st N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Allen, L. W.	Gen. Magruder		Va.
Ambler, Thomas M.	Williamsburg, Va.		Va.
Anderson, B. B.	4th N. C. Regt.		
Anderson, J. Munroe	12th Regt. S. C. Vols.		
Andrews, John N.	3rd Regt. N. C. Vols.		
Angerer, August	Jackson Hospital		
Archer, Henry L.	41st Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Armstrong, V. C.	9th Texas Cavalry Regt.		Texas
Arnett, J. B.	17th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Ashmore, J. L.	25th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Atwood, Charles H.	5th Mo. Regt.	Cum. Presby.	Mo.
August, Frank	58th Va. Regt.		Va.
Auld, F.	24th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Bachman, J. W.	60th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Baker, Robert M.	17th Va. Regt.		Va.
Bakewell, A. G.	38th Miss. Regt.	Epis.	La.
Baldwin, L. H.	5th La. Regt.		La.
Ball, Dabney	1st Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Bannon, John	Gen. L. Price	Cath.	Mo.
Barbee, James G.	6th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Barber, S. B.	47th Va. Regt.	Cath.	Va.
Barrett, Edward	45th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Barton, Jefferson	34th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Beckwith, John N.	Demopolis, Ala.		Ala.
Beever, George E.	25th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Beever, H. G.	33rd Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Bennett, John R.	Gen. Price (3rd Brigade)		Mo.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Bennett, W. Thomas	12th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Bennett, W. W.	Surgeon Carrington		Va.
Bennum, J. C.	9th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Berry, W. W.	2nd Va. Cav.		Va.
Betts, Alexander D.	30th N. C. Regt.	Meth.	N. C.
Bickle, Louis A.	20th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Binet, William	Hospl. Spring Hill	Epis.	Ala.
Birdwell, George T.	10th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Black, W. L.	26th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Blackwell, J. D.	18th Va. Regt.	Meth.	Va.
Bledsoe, Adam C.	15th Va. Cav. Regt.	Meth.	Va.
Blisemel, J. Emmeran	10th Tenn. Regt.	Cath.	Tenn.
Boggs, G. W.	8th S. C. Regt.		
Boggs, W. E.	6th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Bolthis, L. M. Y.	10th Va. Regt.		Va.
Bolton, J. G.	50th Tenn. Regt.	Meth.	Tenn.
Borrah, J. T.	1st Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Boude, Henry B.	Gen. Breckenridge		La.
Bounds, E. McKay	3rd Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Breman, Thomas H.	2nd Tex. Regt.		Tex.
Brooke, George G.	Gen. Imboden		Va.
Booker, George E.	48th Va. Regt.	Meth.	Va.
Brooks, H. E.	2nd N. C. Battallion		
Brooks, H. T.	44th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Brown, Henry	10th Tenn. Regt.	Cath.	Va.
Brown, J. C.	60th Va. Regt.		Va.
Brown, John M.	37th Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Brown, Manning	2nd S. C. Cav. Regt.		S. C.
Bryson, J. H.	9th Ky. Regt.		Ky.
Buarly, Martin L.	8th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Buck, Charles W.	42nd Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Buie, J. D.	7th Confed. Regt.		N. C.
Pulhart, Jacob	36th Va. Regt.		Va.
Bunting, R. F.	8th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Burroughs, A.	14th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Butler, George	3rd Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Buxtons, Davis	Hospl. Asheville, N. C.		N. C.
Bvanchesky, Joseph	3rd Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Bynum, B. P.	55th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Byrd, T. M.	41st N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Cameron, Josiah P.	24th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Cameron, Stephen F.	1st Md. Regt.		Md.
Camp, J. C.	10th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Campbell, Alex.	29th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Campbell, C. D.	4th Ga. Regt.		
Caperton, A. C.	9th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Carius, A.	1st La. Regt.	Cath.	La.
Carmichael, J.	30th Va. Regt.	Epis.	Va.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Carpenter, John T.	Castle Thunder		Va.
Carr, John F.	9th Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Carson, T. M.	7th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Carson, W. D.	14th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Carter, W. A.	Hospl. Mobile, Ala.		Ala.
Caskey, Thomas W.	Wirt Adams Cav.		
Castleton, Thomas	Houston, Texas		Tex.
Chaddick, Stokely	7th Tex. Regt.		Tex.
Chadick, W. D.	50th Ala. Inf.	Cum. Pres.	
Chamberlain, Wm. A.	20th Ark. Regt.	Meth.	Ark.
Chaplin, C. C.	Danville, Va.		Va.
Chapman, John B.	32nd Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Chapman, M. B.	26th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Cheatham, H. C.	8th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Cherry, L. M.	37th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Cherry, S. M.	4th Tenn. Regt.	Meth.	Tenn.
Churchill, Orvin	31st N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Clawson, S. R.	Gen. Winder		Va.
Cleghorn, E. B.	17th La. Regt.		La.
Cleveland, T. P.	13th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Coffin, Claiborne	27th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Cole, John	Gen. J. E. B. Stuart		
Colton, J. H.	53rd N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Connerly, D. C. B.	51st Ala. Regt.	Meth.	Ala.
Conrad, Thomas N.	3rd Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Cook, J. O. A.	2nd Ga. Bn.	Meth.	Ga.
Cooks, R. N.	Richmond, Va.		Va.
Cooper, R. E.	Haskells Arty. Battery		S. C.
Coyle, Patrick F.	Col. Gladdern, 3rd Brig.	Cath.	Fla.
Craig, J. A.	5th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Crawford, W. H.	61st Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Croghan, C. J.	Montgomery, White	Cath.	
Crowson, Richard M.	28th Sulphur Springs		La.
Cumley, W. M.	Georgia Hospl., Richmond		Ga.
Cunningham, W. M.	4th Ga. Regt. Vol.	Pres.	
Cunningham, James T.	3rd Miss. Regt.	Cath.	Miss.
Curry, W. G.	5th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Cushman, George F.	29th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Dame, George W.	Hospl. Danville, Va.		Va.
Davenport, Silas D.	Corpus Christi		Tex.
Davidson, E. C.	11th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Davis, N. S.	4th Texas Regt.		
Davis, Richard T.	6th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Davis, William	1st Fla. Regt.		Fla.
DeChaignon, A.	18th La. Regt.	Cath.	La.
Deans, John F.	61st Va. Regt.		Va.
Denniston, E.			Tenn.
Denny, George H.	50th Va. Regt.		Va.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
DePass, James P.	16th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
DeVotie, J. H.	2nd Ga. Regt.	Baptist	Ga.
DeWitt, M. B.	8th Tenn. Regt.	Cum. Pres.	Tenn.
Dicharry, P. F.	3rd La. Inf.	Cath.	La.
Dill, Edward	22nd S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Dobbs, Charles H.	12th Miss. Regt.		
Dockey, D. L.	Rome, Ga.		
Dodge, William A.	23rd Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Downing, Lewis	1st Cherokee Regt.		Ark.
Drewry, T. C. C.	Camp Winder Hospl.		Va.
Dryden, C. F.	12th Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Dubose, William T.	Kershaws Brigade		
Duke, T. Z.	9th Miss. Regt.		
Duncan, W. W.	20th S. C. Regt.	Meth.	S. C.
Dunlap, J. A.	Brig. Gen. M. W. Gary		S. C.
Dunlap, W. C.	8th Ga. Regt.	Meth.	Ga.
Dunn, D. L.	1st La. Regt.		La.
Dunwoody, James	Gen. Alexander		Ga.
Easter, George W.	9th Va. Regt.		Va.
Easter, John D.	Rome, Georgia		Ga.
Eatman, Thomas J.	33rd N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Edwards, George R.	23rd Georgia Regt.		Ga.
Edwards, William	Drury's Bluff, Va.	Meth.	Va.
Ellis, J. A.	20th Tenn. Regt.	Meth.	Tenn.
Ellis, L. B.	11th Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Erwin, T. L.	Gen. Hospl. #3, Goldsboro, N. C.		
Espy, Thomas B.	31st Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Evans, B. W.	36th Ark. Regt.		Canada
Evans, Charles F.	La. Crescent Regt.		La.
Evans, Robert F.	4th Ga. Regt.	Meth.	Ga.
Ewing, Paul B.	Dublin Depot, Va.		Va.
Farrow, W. T.	1st S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Featherston, G. W.	30th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Feeling, John	Hospl. Richmond, Va.		Va.
Findlay, James	53rd Ala. Regt.		
Fisher, Charles M.	22nd Va. Regt.		Va.
Fitzgerald, Frederick	Maj. Mallett, N. C.	Epis.	Va.
Fleming, W. H.	1st Ga. Regt.	Meth.	Ga.
Fly, D. W.	24th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Flinn, William	3rd Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Fontaine, P. H.	53rd Va. Regt.		Va.
Foster, Ely	18th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Foster, W. L.	35th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Freeman, I. F. W.	Weldon, N. C.		N. C.
Gache, Hypolite	10th La. Regt.	Cath.	La.
Gar, Edwin	Wilmington, N. C.		N. C.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Gardner, William F.	24th Va. Regt.		Va.
Garrison, Edwin A.	48th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Garrison, James A.	20th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Gatewood, R.	Hospl. Richmond, Va.		Va.
Gaultney, William R.	1st N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Gilmer, George	Charlottesville, Va.		Va.
Gilmer, Thomas W.	Gen. Pendleton		Va.
Gilmore, Aaron	21st Va. Regt.		Va.
Girardeau, J. L.	23rd S. C. Regt.		
Godbey, E. C.	63rd Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Godfrey, J. A.	14th La. Regt.	Meth.	La.
Goforth, N. B.	31st Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Goodnight, Thomas M.	6th Ky. Regt.		Ky.
Gordon, C. M.	36th Miss. Regt.		
Gould, Archibald	1st Fla. Cav. Regt.		Fla.
Goulding, F. R.	Macon, Ga.	Pres.	
Grace, J. L.	17th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Granberry, J. C.	11th Va.	Meth.	
Graves, A. R.	3rd Miss. Regt.		
Gray, G. T.	63rd Va. Regt.	Epis.	Va.
Gray, W. C.	4th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Green, E. M.	Hospl. Newman, Ga.		Ga.
Greene, J. M.	32nd Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Gregory, James L.	8th Ky. Regt.		Ky.
Gregory, John F.	26th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Griffin, John W.	19th Va. Regt.	Epis.	Va.
Grundin, J. M.	33rd Va. Regt.		Va.
Hackett, J. A.	18th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Haines, F. M.	35th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Haley, L. J.	Maj. Courtney		Va.
Hall, W. A.	Washington Artillery Bn.		La.
Hall, W. T.	30th Miss. Regt.		
Hamilton, A. L.	16th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Hammond, W.	3rd Va. Regt.	Meth.	Va.
Hanks, W. E.	32nd Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Hard, W. J.	Augusta, Ga.		Ga.
Hardie, R.	23rd La. Regt.		La.
Harding, Ephraim H.	45th Va. Regt.		N. C.
Harris, G. W.	8th Va. Regt.		Va.
Harris, J. J.	26th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Harris, J. K.	23rd Va. Bn.		Va.
Harris, James R.	7th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Harrison, Edmund R.	35th Ark. Regt.	Meth.	Ark.
Harrold, J. A.	1st Va. Regt.		Va.
Harvey, James	2nd Ark. Regt.	Meth.	Ark.
Haslup, L. W.	Lynchburg, Va.		Va.
Hatcher, Hilary	61st Va. Regt.		Va.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Haughton, Thomas B.	50th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Hauser, William	48th Ga. Regt.		
Hawks, W. N.	Columbus, Ga.		Ga.
Helins, W. T.	14th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Hemmingway, W. A.	Gen. Trappier	Meth.	S. C.
Henderson, F. H. W.	56th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Hendrix, W. W.	8th Tenn. Cav. Regt.		Tenn.
Henkel, D. S.	28th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Hershey, A. M.	Chimborazo Hospl.		Va.
Hicks, George W.	Hospl. Manchester, Va.		Va.
Hidden, Elisha	30th Ga. Bn.		Ga.
Hiden, J. C.	Gen. H. A. Wise		Va.
Highley, Burton S.	51st Va. Regt.		Va.
Hill, H. B.	16th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Hill, Sam I.	42nd N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Hinton, J. W.	3rd Ga. Cav. Regt.		Ga.
Hodgson, Telfair	1st Ala. Cav. Regt.		Ala.
Hogue, E.	11th Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Holifield, M. J.	12th Ky. Regt.		Ky.
Holt, John L.	34th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Hooper, Thomas W.	Liberty, Va.		Va.
Hoover, William	33rd Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Hopkins, A. C.	2nd Va. Regt.		Va.
Howard, Joseph L.	2nd Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Howle, F. H.	13th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Hoyle, Sam V.	12th Va. Regt.		Va.
Hoyt, H. D.	2nd Ga. Cav. Regt.	Pres.	Ga.
Hubert, D. B.	1st La. Regt.	Cath.	La.
Huchins, Jonas	Hospl. Charleston, S. C.		S. C.
Huddlesone, J. N.	40th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Hudson, Edward	6th Texas Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Hudson, John N.	17th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Hughes, F. G.	65th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Hume, Thomas	3rd Va. Regt.		Va.
Hunter, Theodore	Mt. Pleasant, S. C.		S. C.
Hutton, Cornelius M.	36th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Hyde, George W.	Hospl. Huguenot Springs, Va.		Va.
Hyde, John P.	Post Chaplain, Staunton, Va.		
Hyman, John J.	49th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Ibyner, J. E.	57th Va. Regt.		Va.
James, A. A.	18th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
James, John T.	8th Va. Regt.		Va.
Jarboe, J. T.	2nd Regt. Tenn. Vols.	Cath.	
Jarrell, A. J.	19th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Jenkins, Gevais P.	Hospl. Columbia, S. C.		S. C.
Johnson, H. T.	45th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Johnson, J. T.	8th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Johnson, Sam E.	15th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.



Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Johnson, W. G.	11th Ala. Regt.	Meth.	Ala.
Johnston, G. W.	1st Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Johnston, J. L.	17th Va. Regt.		Va.
Johnston, P. A.	38th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Johnston, Richard	Hampton's Legion	Epis.	S. C.
Jones, H. H.	55th Va. Regt.		Va.
Jones, Jno. Wm.	13th Va. Regt.		Va.
Jones, L. H.	4th Tex. Cav. Regt.	Epis.	Tex.
Jones, W. B.	61st N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Jones, W. E.	22nd Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Jordan, J. H.	17th La. Regt.		La.
Jordan, Thomas H.		Meth.	Ga.
Jordan, Wm. H.	18th N. C. Regt.	Cath.	N. C.
Joyce, W. G.	5th Tex. Cav. Regt.	Meth.	Tex.
Joyner, James E.	Armistead's Brig.		
Kavanaugh, H. H.	6th Ky. Regt.	Meth.	Ky.
Keep, W. W.	46th Miss.	Baptist	
Kennedy, Milton F.	28th N. C. Regt.	Meth.	N. C.
Kepitor, Paul A.			Va.
Ker, Leander	Post Ch., Camp Winder		Va.
Kerr, David	1st N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Kimball, T. A.	16th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Kimble, F. A.	17th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Kindrick, W. P.	19th Tenn. Cav. Regt.		Tenn.
King, W. H.	1st S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Kirkland, A.	63d N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Kramer, G. C. M. R.	39th Ga. Regt.	Meth.	Ga.
Lacey, W. L.	47th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Lacy, B. F.	Camp Ins., Richmond		Va.
Lacy, Duiny	Post Ch., Raleigh, N. C.		N. C.
Lafferty, J. J.	62nd Va. Regt.	Meth.	Va.
Landford, W. F.	52nd N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Landstreet, Jno.	1st Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Langhorn, Maurice	6th Va. Regt.		Va.
Lanier, W. O.	Post Ch., Grenada, Miss.		
Lattimore, J. L.	46th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Lauck, J. M.	46th Va. Bn. Cav.		Va.
Leachman, J. D.	20th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Lee, C. L. M.	5th Va. Regt.		Va.
Lee, Edmund	Hospl. Savanna		Fla.
Lee, Wm. M.	9th Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Leith, Wm. H.	Post Chaplain, Columbus, Miss.		Miss.
Leps, Jas. H.	Hospl. Red Sulphur Union & Montgomery		Va.
Leray, Francis X.	Hospl. Oxford, Miss.	Cath.	Miss.
Lewis, Henry T.	Hospl. Clinton, La.		S. C.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Little, James	9th Fla. Regt.		Fla.
Lloats, A. H.	Hospl. Liberty, Va.		Va.
Lockart, P. J.	22nd Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Lomax, A. A.	16th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Lowe, J. C.	28th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Lowry, James	4th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Lykes, L. L.	Camp Ins. Knoxville		Ala.
Macawlay, Geo.	51st Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Mack, J. B.	55th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Mackay, James	8th Ark. Regt.	Meth.	Ark.
Madison, L. R.	58th Va. Regt.		Va.
Mahon, R. H.	20th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Mahon, W. J.	22nd Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Manning, A. D.	6th Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Markham, T. R.	1st Miss. Arty. Regt.		Miss.
Marshall, Matt	12th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Marshall, W. W.	Kittrells, Spr. N. C.		N. C.
Martin, Jno. J.	18th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Massey, W. E.	8th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Mauncy, D.	St. Mary Hospl.	Cath.	
Meek, Jefferson			Miss.
Meredith, Wm. C.	5th Va. Cav. Regt.	Cath.	Va.
Meynardie, Elias J.	2nd S. C.	Meth.	
Mickle, Robert A.	14th Ga. Arty. En.		Ga.
Milleaps, Jno. J.	20th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Miller, Benjamin M.	Post Ch., Mobile, Ala.		Va.
Miller, J. W.		Meth.	S. C.
Miller, J. W.			Va.
Miller, Wm. G.	46th Va. Regt.		Va.
Mitchell, James	8th Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Moncure, Walter	30th Va. Regt.		Va.
Monk, Francis M.	50th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Montgomery, L. M.	22nd Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Mood, T. A.	Post Ch., Charleston, S. C.		
Moore, A. B.	17th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Moore, Alex W.	14th Ga. Regt.	Meth.	Ga.
Moore, H. L.	7th Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Moore, J. P.	11th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Morrison, Hugh M.	19th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Morse, A. A.	17th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Moses, Peter A.	34th Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Moubay, William			
Mouton, Jno. B.	Hospl. on Mobile & Ohio R. R.	Cath.	Miss.
Mullaly, Fr. P.	1st S. C. Rifle Regt.		S. C.
Murphee, Jos. A.	49th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Murphy, Joseph W.	32nd N. C. T.	Epis.	
McAfee, N. H.	22nd Ga. Regt.		Ga.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
McByrde, Wm. P.	5th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
McCabe, Jno. C.	32nd Va. Regt.	Epis.	Va.
McCallaine, A. R.	15th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
McCampbell, James			
McClure, Chas. M.	Cherokee Legion		
McCoy, H. T. R.			Va.
McCullough, Jno. D.	Holcombe Legion		S. C.
McCutecheon, J. B.	7th Ky. Regt.	Meth.	Ky.
McCutecheon, Jno. F.	24th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
McDonald, Claiborne	21st Miss. Regt.		Miss.
McDonnold, B. W.	50th Ala.	Cum. Pres.	
McDowell, James	Palmetto Sharp Shooters		S. C.
McElyea, E. C.	23d Miss. Regt.		Miss.
McFerring, Jno. P.	2nd Tenn. Regt.	Meth.	Tenn.
McGee, Wm.			Va.
McGill, Jno.	52nd Va. Regt.		Va.
McGraw, J. B.	8th Tex. Regt.		Tex.
McGuire, J. T.			Va.
McInnis, Richmond	Hospl. Newton, Miss.		La.
McKennon, Luther	36th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
McKenzie, J. W. P.	8th Tex. Regt.		Tex.
McKinn, Randolph M.	2nd Va. Regt.		Va.
McMahan, J. J.	51st Vol. Regt.		Va.
McMarron, J. W.	49th Va. Regt.		Va.
McNair, Evander	24th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
McNair, E. M.	1st Ala.		
McNeer, W. R.	4th Va.		
McNeilly, J. H.	49th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
McRae, Jno. H. D.			
McSparrow, J. E.	Hospl. White Sulphur Springs		Va.
McVay, A. H.	28th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Neill, Thos. B.	24th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Nelson, Jas.	44th Va. Regt.		Va.
Nelson, Robert	21st Va. Regt.		Va.
Nicholson, Jos. J.	Camp & Post, Talladega	Epis.	Ala.
Nicholson, P.	49th N. C.		
Norris, W. B.	Smiths Legion		Ga.
Norton, Paul	23d Va. Regt.		Va.
Norton, R. W.	19th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Norton, Wilber F.	39th Ala. Regt.	Meth.	Ala.
O'Connell, Laurence P.	White Sulphur Sp.	Cath.	Va.
O'Keefe, M.	Gen. Blanchard	Cath.	Va.
Oldham, Montcalm	39th Va. Regt.		Va.
Oliver, Charles			Va.
O' Riely, Thos.	Maj. D. K. M'Call	Cath.	
Overton, G.	2nd Ky. Regt.		Ky.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Owen, W. B.	17th Miss. Regt.	Meth. (?)	Miss.
Paris, Jno.	54th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Parks, W. A.	Wauls Tex. Legion (52nd Ga.)	Meth.	Tex.
Patterson, George	3rd N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Payne, W. L.	38th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Pearson, W. F.			
Pellicier, A. D.	Montgomery Post	Cath.	
Perkins, E. T.			
Petrie, Geo. S.	22nd Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Phelps, G. W.	17th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Phillips, N. G.	43rd Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Phillips, Preston	32nd Tex. Cav. Regt.	Meth.	Tex.
Phillippi, Alex	29th Va. Regt.		Va.
Pointer, J. V.	9th Tex. Regt.		Tex.
Pointer, Robert	10th Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Pont, Francis	Gen. Bragg	Cath.	Miss.
Porter, D. H.	5th Ga. Cav. Regt.		S. C.
Porter, G. J.	65th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Porter, J. D.		Pres.	Ala.
Porter, Robert	10th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Potter, A. J.	26th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Powell, J. D.		Epis.	
Power, W. C.	14th N. C. Regt.	Meth.	N. C.
Powledge, T. G.	12th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Prachensky, Joseph	3rd Ala.	Cath.	
Pratt, H. B.	63rd N. C.		
Price, R., Jr.	48th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Price, Wm.	39th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Pryor, Theodorick			Va.
Pugh, Jno. W.	41st Va. Regt.		Va.
Quailes, Wm.	48th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Quaite, W. G. L.	1st Ark. Cav. Regt.		Ark.
Quintard, C. T.	1st Tenn. Regt.	Epis.	Tenn.
Raby, J. W.	58th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Raines, A. G.	14th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Randolph, A. W.	Hospl. #2, Danville, Va.		Va.
Ransom, Lemuel C.	20th Ala.	Cum. Pres.	
Ransom, R. R.	62nd Tenn.	Meth.	
Renfro, G. W.	62nd Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Reynolds, Perry G.	23d Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Richards, H. B.	9th Va. Cav.		
Richardson, J. D.	4th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Richie, David P.	25th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Riddle, J. J.	30th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Ridgood, R. W.	32nd Va. Regt.		Va.
Riggin, Jno. H.	21st Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Roach, James M. B.	10th Ala.	Cum. Pres.	

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Roberts, P. G.	2nd La. Regt.		La.
Robert, P. G.	4th Va.	Epis.	Va.
Roberts, R. R.		Meth.	Ark.
Robinson, N. G.	30th Va. Bn. S. C.		Va.
Robison, W. T.	15th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Rodefer, Chas. P.			
Rodgers, Sam	22nd Va. Regt.		
Rodman, E. M.			Va.
Rogers, G. W.	3rd Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Rogers, J. W.	Parole Camp		
Rosser, M. F.	41st Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Rosser, W. H.	3rd Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Royall, William	35th N. C. Regt.		
Rush, Leonard	3rd Ga. Cav. Regt.	Meth.	Ga.
Russell, Jas. M.	46th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Rutledge, Thos. I.	3d Ala. Regt.	Meth.	Ala.
Ryan, Patrick	8th Tenn.	Cath.	S. C.
Ryland, W. L.	13th Va. Regt.		Va.
Schmolders, E.	8th La. Inf.	Cath.	
Scinner, B. M.	19th Tex. Regt.		Tex.
Scott, Jno. A.			Va.
Scott, T. W.	Chimaborazo Hospl.		Va.
Searcy, J. B.	26th Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Sears, O. H.	Hospl. Lynchburg, Va.		Va.
Sharp, Joseph R.	18th Tex. Regt.		Tex.
Shaw, Colin	18th N. C. Regt.	Fres.	
Sheeran, James	14th La. Regt.	Cath.	La.
Sheppard, S.	17th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Simmons, W. A.	11th Ga. Regt.	Meth.	Ga.
Smith, A. W.	25th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Smith, Busbey B.	Montgomery White Sulphur Springs		Va.
Smith, G. T.		Epis.	Va.
Smith, H. M.	Post Ch., Jackson, Miss.		Miss.
Smith, Samuel H.	60th Ga. Regt.		
Smith, Thompson L.	22nd Va. Regt.		Va.
Smulders, Equidion	8th La. Regt.	Cath.	Ga.
Smythe, Robt. L.	1st S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Sneed, Henry M.	1st Ga. P. R. Regt.		Ga.
Snodgrass, D. L.	Post Ch., Demopolis, Ala.		Miss.
Southerland, L. R.			Va.
Sowe, J. C.	28th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Spiller, B. C.	13th Va. Cav. Regt.	Meth.	Va.
Stansberry, J. M.	Hospl. Dalton, Ga.		Ga.
Stell, Reuben	64th Va. Regt.		Va.
Stephens, A. B.	11th S. C. Regt.	Meth.	S. C.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Stickney, G. W.	14th La. Regt.		La.
Stoddard, W. R.			Miss.
Stokes, David C.	7th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Stone, H. C.		Meth.	Ala.
Stone, Jas. B.	43d Miss. Regt.	Meth.	Miss.
Street, J. K.	14th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Strickland, John	40th Ga. Regt.	Meth.	Ga.
Stringfield, J. K.	1st Tenn. (?)	Pres.	
Stuart, Kinsey	6th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Sturgeon, J. C.	Howard's Grove Hospl.		Ala.
Talley, Geo. Riley	6th Fla. Regt.	Meth.	Fla.
Tally, L. C.	22nd Tenn. Cav. Regt.		
Tattillo, F. J.	28th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Taylor, B. M.	23d Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Taylor, Jno. H.	35th Ga. Regt.		Ga.
Taylor, James B.	Hospl. Richmond, Va.		Va.
Taylor, Robert J.	9th Va. Regt.		Va.
Taylor, R. T.	Jackson Hospl.		Va.
Tennent, Jno. C.	32nd N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Terrey, Elisha	12th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Terry, Robt. E.	3d N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Thigpen, Alex M.	6th Ga. Regt.	Meth.	Ga.
Thompson, Eugene W.	43d N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Tilley, L. A.	53d Ala. Regt.	Meth.	N. C.
Timberlake, Jno. W.	2nd La. Regt.		Fla.
Tinkerton, L. I.	Hospl. Atlanta, Ga.		Ga.
Tinsley, Peter	28th Va. Regt.	Epis.	Va.
Tompkins, Jno. H.	7th Fla. Regt.		Fla.
Tribber, Allen	34th Tenn. Regt.	Meth.	Tenn.
Trislow, J. T.	6th Ark. Regt.		Ark.
Turgis, Isador F.	30th La. Regt.	Cath.	La.
Tutt, J. M.	9th Mo. Regt.		Mo.
Tyler, C.	48th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Ungever, J. J.	3d Ky. Regt.		Ky.
Vanderhurst, Wm. M.	6th Tenn. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Vann (Zann) Wm. A.	13th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Vaughan, Maurice H.	3d N. C. Regt.	Epis.	N. C.
Vertigan, Edward	17th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Vick, J. R.	1st Tex. Regt.		Tex.
Voss, L. C. (Vass)	27th Va. Regt.		Va.
Wabbon, E. P.	4th Ky. Regt.		Ky.
Wade, Thomas T.	19th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Walker, Jas. A.			Ga.
Walker, Joseph	Post Ch., Richmond		Va.
Walker, I.	48th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Wallace, Jas. A.	Post Ch., Dalton, Ga.		
Walters, W. E.	2nd S. C. Rifle Regt.		S. C.

Name	Unit	Denomination	State
Walters, Wm. E.	4th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Ware, T. A.	8th Va. Regt.	Meth.	Va.
Watson, A. A.	2nd Regt., N. C. Inf.	Epis.	
Watson, J. T.	16th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Watson, P.	Post Chaplain, Selma, Ala.		
Webb, R. L.	44th N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Wells, A. N.	2nd N. C. Regt.	Meth.	S. C.
Wells, Marshall H.	Hospl. Washington	Meth.	Ark.
West, Thomas S.	13th Ark. Regt.		Miss.
Wexler, Edwin C.	29th N. C. Regt.	Meth.	N. C.
Wharey, J. M.			Va.
Wharton, L. B.	59th Va. Regt.		Va.
Wheat, A. J.	Hospl. Jackson, La.		
Wheelwright, W. H.	9th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Whelan, Peter		Cath.	
Whitsitt, Wm. H.	4th Tenn. Cav.		Tenn.
Whitten, H. L.	9th Ala. Regt.	Meth.	Ala.
Wiatt, Wm. E.	26th Va.		
Wier, T. C.	37th Miss. Vols.	Meth.	
Wiggins, Robt. S.	4th Fla. Regt.	Meth.	Fla.
Wiley, E. E.	Hospl. Emy Va.		Va.
Williams, George T.	1st S. C. Cav. Regt.	Epis. (?)	S. C.
Williams, J. G.	3d S. C. Cav. Regt.		
Williams, T. N.	42nd Va. Regt.		Va.
Williams, Wm. H.	Hospl. Rowards Grove		Va.
Williamson, J. E.			Va.
Willis, E. J.	15th Va. Regt.		Va.
Willoughby, J. H.	18th Ala. Regt.		La.
Wilmer, George D.	6th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.
Wilson, J. W.	35th Ala. Regt.		Ala.
Wilson, Joseph	Hospl. Knoxville, Tenn.		Tenn.
Wilson, L. H.	14th Tenn. Regt.		Tenn.
Wilson, Luther H.	1st Fla. Cav. Regt.		Fla.
Wilson, R. A.	Post Ch., Kingston, Ga.		
Wilson, Wm. V.			Va.
Wingfield, A. R.	12th Ar. Regt.		Ark.
Winkler, E. T.	25th S. C. Regt.		S. C.
Winter, Wm.	15th Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Witherspoon, F.D.	2nd Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Witherspoon, Thomas D.	42nd Miss. Regt.		Miss.
Wood, F. H.	22nd N. C. Regt.		N. C.
Wright, Joseph B.	1st Mo. Cav. Regt.		Mo.
Wyatt, W. E.			Va.
Yates, E. A.	1st N. C. Regt.		N. C.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>Denomination</u>	<u>State</u>
Young, Newton B.	Hospl. Brookhaven & Meridian		Miss.
Young, Wm. M.	Post Ch. Petersburg	Baptist	
Zelner, Marion	12th Tenn. Cav. Regt.		Tenn.
Zively, Jno. N.	5th Tex. Cav. Regt.		Tex.
Zimmerman, G. H.	12th Va. Cav. Regt.		Va.



## VITA

The author, Sidney James Romero, Jr., was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, March 30, 1917. When four years of age he moved with his parents, Sidney J. and Anna Romero, to Franklin, Louisiana. The writer attended various private schools and then graduated from the Hanson Memorial High School of Franklin in May, 1935. He attended Loyola University in New Orleans and Southwestern Louisiana Institute in Lafayette, receiving the B. A. degree from the latter institution in 1939. In 1940 he entered the Graduate School of Louisiana State University and received the M. A. degree in 1942, after which he served for four years in the United States Army.

After his discharge from the service the writer pursued work at Louisiana State University toward the Ph. D. In 1951 he was awarded a Ford Foundation Fellowship and spent a year studying Russian History and Government. He has at various times served on the faculty of LaGrange High School, Lake Charles, Louisiana; Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Oklahoma; Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and is presently employed as Assistant Professor of History at Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond, Louisiana.

In August, 1947, the writer was married to Virginia Elizabeth Butler of Monroe, Louisiana, and they have one daughter, Rose Mary Romero.

## EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Sidney J. Romero

Major Field: History

Title of Thesis: "Religion in the Rebel Ranks"

Approved:

*T. F. Williams*

Major Professor and Chairman

*Richard W. Russell*

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

*Peter H. Allen*

*Jane Lucas de Grummond*

*H. C. Richardson*

*Philip D. Hise*

*J. P. Morris*

*G. H. Jarvis*

Date of Examination:

May 11, 1953