ROLE OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CHAPLAINS AND MISSIONARIES IN THE CIVIL WAR

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Military History

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MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

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ABSTRACT

ROLE OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CHAPLAINS AND MISSIONARIES IN THE CIVIL WAR, by MAJ Michael L. Bineham, 141 pages.

Organized religion has played a significant role in warfare throughout history. From the time Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt into the new Promised Land until 2001 and the undertaking of the Global War on Terrorism, religion in one form or fashion has impacted the individual soldier. The United States' Civil War from 1861 to 1865 was no different. The purpose of this thesis is to look at the events leading up to the Civil War and the conflict itself from the viewpoint of the Southern Baptist denomination. Specifically, the thesis focuses on the reasons for the creation of the Southern Baptist Convention, as well as examines how the denomination supported the war effort. It looks at the wide range of individual contributions of the denomination's chaplains, missionaries, evangelists and colporteurs. It also details how important the use of religious tracts were in ministering to soldiers. As we continue our Global War on Terrorism, the information contained within this paper should serve as a reminder to those men and women at the Southern Baptist Seminaries that religious service to the army is still necessary and that it comes in many forms. As far as the human dimension and the spiritual fitness of soldiers are concerned, what worked in 1863 is still applicable in 2003.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Organized religion has played a significant role in warfare throughout history. From the time Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt into the new Promised Land until 2001 and the Global War on Terrorism, religion in one form or fashion has impacted the individual soldier. The United States' Civil War from 1861 to 1865 was no different. The Civil War changed the course of this nation and the role of organized religion was present not only on the home front but also prevalent in both armies. Some scholars have even accused church leaders on both sides, especially those in the North, of inciting their congregations to a fever pitch, usually over the issue of slavery and states' rights. Religious denominations and their influence were involved in all aspects of the war, perhaps even contributing to the start of the war, the conduct of the war, and ultimately reconstruction efforts. The Civil War was somewhat unique in that it largely pitted Christians against Christians, as opposed to Christianity against another religion. Both the North and the South emphatically believed that God was truly on their respective sides. Individual chaplains and their personal importance and influence varied from unit to unit. It is estimated the Union had approximately 2,300 to 3,000 chaplains serving in the Army. The Confederate States of America (CSA) had between 600 and 1,000 members participating as actual Army Chaplains.¹ The chaplains as a group during the Civil War distinguished themselves, for either good or bad, along the total spectrum of soldierly conduct, from Medal of Honor winners to those classified as scoundrels, charlatans and cowards. By and large, the majority religion of the common Civil War soldier was that of Protestant Christianity. Of course other major faiths were represented--Catholics, Jews

and even atheists. However, these combined for a relatively small portion of the entire soldier population. These faiths were generally confined to ethnic related commands, the Union Irish Catholics as well as the Confederate Catholic troops from Louisiana. The mainstream Protestant denominations enjoyed unprecedented cooperation throughout the conduct of the war.² What is interesting to note is the denominational splits that occurred based on geographic locales, which remain to this day.

The purpose of this thesis is to look at the events leading up to the Civil War, the war itself and the reconstruction efforts from the viewpoint of the Southern Baptist denomination. Specifically, what was the reason for the creation of the Southern Baptist Convention? How did the Southern Baptist Convention support the war effort? What were the denominational requirements that were placed on their chaplains and missionaries? Where did the Southern Baptist chaplains and missionaries fit into the Confederate Chaplaincy? Did the convention provide chaplains or missionaries to the Union forces? Who were some of the most prominent Southern Baptist chaplains and what were their contributions during and after the war? How did the denomination participate into the "Great Revival" that took place in the Confederate armies? What were the some of the significant results that transpired as a result of the active participation of the Southern Baptists during the war?

The political, moral, and economic issues that led up to the commencement of the Civil War didn't spare spiritual institutions. It is truly a sad statement that secular differences of opinion and practices could not be settled short of an all out Civil War, but it is sadder still that differences could not be resolved within the religious community. It is even ironic that most Southerners even blamed the Northern clergymen for inciting

hostilities from their pulpits. Indeed, numerous, highly regarded abolitionist religious leaders used their pulpits to decry the evils of slavery and pushed the issue to the brink of war. The three largest Protestant churches in the nation--Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian--all split prior to the Civil War. The Methodists were the first to break apart, followed by the Baptists in 1845, and finally by the Presbyterians. The Baptist denomination had always had sectional differences between the businessmen of the North, the farmers of the West, and the planters of the South. Due to the fact that the Baptists were generally in the lower economic class, relatively few owned slaves. However, slavery prevailed as the most divisive issue within the denomination. There were other mitigating factors that contributed to a strained relationship, such as the desire for stronger denominational unity than what was currently in place within the society plan. The American Baptists had a society pattern in place, which means that they were organized into a separate society for each Christian ministry. The Southern leaders in the church wanted to change the current structure to be more of an associational type, which means that one denominational body would encompass multiple Christian ministries. By 1832 the three main ministries that were being supported under the society plan were the General Missionary Convention, the Tract Publication and Distribution Society, and the Home Mission Society. The Baptist leadership in the South felt that the Northern-based national societies were discriminating against the Southerners in the distribution of missionary appointments and in the meeting of needs of the membership. The slavery issue was constantly being brought up as a source of contention during the national meetings, along with other issues such as the lack of Southerners appointed to the home and foreign fields, and the discipleship of church members. In 1839 the Southern

churches even went to the extent of organizing their own Southern home mission body to make up for the deficiencies, however, the newly created organization was short lived and folded after only three years. In 1844 it seems the final straw was placed upon the Southern Baptist churches with the refusal to allow a Georgia slaveholder to be a home missionary in his own state and an Alabama slaveholder to be a foreign missionary. After this proclamation the Virginia Baptists called for a meeting of the Baptists of the South to meet at the First Baptist Church in Augusta, Georgia, to talk about the issues concerning their membership. A decision was reached that more Christian work could be accomplished by an organization in the South. On 10 May 1845, the Southern Baptist Convention was provisionally organized under a new constitution, which was ratified in 1846 in Richmond, Virginia. The Southern Baptist leadership was quick to point out that the North and the South were still brethren, however, they felt more could be accomplished with the new convention. The Southern Baptist Convention elected one set of board managers to supervise foreign missions and one to supervise home missions. The Northern and Southern Baptists still worked jointly on the Tract Publication and Distribution Society. Even though the Civil War disrupted all the programs of the newly formed Southern Baptist Convention, it still experienced tremendous growth and expansion in Christian ministries until 1891.³

The major scope of this study will consist of the time period between 1861 and 1865. In order to provide sufficient background information, it will be necessary to at least research back to 1845 to discuss the issues and events surrounding the breakup of the American Baptist and the establishment of the Southern Baptist Convention. The years between 1845 and 1860 will also shed much light on the pervasive attitudes held by

the majority of Southern Baptists on the issues of slavery and secession. The general nature of study will revolve around the specific actions of the Southern Baptist

Convention in regards to its instructions to its denominational chaplains, the funding of chaplains and missionaries, and the convention's efforts to support the Tract and

Publication Ministry. The study will focus on the contributions of specific Southern

Baptist chaplains and the services they provided the individual soldiers and the command. This will not include information on how the convention addressed other ministries such as the Sunday School Board, foreign missions, relationships with other denominations, or its support of numerous other goodwill programs. The conclusion may list the significant achievements by notable Southern Baptists after the end of hostilities in 1865. It will be important to see how the events of 1861 to 1865 affected, shaped, or changed these men's lives. In most cases their unique personal experiences during the war profoundly molded who they were and what they did until they died.

The Civil War was the most ferocious and bloody conflict in American history. At the same time it could be said that the Civil War was the most religious war in all history.

J. William Jones in *Christ in the Camp or Religion in Lee's Army*, points out: "Any history of that army which omits an account of the wonderful influence of religion upon it which fails to tell how the courage, discipline and morale of the whole was influenced by humble piety and evangelical zeal of many of its officers and men would be incomplete and unsatisfactory." With the increased popularity and explosion of Civil War literature in the past few decades there have been books and articles on the entire gamut of topics. One segment that has remained relatively untouched in comparison has been the study of the role that religion played during the conflict. There have been pieces

written that deal with the topic of religious beliefs during that time period or even what the effects were on the individual denominations; however, they are relatively few in number. To this point in research there are no extensive works that have been wholly dedicated to the Southern Baptist Chaplains and missionaries. There are numerous diaries, letter collections, memoirs, reports and biographies of individuals, but nothing that covers in detail how they fit into the big picture of the Confederate chaplainacy. This study will establish the foundation for the creation of the Southern Baptist Convention and how it chose to support the Confederate war effort through the hometown pastors, chaplains, and missionaries. It will look at how the Confederate chaplaincy was formed, the official requirements and duties expected of chaplains by the military, and civilian leadership. It will concentrate on the attitudes and beliefs of the common soldiers and the senior officers towards the chaplains. It will also focus on how and why individual ministers chose to serve in the military. The majority of Southern Baptist ministers signed up to serve as fighting soldiers or officers and served as "lay preachers" versus assuming the official role of a military chaplain. The study will also focus on the differences or similarities between the eastern and western Confederate armies. It will determine whether any Confederate Southern Baptists served as navy chaplains, hospital chaplains or prison camp chaplains, and any significant acts of heroism performed by chaplains. It will also determine the role Southern Baptist Chaplains or missionaries played in the increase of soldiers accepting Jesus Christ and their role in the "Great Revivals" which swept through the Confederate armies.

¹Lawrence P. Fitzgerald, *History of the Southern Baptist Chaplaincy* (Atlanta: Southern Baptist Convention Home Mission Board, 1970), 28.

²Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), ix-x.

³Robert A. Baker, *Southern Baptist Beginnings: Baptist Facts and Opinions* (Nashville: Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1979), 11-12.

CHAPTER 2

CONFEDERATE BAPTISTS

On 10 May 1845, in Augusta, Georgia, the Southern Baptist Convention provisionally organized under a new constitution. This constitution was eventually ratified in 1846 in Richmond, Virginia. This division of one of America's largest protestant religious denominations was a foreshadowing of events to come in the nation's history some fifteen years later. Unfortunately, the divisive slavery issue led to a contentious relationship between the Home Mission Society and the General Convention (foreign missions). This prolonged strained relationship between these two organizations ultimately led to the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention. The specific details of the divisive attitudes and sectional division that led to the eventual break-up deserve mention. This background allows for a clearer understanding of how the Southern Baptists approached the war. This analysis of the ideals and varied perspectives that motivated the religious community, regardless of their geographic locale, will lead to a comprehensive picture of the pre-Civil War environment that dominated America.

Although in hindsight, the denominational split of the American Baptists seems to fall along the lines of secession, it very easily could have occurred differently. Many Baptist publications and newspapers such as The *Baptist Banner* and *Western Pioneer* justified denominational separation on the basis of a perceived neglect of the South by church leaders in the North. Baptist leaders in the South felt they were justified in demonstrating their displeasure with the current state of affairs. On some occasions objections were raised with an incomplete understanding of all the facts. Records indicate the Home Mission Board attempted to provide an adequate number of workers to the

Southern states however, the Board fell short of their recruiting goals. Evidently, going to destitute communities in the inhospitable climate of the South was not appealing to many of the qualified candidates desiring to minister in the home mission field.² Even when qualified individuals were willing to go, they demanded a great deal of compensation and generally went only to the largest cities such as New Orleans.

In the 1830s, the Western portion of the country was starting to gain its own identity and subsequently began to push its own agenda for recognition. On the national scene, political leaders were beginning to view the country as East against the West. The Baptist church leaders began to speculate that a denominational split could occur along those same lines. In 1833 and 1839 there were movements to test the feasibility of a Western Baptist Convention and a Western Baptist Home Mission Society, respectively. Had the issue of slavery not arisen, this may in fact have been where the denominational split would have occurred.³ In the 1830s the exact nature of the split of the American Baptists, if there was to be one at all, was yet to be determined when the abolition movement began to become more of a driving force in the North. Would the split be geographical—North and South or East and West—or ideological, based on the principle of slaveholders and nonslaveholders? These organizational questions were extremely divisive and were also negatively impacting the effectiveness of the denomination's work in the foreign and home mission fields.

In 1834, even the English Baptists, based in London, weighed in on the issue of slavery. They had missionaries that led the way for emancipation of slaves on the island of Jamaica in 1833. A group of London ministers wrote to the American Baptists, headquartered in Boston, in an attempt to pressure the church leadership to push for

slavery reforms. The American Baptist's corresponding secretary, Dr. Lucius Bolles, responded to the London ministers by pointing out that slavery was introduced into the colonies against the wishes of the colonists, and that some progress was already being made in moving away from the institution. In his letter, he eloquently captured the general feelings and the complexity of the issues of both sides of the Baptists. He stated:

There is now a pleasing degree of Union among the multiplying thousands of Baptists throughout the land. . . . Our Southern brethren are liberal and zealous in the promotion of every holy enterprise for the extension of the gospel. They are generally, both ministers and people, slaveholders, not because they think slavery right, but because it was firmly rooted long before they were born and because they believe that slavery cannot be instantly abolished. We are confident that a great portion of our brethren at the South would rejoice to see any practicable scheme devised for relieving the country from slavery. We have the best evidence that our slave-holding brethren are Christians, sincere followers of the Lord Jesus. . . . We cannot, therefore, feel that it is right to use language or adopt measures which might tend to break the ties that unite them to us in our General Convention and in numerous other benevolent societies. We have presented these considerations, dear brethren, as among the reasons which compel us to believe, that it is not the duty of the Baptist General Convention, or the Board of Missions, to interfere with the subject of slavery.⁴

Many believe that if all the board members of the American Baptist

Denomination subscribed to the views espoused by Dr. Bolles and displayed an attitude of brotherly understanding and patience, there may have been no denominational split.

The abolitionists were extremely active and forcefully persistent in getting their message out. The abolitionists' first objective was to get individual churches and local associations to make a statement condemning the institution of slavery. Once that goal was accomplished they encouraged those churches to pursue policies of non-fellowship with those individuals or organizations that had even the slightest of connections to slavery. In 1840, the Free Baptist Foreign Missionary Society was formed in the Northeast portion of the country and it was founded on abolition principles. The most militant abolitionists

formed an organization called the American and Foreign Baptist Missionary Society.

This group desired to conduct its own form of missionary work, both at home and abroad.⁵

In 1840, the abolition issue was beginning to be felt even among the Baptists in the South. In September the Alabama Convention appointed a committee to make recommendations concerning the issue of abolition. The committee was composed of Jesse Hartwell, B. P. Bestor, W. C. Crane, J. H. DeVotie, and M. P. Jewett. The committee stated, "Abolitionism was unscriptural, against the national constitution, against the peace and prosperity of the churches, and dangerous to the permanency of the Union." The committee also recommended that money should be donated only to the Board of Foreign Missions and the American and Foreign Bible Society upon providing evidence that they were not involved with antislavery movement. The General Convention calmed some of the Southern fears by making an official public announcement of neutrality on the issue of slavery.

Abolitionism was initially feared and hated in both the North and the South, mostly because the abolitionist pushed an agenda of "non-tolerance." The abolitionist's attitudes, rhetoric and actions gradually moved towards the more militant and hostile end of the scale. Many church members prescribed to the practice of fellowshipping with one another despite their vastly differing opinions on the issues of slavery and abolition.

There was a desire for the moderates--both North and South--to bond together and force the abolitionists to withdraw totally from the American Baptist General Convention and form their own organizations.

In 1844, the Georgia Baptist Convention nominated the Reverend J. E. Reeve to serve as a missionary to the Indians. The approval authority for this action was the executive board of the Home Mission Society; however the board refused to appoint Reverend Reeve, a slaveholder, as a missionary. This was just one more action that appeared to be unjustified by a body that was supposedly neutral.⁶

The insult to Reverend Reeve and the Georgia Baptist Convention was the last straw and prompted several of the Southern state associations to take swift and final actions. In the end the decision was to split from the American Baptists. In an effort to win as many new Baptist members as possible, much consideration was given as to the naming of the new convention. The Southern and South-West Convention was suggested as an organizational name, however, it was decided the "Southern Baptist Convention" would be comprehensive enough, and so it was adopted.

On 10 May 1845, the provisional constitution was adopted, and Dr. William B. Johnson was elected as the first president of the Southern Baptist Convention. He was one of the sharpest minds among Southern Baptists in 1845 and previously had been president of the South Carolina Baptist Convention. He viewed the denominational split as being similar to Paul's second missionary journey. On that trip there was an unresolved disagreement between Paul and Barnabas. Subsequently they separated from each other and the outcome was that "two lines of service were opened for the benefit of the churches." He wrote an address to the public in a document dated 12 May 1845 stating that a painful division had taken place between the American Baptists. He was quick to point out that the split was not over doctrinal issues, but was more a matter of administrative policies. Dr. Johnson stated:

At the present time it involves only the Foreign and Domestic Missions of the denomination. Northern and Southern Baptist are still brethren. They differ in no article of the faith. They are guided by the same principles of gospel order.⁷

In 1860, the Southern Baptist denomination was the second largest group of Protestants in the South, with well over 600,000 members. From 1845 to 1860 the Southern Baptist membership grew from 365,346 to 645,218. Comparatively speaking, this 4.79 percent annual increase in membership was drastically lower than the American Baptists' growth from 1814 to 1845, which was at 7.20 percent. The number of Southern Baptist churches increased from 4,395 in 1845 to 7,760 in 1860, while the number of associations increased from 213 to 316 during that same period. On the state level, associations increased from 9 to 13. In 1860 Southern Baptists comprised 5.29 percent of the total population, compared with 5.03 percent in 1845.

How could such like-minded individuals be so opposite in their thinking on the issue of slavery? Of all the national issues, slavery caused the most division in the American fabric because it encompassed a plethora of hotly contested issues; political, economic, social, moral, and religious, simultaneously. Many of the prominent attitudes held by Christians of that day were based on their regional environments and their differing interpretations of the Bible. The conflict of sectionalism between the industrialized North and a largely agrarian South had been much discussed and debated. When it came to the issue of slavery, Southern Baptist thinking was along the same lines as most other Southern evangelicals. Most Southern Protestant denominations believed that human bondage was divinely ordained; an attack on the institution of slavery equated to an attack on the authority of God. Southerners regarded slavery as absolutely essential to a prosperous South, and felt that the abolishment of slavery would therefore not only

trample on their rights but also threaten all Southerners and all of their institutions. Northern Baptists saw slavery as a threat to the nation's political institutions. They believed it corrupted the Union and had to be contained in the South. Only after the hostilities began in the Civil War did the vast majority of Northerners begin to see emancipation as a moral necessity.

As a whole Southern ministers were very adept at making arguments in their preachings and writings condoning the institution of slavery. Typical biblical justifications for slavery include the belief that Africans were descendants of Ham, and therefore were a cursed people. Others believed Christians were obligated to follow a practice God had allowed in both the Old and New Testaments. One line of thinking was that slavery was actually a blessing for the people from Africa much like it had been for the Israelites when their captivity had saved them from starvation and preserved their nation. Many Baptists in Texas saw slavery as a means to spread the gospel to the Africans in the hopes they would shun their native heathen practices.¹⁰

Surprisingly, many Baptists in the Southern states were averse to the practice of slavery. The first supporters of the antislavery movement were among the citizens within the poorest economic circles of the Deep South. In the South non-slaveholders constituted the majority of the population. This dynamic was especially true in parts of the upper South, where plantation life was not so grandiose. Many local Baptist associations, as well as the State Baptist Associations of Virginia and Kentucky, adopted formal resolutions denouncing slavery. The "Friends of Humanity," an organization made up of Baptist churches and associations in Kentucky even went so far as to pass resolutions of non-fellowship with slave owners. The antislavery sentiment in Kentucky

was strengthened by the exodus of residents opposed to slavery to neighboring free states.

One of the most notable Baptist families to participate in this movement was Thomas

Lincoln, father of Abraham Lincoln. Thomas Lincoln decided to move his family from

Kentucky to Indiana and Illinois.¹¹

There was a wide range of views across the country on the issue of slavery. There were even differences between the Deep South and more Northern states such as Virginia and North Carolina. During this period, several ordained Negro Baptist preachers even served as church pastors in the South. Some large cities contained entire churches whose sole membership was made up of a slave or Negro population. Prior to 1860, most Negro Baptists were usually members of white churches and utilized separate sections or buildings reserved for them. The Alabama Baptist Association recognized the tremendous preaching ability of Caesar McLemore, who was a Negro. The association attempted to hire him to spread the gospel to the Negro population in the state.

Unfortunately, existing state laws prohibited this from occurring. In order to get around the law, the association actually purchased him and appointed a committee to oversee his work as a missionary for the association. Reverend McLemore was an extremely effective missionary and converted many slaves over to Christianity. Although exact membership numbers cannot be traced, most scholars estimate the number of Negro Baptists in 1860 at approximately 400,000.¹²

The Alabama Baptist State Convention, which met 9-13 November 1860, is attributed with making the first official secessionist statement by an ecclesiastical assembly in the South. This resolution, which was proposed by Dr. Basil Manly, stated in part:

At a moment when grave and serious issues face the country... we have the profound conviction that the Union of the states has failed... we can no longer hope for justice, protection or safety from the Federal Union... We hold ourselves subjects to the call of proper authority in defense of the sovereignty and independence of the State of Alabama and of her right, as a sovereignty to withdraw from the Union; and to make arrangements for securing her rights.

After the election of Lincoln, the Savannah River Baptist Association and the Charleston Baptist Association in South Carolina followed suit, as did the Florida Baptist State Convention. The vast majority Baptist Associations, with a few isolated exceptions, refrained from making formal public statements on the issue of secession until the Confederate government broke away from the Union.

Most Baptist newspapers in North Carolina and Virginia were aware of the prevailing secession sentiment in the South but they continually expressed a desire that the Union would be preserved. Dr. John A. Broadus and Dr. James P. Boyce, both denominational leaders and professors at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Greenville, South Carolina, thought their state's secession ordinance was the work of irrational individuals. However, the incident at Fort Sumter and President Lincoln's request for volunteer troops to subdue the South served to dissolve all differences of opinion among churchmen concerning the issue of secession.¹³

The Eighth Biennal Session of the Southern Baptist Convention met in Savannah, Georgia, a month after the surrender of Fort Sumter and unanimously adopted a resolution concerning the current state of national affairs. The statement read:

Since the United States government insists upon letting loose hordes of armed soldiers to pillage and desolate the entire South, and since Northern churches and pastors. . . . are breathing out slaughter and clamoring for sanguinary hostilities, therefore be it resolved that the formation of the Confederate States of America be approved; that the Divine direction be invoked upon those who rule over them and that the Confederate States and also the Kingdom of Jesus Christ may prosper; that the President of the. . . . Confederate Congress be assured of their

sympathy and confidence; that every principle of religion and patriotism calls them to resist invasion; and that prayer be offered for those from their families who are in the armies to cover their heads in the day of battle, and give victory to their arms.¹⁴

This public proclamation supported the individual states' right to secede from the Union. It claimed that the government in Washington had provoked the peace loving people of the South. President Davis, his Cabinet, and the Confederate Congress were afforded the sympathy and unanimous support by the denomination.

Clergymen in the South used several arguments to justify the act of secession.

Some believed that secession was a Constitutional right and as sovereign states their rights had been violated by the North. Perceived economic exploitation was a second factor in the right to secede. Many felt the Federal government had over-stepped its authority by enforcing an unjust tariff policy on the South. Others took the view that secession was a spiritual matter. They reasoned that the prosperity, atheism, and materialism prevalent in the North had persuaded God to punish the nation by dividing it and setting apart the righteous remnant in the South to preserve His truth, justice, and honor. 15

The majority of Southern Baptists fully supported their new Confederate government and its institutions. Southern Baptists demonstrated their support for the Confederate States of America through their writing and speeches. Not only did they support the government with their words but also with their actions by enlisting in its armies to win the independence of their Southern nation. Across the South, Baptist newspaper editors and hundreds of Baptist ministers urged their fellow countrymen on to secession. Some critics and scholars even go so far as to say that the Southern preachers led the way to secession.

As in any cause, there are those with dissenting opinions. In fact there were a few Southern Baptist preachers who managed to stay in the South even though they refused to support the Confederacy. The Reverend Milton S. Shirk, a Baptist preacher in Shreveport, Louisiana, was a staunch Unionist. He was steadfast in his views and would not bow to pressure to pray for Confederate President Jefferson Davis. In spite of his unpopular views, Reverend Shirk preached every Sunday at four different churches for the duration of the war. Others thought many preachers were moved more by the "spirit of war" than by the "spirit of the Gospel."

As a general rule, most Northern Baptists believed the Southern population had been tricked by evil Confederate leaders into supporting treason and rebellion. Most Northern clergymen and laymen vigorously supported the Union during the Civil War. Almost overwhelmingly the vast majority of the Southern and Northern populace viewed success on the battlefield as an indication of God's favor, and defeats as His punishment. Northern Protestants were somewhat leery of war and desired a peaceful solution to resolve the differences. When the South initiated the attack on Fort Sumter all aversions to war were pushed aside. They ran to support their Union cause and desired a swift punishment of their Southern neighbors. Northern Christians believed that God had ordained the Federal government; therefore, the South's rebellion against the Union was a sin that called for divine punishment. As in the South, there were only a small number of Northern preachers who challenged the dominant view that God was pro-Union. The Reverend Yarnell, of the Paris, Illinois, Baptist Church was expelled as the pastor because he had justified the right of secession from his pulpit. Both the Northern and Southern Baptists subscribed to the spiritual doctrine of providence. Both honestly felt

that God was at work in this national conflict and He would use the war to accomplish His purposes.¹⁶

The well renowned Basil Manly from the First Baptist Church of Montgomery,
Alabama, was designated the Chaplain to the Confederacy. Reverend Manly assisted his
fellow Baptist minister, J. L. M. Curry, in drafting Alabama's new Constitution. On
4 February 1861, Reverend Manly was appointed as the official chaplain of the
Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. As the chaplain he was given the honor
of opening the first session of the Confederate Congress with prayer. One of his duties
was arranging for other ministers to open sessions with prayer. On Monday,
18 February 1861, Manly participated in the ceremonies marking the inauguration of
Jefferson Davis. Reverend Manly's chaplaincy posting and high level involvement in
the Confederate government was just the first in a long line of appointments of Southern
Baptist chaplains and missionaries to serve in the military for the duration of the war

¹William W. Barnes, *The Southern Baptist Convention*, 1845-1953 (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1954), 12.

²Ibid., 16.

³Ibid., 18.

⁴Ibid., 21.

⁵Ibid., 22.

⁶Ibid., 25.

⁷Robert A. Baker, *The Southern Baptist Convention and Its People 1607-1972* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1974), 169.

⁸Ibid., 221.

- ⁹Daniel W. Stowell, "The Ways of Providence: Baptist Nationalism and Dissent in the Civil War," Baptist History and Heritage 32, no. 3-4 (July/October 1997): 7.
- ¹⁰Jesse C. Fletcher, "Effects of the Civil War on Southern Baptist Churches," Baptist History and Heritage 32, no. 3-4 (July/October 1997): 34.
 - ¹¹Barnes, 19.
 - ¹²Baker, Southern Baptist Convention and Its People, 229.
- ¹³W. Harrison Daniel, "The Southern Baptists in the Confederacy," Civil War History, vol. 6 (1960): 390.
- ¹⁴Charles F. Pitts, *Chaplains in Gray: The Confederate Chaplains' Story* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1957), 27.
 - ¹⁵Daniel, Southern Baptists in the Confederacy, 393.
 - ¹⁶Stowell, 16.
- ¹⁷A. James Fuller, *Chaplain to the Confederacy: Basil Manly and Baptist Life in the Old South* (Baton Rougge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 294.

CHAPTER 3

BAPTIST MINISTERS SERVING SOLDIERS

The Civil War was the most ferocious and bloody conflict in American history. At the same time it could be said that the Civil War was the most religious war in all history. J. William Jones in Christ in the Camp points out: "Any history of that army, (referring to the Army of Northern Virginia) which omits an account of the wonderful influence of religion upon it which fails to tell how the courage, discipline and morale of the whole was influenced by humble piety and evangelical zeal of many of its officers and men would be incomplete and unsatisfactory." This chapter looks at several distinguished Southern Baptist ministers who contributed their services in an admirable fashion to the Confederate States of America. Specifically, it details the history and regulations regarding the formation of the Confederate chaplaincy. It discusses how ordained Baptist ministers served as official regimental chaplains, missionaries, evangelists and even as fighting men in the enlisted ranks or as commissioned officers. It addresses, in detail, the broad range of duties performed by these religious men in the camps, hospitals and on the battlefields. This chapter concludes by analyzing the perspectives that senior military leaders as well as the common soldiers had towards the Baptist ministers that served among them in the army.

The Civil War was somewhat unique in that it largely pitted Christians against Christians, as opposed to Christianity against another religion. Both the North and the South emphatically believed that God was truly on their respective sides. Individual chaplains and their personal importance and influence varied from unit to unit. It is

estimated the Union had approximately 2,300 to 3,000 chaplains who served in the Army.¹

Determining the actual number of Confederate chaplains who received a commission from President Jefferson Davis is extremely difficult at best. Therefore, attempting to establish an exact number of chaplains from any one denomination is just as difficult a task. Several reasons are cited for the inability to accurately reflect the true numbers of men that served in the capacity of a regimental chaplain. The single biggest problem in this accountability effort is the lack of Confederate military records and documentation. Many of the Confederate government's records concerning chaplains have been lost or destroyed. Most scholars agree that the number of chaplains who served in the Confederacy ranges between six hundred and a thousand. However, existing Confederate government documents show a collective roster of only four hundred men who were nominated by the President. It appears that of these four hundred nominated, many ended up not serving as chaplains for one reason or another. An additional problem in identifying chaplains is that many were already serving in the state militias having been appointed by their respective governors. Yet another source of confusion is the missionaries or evangelists who often were referred to by the men or other chaplains as "chaplain" when they were not, in truth, serving in that official capacity.²

As a group, Civil War chaplains distinguished themselves, for either good or bad, along the total spectrum of soldierly conduct, from Medal of Honor winners to those classified as scoundrels, charlatans, and cowards. By and large, the majority religion of the common Civil War soldier was that of Protestant Christianity. The other major faith groups, Catholics, Jews, and even atheists, were represented on the battlefield as well.

However, these faith groups combined for a relatively small portion of the entire soldier population. These faiths were generally confined to ethnic related commands such as the Union Irish Catholics and the Confederate Catholic troops from the state of Louisiana. As a result of facing adverse battlefield conditions, the mainstream Protestant denominations enjoyed unprecedented cooperation throughout the conduct of the war.³

Early Denominational Views

Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, several leaders in the Southern Baptist

Convention expressed concern over the secession issue facing the country. In South

Carolina, Dr. John A. Broadus and Dr. James P. Boyce, both serving as professors at the

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, felt the secession movement was not a prudent

course of action for the South to pursue. However, once the decision was made, the

denomination fully supported the Confederacy and its political leadership. Both Dr.

Broadus and Dr. Boyce willingly volunteered to serve as army chaplains at the outset of
the war.⁴

After the pronouncement of war, the Southern Baptist Convention looked for ways to provide assistance to the war effort. In addition to being the biggest denominational supplier of religious reading material for the military, they also sought to provide men for the Confederate army. Although the Southern Baptist denomination was the second largest denomination at the outbreak of hostilities, they sent a smaller ratio of chaplains to serve as commissioned chaplains than did the other Protestant denominations. The most dependable figures claim between sixty and one hundred Baptist ministers actually secured commissions as chaplains by the Confederate government. One may question why this occurred? Several reasons for this exist, but the

most overwhelming one is that Baptist ministers chose to serve in the ranks as commissioned officers or even as enlisted men within the Confederate forces.

Early on, the Southern Baptist denomination raised the most adamant opposition to the policy of government-sponsored chaplains. Historically, the denomination believed in a strict separation of church and state. Initially several Baptist newspapers and Baptist State Associations were very much opposed to the government paying the salaries of chaplains. Baptist newspaper editors recommended that chaplains serving in the regiments should be supported by the soldiers within that regiment. Although there are no records of the wartime proceedings from the national level Southern Baptist Convention, there were some official statements of opposition at the local level. Some Baptist state and local associations in Mississippi and Texas passed similar resolutions to this one expressed by the Georgia State Baptist Convention:

This convention does not approve of the principle of appointing chaplains for the army to be paid out of the public treasury... and we pledge ourselves as a denomination to do all in our power to support all ministers of our denomination who attend as missionaries upon regiments or battalions.⁵

Another controversial issue seen by the Southern Baptist Convention was the way in which the Conscription Law was being administered. Dr. James P. Boyce, who served as the chaplain for the Second South Carolina Infantry Regiment from 1861 to 1862, was the leading advocate for all of the Protestant denominations in voicing opposition to the Confederate government's Conscription Law. His argument was that those young men who were in seminary study or desired to attend the seminary should be exempt from conscription into military service. The argument was based on the fact that there was no mechanism in place that would allow for the replacement of clergymen who were lost during the war years. He skillfully articulated the concerns of the Southern clergy in a

letter to the chairman of the Confederate House of Representatives' Military Committee. It stated the small number of men who would qualify for this exemption would be so insignificant that it would not impact the overall end strength of the Confederate military. Adopting this policy of limited theological student exemptions would ultimately benefit both the civilian populace and the military by providing trained preachers in the hometown pulpits and in the chaplaincy.⁶

Creation of the Confederate Army Chaplaincy

Part of the problem with getting a sufficient number of chaplains to volunteer was in the haphazard way the Confederate chaplaincy was established. On 14 March 1861, the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States of America established the War Department. In their efforts to establish an army for the possibility of war, they created an organizational structure for their army that almost identically replicated the United States Army. The only major difference in the two structures was the absence of positions for chaplains in the Confederacy.

It has been suggested that this was a calculated omission due to the prevailing belief by many that the various religious denominations, rather than the government, should bear the responsibility for supporting chaplains. Some felt it was due to President Jefferson Davis' lack of respect for chaplains and the manner of their performance he witnessed at West Point and during the Mexican War. Public support, petitions by Southern clergy, and personal involvement from Secretary of War L. P. Walker finally moved the Confederate Congress to authorize chaplains in the army.

Legislation enacted on 3 May 1861 enabled the President to appoint chaplains as he deemed necessary to army regiments, brigades and posts. Chaplains were initially

given a monthly wage of eighty-five dollars. This salary was basically equivalent to that of a lieutenant's monthly pay. The bill made no additional provisions governing the men that were commissioned as chaplains. Required qualifications, uniforms, rank, billeting, mess and official status were all issues with no standardization throughout the army. Ironically, prior to the legislation at the national level, many of the state militias bestowed chaplains with the rank of major and paid them upwards of one hundred fifty dollars a month.⁸

In the Confederate army, securing a chaplain's commission and appointment was not a well-defined process. When state militia units were initially called to service they brought their chaplains along with them. In most cases, these chaplains had received their appointments from their state governor after being elected by the men of the unit.⁹

Debate over the proper way to recognize and compensate chaplains continued in the Confederate Congress throughout the duration of the war. A mere two weeks after the decision to establish a chaplain's pay at eighty-five dollars, Congress slashed their pay to only fifty dollars a month. On 31 August 1861, Congress once again appeared unfriendly towards the chaplains by authorizing them only one ration a day, an amount equal to that provided a private. On 19 April 1862, Congress, after much public pressure, raised chaplain pay from fifty dollars a month to eighty dollars. Finally on 22 January 1864, the government allowed chaplains to draw forage for their horse, but only if they had one. These series of highly controversial political actions resulted in a Confederate chaplaincy that was extremely disenfranchised and resulted in an unusually high level of attrition. This assessment is evidenced by the fact that only fifty chaplains served continuously in their regiments from receipt of their appointment to the end of the war.¹⁰

Although the chaplains were never accorded an official status, they were generally considered as commissioned into the officer ranks. Numerous propositions came before the Confederate Congress to resolve the issue; however, they failed to enact legislation that would have eliminated the ambiguity surrounding the status of chaplains. In the military, official correspondence from the Inspector General's Office, the Adjutant General's Office and the Quartermaster General's Office referred to chaplains as being counted among the officer corps and recognized as serving in staff officer positions.¹¹

Many chaplains had their minuscule pay and allowances supplemented by their denominations and in some cases by the soldiers they were serving in the regiment. The Southern Baptist Convention and many Baptist State Associations contributed to supporting their ministers in the army. During the war, eleven Baptist chaplains had their pay supplemented by contributions from the Domestic Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. In 1863, Revered W. D. Rice, the South Carolina General Superintendent of Army Colportage, announced, "Should any brethren be deterred from accepting chaplancies, because of inadequacy of the amount paid by the Government, the Colportage Board will be glad to add to that amount so much as will be sufficient to the support of any brother." In Virginia, the State Baptist Association routinely sent monthly gifts ranging from fifty to seventy-five dollars to its chaplains. 13

Chaplains

Early in the war there were numerous incidents in which chaplains were looked upon with contempt by the soldiers and the officer corps. This may have been due to the excitement, the newness of war, and expectation levels that were present during the first year of the war. Many ministers who volunteered to serve as chaplains, like the vast

majority of soldiers, had gone into the army for the novelty of it, to "whip Yankees," and then to return home and resume normal life in short order. This attitude led to the chaplain billets being filled by many unqualified candidates. The general attitudes of most soldiers towards chaplains early in the war can be summed up in a letter from a North Carolina calvaryman to his church magazine. The soldier states, "The war is not going to last long and anybody would do as a chaplain." However, the hardships of camp life, the horror of war and the low pay drove many of these thrill seekers back to their home churches.

One significant factor that needs to be considered is the relatively young age of the average Confederate chaplain. The median age was around twenty-eight years old, but there were several chaplains as young as twenty-one and some over the age of fifty. This young average age, of course, corresponds directly to their levels of inexperience in the ministry. Chaplains were often criticized by the soldiers for their perceived lack of preaching abilities and their inability to relate to the individual soldier on a personal level. A regiment of army soldiers is quite a different audience than the normal small town Sunday congregation. Chaplains were criticized because they chose sermon topics that did not apply to what was taking place in the lives of the soldiers. Some chaplains were considered long-winded and often lost the attention of the men. Many chaplains just could not make the necessary adjustments to military preaching and subsequently left the service.

There were some isolated cases of rather extreme behavior by chaplains that also brought discredit to the position of the chaplain. Strangely enough, a few chaplains in both theaters earned the distinction of engaging in punishable offenses. One chaplain in

the Army of Tennessee was forced to resign his commission after he was caught stealing. Chaplain J. J. McMahon, who served in the Army of Northern Virginia, actually received a court martial for desertion. Some were even found guilty of scouring the countryside for food and then returning to camp to sell it at outrageous prices. Initially, some of the men who were elected to the position of chaplain had no formal training in theology and really were not sure what a chaplain was supposed to do for the regiment. Cases like these were isolated, few in number, and usually occurred early in the war. By 1862, the overall quality of the Confederate chaplaincy was vastly improved and these questionable ministers had been replaced by men who were more dedicated to serving God and the soldiers.

The Reverend J. William Jones was one of the most influential men within the Southern Baptist Convention. He was a graduate the University of Virginia and was in the inaugural class of the Southern Baptist Seminary in Greenville, South Carolina. In 1860, Reverend Jones was sanctioned by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention to serve as a missionary to Canton, China. However, the onset of the Civil War prevented his departure. In 1861, he enlisted in the Army of Northern Virginia in the Thirteenth Virginia Infantry Regiment as a private and fought at Harper's Ferry. He was eventually appointed as the chaplain to his regiment and remained with his unit until it surrendered at Appomattox in the spring of 1865.

In addition to his regimental chaplain duties, he wrote for the *Religious Herald* as a war correspondent. Reverend Jones wrote about military life in general as well as thoroughly capturing the religious aspects of the war. He has been touted as the best chaplain correspondent that the war produced on either side.¹⁶ Not only was he involved

in the war effort at the lowest level but he was simultaneously involved in denominational business. He was a delegate to the national biennial conventions and he served on several important boards as well. Some Baptist ministers, desiring appointments as chaplains, misunderstood the exact role that Reverend Jones filled in the military. Although he was considered the ranking chaplain for the Third Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia, he did not possess the ability to grant chaplain commissions. He did, however, pass the names of ministers desiring to become chaplains to the commanding officer of those regiments that were lacking chaplains. The commanding officer of the regiment was required to submit the proper application through military channels in order to secure a commission for a chaplain. Chaplain Jones recorded the names of four hundred ten soldiers whom he baptized during the war. After the conflict he made the effort to personally contact every man he had baptized, who survived the war, to check on their spiritual condition. He was amazed to learn that all the men, with the exception of only three, were still leading faithful Christian lives and were actively involved in their local churches.

The following is a letter from J. William Jones, in his capacity as the Chaplain of the Thirteenth Virginia Infantry Regiment, to the *Religious Herald* in an effort to recruit quality chaplains for the army. The contents of the letter came from input from his fellow chaplains as well as senior military officers.

The Men We Want

Mister Editors: As my name has been mentioned as one of the "committee of correspondence to facilitate the induction of chaplains into the various regiments of our corps," perhaps I ought to say a word with reference to the matter. In private letters to brethren I have said, "Send us the names of good men;" and I here repeat we want none others our object being not merely to fill up the regiments with nominal chaplains, but to fill the vacancies with efficient working

men. We want effective Gospel preachers, whose burden shall be Christ and Him crucified. It is a common mistake that anybody will do to preach to soldiers; and hence the chaplaincies are generally filled by young and inexperienced men. But a moment's reflection will suffice to convince, that since we have in the army the flower of the country, so we ought to have the best preaching talent of the country. I call upon our city and country pastors earnestly to consider whether it is not their duty to enter this wide field of usefulness. It is a field worthy the attention of our most experienced, most useful ministers, and if they cannot get their consent to enter regularly upon it, I call upon them to at least give us occasional visits. We want men who will stick to their posts. I am persuaded that a great deal of harm has been done by chaplains resigning, or absenting themselves for long periods from their commands, on "detail to collect clothing," or some such pretext. The great business of the chaplain is to preach Christ publicly, and from tent to tent, and the temporal welfare of the soldiers should be made subordinate to this. We want men physically able as well as willing to endure hardships and privations. If a chaplain would live up to the full measure of his usefulness, he must be with his regiment on the weary march (frequently resigning his horse to some foot-sore soldier), lie with them around the bivouacfire after evening prayers are over; be drenched on the outposts, or face the pelting snowstorm; divide with some hungry soldier his last hard cracker, and in a word, share with his regiment whatever hardships they may be called on to endure. Now, if a brother is physically unable to endure these hardships, he had best not enter the work, but there is no question that many a delicate brother would have his health permanently improved, if he would thus learn to "endure hardness as a good soldier."

I trust that brethren in sending testimonials will remember these points. And if the committee should feel called on to decline recommending any one, of course they will not be understood as deciding who shall be denied chaplaincies, but simply their own unwillingness to act in the matter. Thus much I felt it due to myself and the cause to say.²⁰

One young notable Southern Baptist Chaplain who heeded this call was Reverend John J. Hyman of the Forty-ninth Georgia Infantry Regiment. He was famous for always being about his Master's business, as evidenced by routinely preaching up to six times a day during one extended revival. When the orders came for his unit to move out for Gettysburg, he was in the water baptizing fifty-eight soldiers that desired to partake in the sacrament.²¹

Another distinguished chaplain was the Reverend Crawford H. Toy who was a graduate of the University of Virginia and had attended the Southern Baptist Seminary

with the hopes of becoming a missionary to Japan. He ended up as the chaplain for the Fifty-first Georgia Infantry Regiment and helped to educate many soldiers in basic reading and writing skills. Even though his areas of expertise were Greek and theology he served his regiment in whatever capacity was required. After the war ended he became a faculty member at the University of Virginia, later moved to Southern Seminary to serve as a professor, and eventually ended up teaching at Harvard.²²

An extremely unique incident occurred with the entire faculty and student body of Mississippi College, which was a Baptist institution. The decision was made to abandon educational pursuits and dedicate their pool of manpower to assisting the Confederate army. The result was the formation of the Mississippi College Rifles, a regiment composed entirely of faculty and students.²³ Of the original one hundred four men who went off to fight, only eight survived and were able to return to their homes.²⁴

Army Missions

By the end of 1861, it was apparent that the Confederate Chaplaincy was unable to adequately meet the religious demands in the army. Throughout the war, chaplain positions were rarely filled above fifty percent, and at some points the percentage of fill actually dropped as low as twenty-five percent. Soldiers often mentioned in their letters to family members and friends that they had gone months without hearing any preaching in camp. Army chaplains also voiced these same concerns back to their particular denominational bodies. The Southern Baptist Convention was the first denomination to take actions in an effort to alleviate this problem.

In January of 1862, the Southern Baptist Convention's Board of Domestic

Missions transitioned its normal business of Home Missions and dedicated its efforts

solely toward army missions. The goal of their program was to send missionaries to the armies to work in conjunction with the regimental chaplains to increase their religious effectiveness among the soldiers. The corresponding secretary of the Mission Board, Reverend M. T. Sumner, served as the first director of the army missions program. The following men were named as the missionary supervisors in the various armies: Reverend J. B. Link coordinated efforts beyond the Mississippi River; Reverend J. J. D. Renfroe was the liaison to the Army of Tennessee; and three men - Reverends J. William Jones, George B. Taylor, and E. J. Willis were appointed as supervisors to the Army of Northern Virginia. The primary functions of these supervisors were to assist chaplains, minister to those regiments without chaplains, and to help interested ministers cut through the governmental bureaucracy to obtain commissions as chaplains.

In addition to working with the chaplains in the field environment, these supervisors worked closely with their denominational bodies. They coordinated the efforts of volunteer ministers to preach in areas of the army that were in the most need of religious instruction. Many prominent Southern Baptist ministers, newspaper editors, and seminary professors volunteered to make routine visits to preach in the armies.²⁵ These gentlemen also engaged in writing letters to congregations or used the religious newspapers to convey their needs to the public. They often made personal appeals for financial support from local Baptist congregations and requested the services of local pastors. Reverend Sumner claimed that it took six thousand dollars to support this program during its first year in existence.²⁶

The Southern Baptist Convention employed twenty-six men as army missionaries during the first year of the program. This number rose to a high of seventy-eight

missionaries by the end of the war. These missionaries were required to report the progress of their labors to the Mission Board. In the first year of operation, eighteen out of the twenty-six missionaries reported the results of their labors. The missionaries' tally of ministries performed included the following: over seven hundred sermons, three hundred prayer meetings, confirmation of over two-thousand five hundred converts, the changing of nineteen backsliders, and the baptism seventy-five men.²⁷

One of these missionaries was Reverend Pleasant Gold who labored as a colporter and missionary in Anderson's Brigade in the Army of Northern Virginia. Later, he served as a hospital chaplain in the towns of Wilson and Goldsboro, North Carolina. In his letters to his fiancée, Miss Julia E. Pipkin, he appears somewhat more despondent than most missionaries. He was concerned with the many issues of life as well as caring for the men in his charge. He often lamented that his sermons were dull, ineffective, and at times downright boring. The death and destruction caused by the war made him anguish over the wives and families that were going to be without husbands and fathers. Reverend Gold claimed that the vagrant life in the army was a hindrance to winning souls for the Lord, a view not held by the majority of chaplains and missionaries. Fearful thoughts of not getting a church to pastor when he returned home also occupied much of his time. In the end, Reverend Gold relied on God to sustain him in the pursuit of his duties because he could not do it in his own strength.²⁸

Another stellar missionary was Reverend William Robert Gwaltney who was much more positive in his writings about the religious happenings during the war. He was a talented lawyer and originally served in the Southern Baptist Convention as a colporter and was subsequently elected as a chaplain for the First North Carolina Infantry

Regiment. Eventually he ended up working as a chaplain at the Seabrooks Hospital in Richmond, Virginia. He described Sabbath preaching as always being heavily attended and received by the soldiers with great attentiveness. Even when surrounded by death and suffering in the hospital, the men's desire to know how to be saved was always a constant topic of discussion.²⁹

One incident, which speaks volumes to the place religion held in soldier's lives, occurred during one of Reverend Andrew Broaddus' many visits to the army camps. In one camp, a theater for traveling acting groups had been constructed close to a chapel building. The concern was that the performances at the theater would interfere with the revival services. Reverend Broaddus ended up attracting larger crowds than the theater and the acting company. As a result of Reverend Broaddus' powerful messages several of the actors and even the owners of the company came to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. Subsequently, Reverend Broaddus was invited to move his church services from the small chapel to the much larger and more accommodating theater.³⁰

Classification Issues

Chaplains were officially recognized by both the North and the South as having the status of a noncombatant. This status entitled chaplains to immediate release upon capture; however, this procedure was not followed. In many cases chaplains ended up in prison camps by their own choice because they felt compelled to remain with the men of their regiment. A chaplain's ability to engage in battle was not restricted by army regulations or policies. However, the vast majority of chaplains, soldiers and denominational leaders felt that men of God should provide comfort instead of waging

war against the enemy. As a general rule, the decision to fight or not to fight was left up to the individual chaplain.³¹

Reverend William F. Broaddus was held as prisoner in the Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C., for two months in 1862. At the time of his arrest, he was the pastor of the Fredericksburg Virginia Baptist Church. Reverend Broaddus and eighteen others from his hometown were arrested by Federal troops for espousing anti-Union sentiments. During their captivity, the reverend ensured that proper religious activities took place.

While in prison he even negotiated for the release of twenty-five other prisoners.³² After his release he continued to serve as a member of the Southern Baptist Conventional leadership and ministered to Confederate army troops.

Chaplains Who Chose to Fight

Isaac T. Tichenor was the former pastor of the First Baptist Church of Montgomery, Alabama. In September of 1861, he volunteered to serve as the chaplain for the Seventeenth Alabama Infantry Regiment. He not only distinguished himself as a gifted man of God, but also as a fierce warrior on the battlefield. He is most vividly remembered for his heroic actions that occurred during the Battle of Shiloh. At this battle he walked the line and preached a sermon to his men during a crucial moment in the fight. He rallied the men's spirits by encouraging them to fight well for their former commander who had died, Colonel Tom Watts. He also reminded them of their families back in Alabama that were praying for them at that exact moment and to stand firm against the enemy. Not only was he successful in appealing to his men but he actively participated in the fighting. During the Battle of Shiloh, Chaplain Tichenor performed scout duties, collected prisoners of war and even fired on the enemy with devastating

results.³³ During this battle he was credited with killing a Federal colonel, a major and four privates.

His ability as an expert sharpshooter was put to the test on at least one other occasion. Evidently a Union sharpshooter attempted to pick off the chaplain and missed his target. Chaplain Tichenor immediately took cover behind a shattered tree and searched for the source of the round. He spotted the enemy soldier approximately one hundred fifty yards away and on the run when Chaplain Tichenor fired one shot and dropped the soldier. He was affectionately referred to "captain" by the men in his regiment and was widely known as the "fighting chaplain." Although a wound finally caused Chaplain Tichenor to resign his commission he continued to visit camps as a guest preacher until the end of the war.

Two other notable Baptist chaplains were also proclaimed as fighting chaplains in the Southern press. Chaplain C. T. Winkler, who left his pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Charleston, reported to active duty with his weapon in hand. The other was Chaplain John. G. Fry, a wounded veteran from the Indian Wars.³⁵ The title of "the fighting parson" was given to Samuel Chapman who was a member of Mosby's Rangers. He attended a Baptist college prior to the start of the war; but offered his services to the Confederate army. He served in the infantry and artillery before he ended up in the Rangers. Mosby referred to Chapman as a "military Calvin" because he would sing Psalms while riding into battle. Chapman was not only a spiritual leader in the outfit but he led on the battlefield as well, as evidenced by the numerous wounds he sustained in battle. During one battle he suffered a head wound from a saber and on another occasion he received a gunshot to the leg and was taken prisoner.³⁶

Duties and Organizations

Success in the eyes of the common soldier was measured by the chaplain's ability to relate to the soldier and minister to his needs. Soldiers held chaplains in high esteem for simply sharing the common hardships that all soldiers face. Often this involved living next to the soldiers in camp, eating the same bad food, marching the same long distances, giving their horses to those soldiers who needed assistance and maintaining a battlefield presence to minister to the soldiers who were wounded or dying.³⁷

Although specified chaplain duties were never established in the army regulations, most of the highly regarded and successful chaplains did their utmost to comply with the following:

- Preach whenever possible
- Organize choirs
- Conduct prayer meetings
- Teach Bible classes
- Counsel soldiers
- Teach reading and writing skills
- Distribute religious literature
- Collect money for tracts, hymnals and New Testaments
- Establish camp and post libraries
- Supervise hospital arrangements
- Visit sick and wounded soldiers
- Read to the wounded and write letters home for them
- Comfort the condemned (usually deserters facing execution)
- Administer sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper
- Organize army churches or Christian Associations
- Collect food, clothing, and medical supplies for the men
- Perform wedding ceremonies for soldiers
- Deliver mail
- Maintain biographical records on the men in his regiment
- Minister to Union soldiers who became prisoners
- Conduct burial services
- Correspond with families of deceased soldiers informing them of burial location

Some chaplains kept extremely thorough records on the men within their

regiments. These records included such details as name, age, home mailing address,

marital status and religious status. These notes helped the chaplain construct letters to the next of kin in case of serious injury or death. The chaplains often described to the relatives the manner in which the soldier had died and any parting words he had conveyed.³⁸ Another unenviable task of the chaplain was to open all letters that were addressed to soldiers who had died and answer them personally.³⁹

Reverend John Lipscomb Johnson was a Baptist chaplain who embodied a genuine "can do" attitude. He served as the Regimental Chaplain for the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry Regiment until his health suffered from a cholera attack. After taking a few months to recover he earned an appointment as the Post Chaplain for Lynchburg, Virginia. While there he undertook a massive project to assist convalescing soldiers. He solicited and arranged for the delivery of milk and fresh vegetable donations to the local military hospital. By the end of 1863, he rented a local building and established a library that contained over one thousand volumes. Through his public and religious newspaper requests and through private appeals, he received over six thousand dollars in financial support as well as numerous material donations. In addition to his already busy schedule he volunteered to serve as an interim pastor to two local Baptist churches. Reverend Johnson scheduled these worship services so they did not conflict with his military duties. 40

One of the most dreaded duties of the chaplain was to write letters of condolence to the families of soldiers who had died. This was especially painful when the individual that was killed was a relative. One such case is described by Reverend John L. Johnson in a letter to his sister, Tina. The letter is dated 8 July 1863 and is from a camp located near Hagerstown, Maryland. Chaplain Johnson starts the letter by saying that having to inform

her of her husband's death is the hardest job he has ever had to do. The following is an excerpt from the letter:

Austin was wounded on 1 July; he was shot through both lungs. He remained conscience the entire time and he only desired to be removed from the field of battle. Austin had the satisfaction of seeing the Yankees driven from the field. He was a wonderful officer and man and performed his duties nobly. His place of burial is immediately off the Turnpike between Cash Town and Gettysburg.⁴¹

Sermon Content

Sermons in the camps were generally preached at a low educational level in order to appeal to the vast majority of soldiers. Even the most educated clergymen learned to adjust their normal preaching styles to accommodate the soldiers. Sermons usually ran between fifteen to thirty minutes and always had the possibility of being interrupted by orders to break camp. Confederate chaplains for the most part were classified as expository preachers, which meant that they commented on and applied passages from the Bible that related to the men's current condition, as opposed to preaching on deep theological or political topics. Most sermons were practical and direct and did not preach hatred towards the enemy as might be expected. Writing sermons in the field was a difficult task, therefore, most chaplains used sermons they had developed for their hometown church or that they had written while in the seminary. More often than not the chaplains spoke messages straight from their hearts and tailored their sermons to address the current concerns of the men.⁴²

During a camp worship service the chaplain or missionary had many things to compete with while preaching a sermon. On many occasions chaplains preached despite sniper fire or incoming artillery rounds. The weather; to include rain, snow, and heat, often served as a distracter. The camp would continue to function as normal during the

sermons, so the preacher had to speak loudly so as to be heard over the noise produced by those not in attendance. The competing noise often included yelling, music, and the movement of men, horses or equipment.

Many of the senior military leaders as well as the influential chaplains in the Confederate army agreed that the military was not a place to advocate denominational differences. Although there were some isolated charges of chaplains stressing denominational theology issues, these were exceptional cases and were usually disproved to the soldier after an explanation by another chaplain. Almost all chaplains were of the mindset described by a Baptist missionary who made the claim that "army chaplains and missionaries were determined to know nothing except the saving power of Jesus Christ, and that their sermons would have suited any congregation in the country regardless of the denomination."

The distinguished Reverend J. J. D. Renfroe served as the chaplain for the Tenth Alabama Infantry Regiment. In an effort to appeal to his men about the virtues of being Christian warriors he developed a sermon called "God Has a Controversy with the Nation." In his sermon he attempted to stress the need for an attitude of repentance. He also called for the men to be good soldiers and to fight the Yankees without hating them. He also encouraged the men not to exact revenge on the enemy for things that occurred on the battlefield. Instead he asked them to leave their personal thoughts of revenge to the good Lord.⁴⁴

Reverend John A. Broadus was the secretary of the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and served as a faculty member at Southern Seminary prior to the war. Chaplain J. William Jones commented on Reverend Broadus' preaching as

never being more powerful than when he was preaching to the Confederate army. Large numbers of soldiers would come to hear him preach because his style was so simple and yet very powerful. Reverend Broadus was known for preaching up to three or four times a day.⁴⁵

Chaplain's Associations

The formation of Confederate Chaplain's Associations resulted from the lack of an institutional structure within the army to oversee chaplain activities. One of the first associations formed was in General Thomas J. Jackson's Corps on 16 March 1863 at the Old Round Oak Church in Caroline County, Virginia. A significant concern at this meeting was of the shortage of chaplains within General Jackson's Corps. Despite the general's valiant efforts to secure an adequate number of chaplains, there was still a severe shortage. Over half of the regiments in the corps were without chaplains and some entire brigades were without even a single chaplain. Another topic of great concern was the damage being caused by the substandard performance of many of the chaplains in the corps. The poor execution of their duties was reflecting negatively on the chaplains as a whole. Although it never occurred, it was proposed that the names of those chaplains who were delinquent in their duties be announced publicly in an effort to pressure them to either improve their performance or leave. 46

These associations attempted to organize themselves in such a manner as to produce a more efficient use of religious assets within the corps or army where they were serving. Meetings were generally held weekly, when possible, to discuss religious concerns throughout the command. Chaplains shared their experiences about what techniques seemed to work best with the soldiers and what things did not seem to work as

well. They also devised plans to provide chaplain coverage to those regiments that were currently without a chaplain. These associations also invited prominent ministers or evangelists in the area to come and speak to the soldiers. These chaplain associations were highly successful and the concept spread quickly throughout the army. By the war's conclusion, every division in the army had a chaplain's association within its organizational structure.⁴⁷

Army Churches and Christian Associations

Towards the latter part of 1863 until the conclusion of hostilities, there were unique religious organizations that materialized in the Army of Tennessee and in the Army of Northern Virginia. These organizations included the creation of Army Churches, Christian Associations, and Young Men's Associations. These organizations are directly linked to the revivals that took place in the armies. The purposes of these organizations were primarily to provide a support network for believers and newly converted soldiers and to prevent backsliding. Typically, a set of procedures and guidelines was drawn up and agreed to by all that desired membership within the organization. For the most part, these organizations were non-denominational in practice, however, if baptism was requested by the soldier, his preference was noted and he would be baptized according to the guidelines of that faith. If a like chaplain or minister was in the vicinity they would usually be invited to baptize those soldiers of that faith. A common practice was for the chaplains in charge of the organization to present membership certificates to the soldiers so they could present them to the church of their choice in their hometown.⁴⁸

On 17 April 1863, in a letter to his wife Winnie, Chaplain John K. Street of the

9th Texas Infantry Regiment sent a copy of the preamble and resolutions of the association he had helped organize. It read as follows:⁴⁹

"Young Men's Christian Association of 1st Texas Brigade" "Preamble"

"We whose names are here unto annexed desiring to do all the good in our powers to promote personal piety in camps, to advance the Cause of our blessed Redeemer in the earth, and to more effectually preserve Christian propriety and to exalt and perpetuate piety and virtue, we subscribe to the following rules and regulations:

- 1. All persons professing faith in Christ and desiring to submit to the regulations of His kingdom shall be considered fit subjects for membership.
- 2. This association shall have one President whose duty it shall be to preside over the deliberations of the same: also a Vice President to assist the President and preside in his absence: also one Secretary who shall keep a correct minute of all the proceedings of all the meetings of the association and shall furnish to the families of deceased members a detailed account of their religious conduct and state during their connection with the association: also one Treasurer.
- 3. The regular meetings of the association shall be once a month: oftener if necessary.
- 4. It is expected that all members will be punctual in their attendance upon the regular meetings of the association and in their attendance upon divine services elsewhere.
- 5. The association shall have a Vigilant and Relief Committee whose duty it shall be to visit and comfort the sick of the Brigade; having two from each Regiment on the committee and to make a report of their condition to the association.
- 6. Any member offending shall be dealt with according to the directions of our Savior in 18th Matthew.
- 7. All members are mutually bound to pray for each other

Order of Business

- 1. Reading, singing and prayer
- 2. Calling the role
- 3. Reading the minutes
- 4. To inquire whether all are at peace
- 5. To offer an opportunity for membership
- 6. Unfinished business
- 7. New business

In a few cases, Baptist soldiers ended up forming their own strictly denominational organizations. The Army of Tennessee had an organization called "The Young Baptists of Finley's Brigade" which was established by four Baptist chaplains and contained sixty-five members. A Baptist preacher, serving in the ranks as a noncommissioned officer, was responsible for the group's ministry opportunities and delivered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Baptist chaplain W. E. Walters of Jenkins' Brigade formed The Christian Association of the Second South Carolina Regiment, which invited all Christians to become members. Texas had the most churches established within its ranks; one in the Fourteenth Texas Calvary Regiment, Terry's Texas Rangers, Gibson's Brigade, Finley's Brigade, and one organized by a group of Indians in the Cherokee Regiment.⁵⁰ The Greenville Baptist Association of South Carolina integrated a regiment into the membership of one of its local churches. The association even dispatched a Baptist minister to travel to the regiment to conduct the ordinance of the Lord's Supper to the soldiers. With the establishment of denominational churches came the more restrictive practices of following specific doctrines. A negative aspect of this practice was that men were encouraged not to participate in interdenominational activities within the camps. Although the Baptists had the most churches within the army, all denominations can be credited with establishing churches.⁵¹

Chapels

Army chapels were a luxury when fighting was suspended for long periods of time, usually over the winter months. The Seventeenth Alabama Infantry Regiment is credited with constructing the first chapel in the winter of 1861. The chapels were made from logs gathered from around the camp. Building a chapel became popular camp

activity. Even those soldiers who did not normally participate in religious activities would assist in the construction efforts. A fairly typical chapel's dimensions were a forty-foot by twenty-foot rectangle with a door located at one end and a crude pulpit at the other. Most chapels did not have windows but they did have multiple fireplaces and several wooden slats that served as pews. The most elaborate chapels even included a small room off to one side that acted as a parsonage for the chaplain. One regiment, the Twenty-seventh Georgia Infantry Regiment, actually carried a large tent that served as their portable chapel. During the winter of 1864, chapel construction in the Confederate army reached its peak. The Second and Third Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia had a total of thirty-seven chapels that could each seat between three hundred and five hundred soldiers.⁵²

Sabbath Breaking

Early in the war, Sabbath breaking in army camps was quite commonplace.

Unnecessary unit activities were abundant in those regiments where the commanding officers did not pay particular attention to the spiritual welfare of their soldiers. Often these Sunday activities were all day events and consisted of police call, inspections of the men, equipment inspections, dress parades, or drill practice.⁵³

In Georgia, during the Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Washington Baptist Association, the delegates vowed to publicly petition against the wickedness of certain army officers whose actions demonstrated a disregarded for the observance of the Sabbath. They had received letters and reports from some of their disgruntled church members who were serving in the army about the frivolous activities they were required to engage in on Sundays.⁵⁴

Occasionally, brigade and lower level commanders were not very sensitive to chaplain concerns and those of the soldiers in regard to observance of the Sabbath.

Soldiers would complain about this situation in their letters home, which resulted in denominations raising this as an issue to be resolved. Chaplains would also raise the issue up through their chain of command. Once the issue had been raised to the highest levels, the commanding officers in several armies published general orders to ensure soldiers were provided the opportunity to attend worship services on Sundays. Although General Lee published an order in 1862 dealing with Sunday activities, he felt it was necessary to refocus his commanders. The following is his General Order No. 15, published on 7

February 7 1864:

- I. The attention of the army has already been called to the obligation of a proper observance of the Sabbath, but a sense of its importance, not only as a moral and religious duty, but as contributing to the personal health and well-being of the troops, induces the commanding general to repeat the orders on that subject. He has learned with great pleasure that in many brigades convenient houses of worship have been erected, and earnestly desires that every facility consistent with the requirements of discipline shall be afforded the men to assemble themselves together for the purpose of devotion.
- II. To this end he directs that none but duties strictly necessary shall be required to be performed on Sunday, and that all labor, both of men and animals, which it is practicable to anticipate or postpone, or the immediate performance of which is not essential to the safety, health, or comfort of the army, shall be suspended on that day.
- III. Commanding officers will require the usual inspections on Sunday to be held at such time as not to interfere with the attendance of the men on divine service at the customary hour in the morning. They also will give their attention to the maintenance of order and quiet around the places of worship, and prohibit anything that may tend to disturb or interrupt religious exercises.⁵⁵

Hospital Ministry

Hospital chaplains were able to keep more regular hours than their counterparts in the field armies. This being the case they were often able to provide a more extensive ministry beyond that of preaching and counseling. Performing burials consumed a great deal of these chaplains' time, but they also found time to develop close relationships with those soldiers who were convalescing. These chaplains were able to provide more personalized attention such as visits, reading to soldiers and also writing for those who needed assistance. Hospital chaplains established support networks in the communities where the hospital was located and usually succeeded in securing food, clothing, monetary and book donations.⁵⁶ Soldiers in the hospital were generally very receptive to hearing the "Good News" because of their recent near death experiences. Many times the soldiers who were converted in the hospitals were the best advocates for Christ upon their return to camp. Chaplain W. F. Broaddus rejoiced in being able to serve others as evidenced by his comments, "What a luxury, to press the cup of salvation to one who is physically unable to inquire for it by going to the Lord's house!" house!" "F. Broaddus!" "F. Broa

Hometown Churches

During the war several Baptist chaplains and colporters left their posts with the army to return to their home churches. Most chaplains left after being informed of problems relating to the harmony or administration of the church activities or with problems suffered by members of the congregation. This became such a problem that Reverend A. E. Dickinson, chairman of the Southern Baptist Colportage Board, published letters through denominational papers asking congregations not to encourage

army chaplains to come back to pastor mostly empty churches when the need was so much greater in the army.⁵⁸

Views and Impact of Chaplains

Views and attitudes held by legislators, military leaders and the common soldiers towards chaplains ranged from contempt to admiration. Early on in the war many individuals were unashamedly hostile in their thoughts, words and actions against chaplains. Congressman Wiley P. Harris from Mississippi sought to reduce chaplain pay even below the fifty dollar mark because it was felt that chaplains only worked one day of the week. William Smith of Alabama said, "Chaplains were mere drones and ought to be in the army as soldiers with muskets on their shoulders."

General D. H. Hill made disparaging comments about his regimental chaplains on several occasions. He classified his chaplains as being effeminate and trifling.⁶⁰ Some officers even ridiculed the chaplain for the content within a particular sermon. Others often used abusive or vulgar language when talking to or around the chaplain. Still others sought to make Sunday in the camp a day of work, drill, or inspections just to discourage soldier attendance at camp worship services. Most of these occurrences were isolated incidents and took place early in the war.

For the most part, chaplains were well received and respected by the officer corps and by the common soldiers. Most commands unofficially afforded chaplains the customs and courtesies associated with the rank of a captain. The senior military officers in the Confederate army treated chaplains with more dignity and respect than had the legislature. Generals Jackson, Bragg and Hardee often supplied chaplains with horses and forage, despite what the regulations stipulated. The generals would also treat visiting

camp missionaries and evangelists as their personal guests since the regimental chaplains had no funds to accommodate the visitors. Most chaplains were also given the freedom depart from their army duties to attend denominational and state conventions when the need arose. ⁶¹

General John B. Gordon, in his assessment of the contributions of his chaplains, had this to say:

They banished from the heart all unworthy passions, prepared the soldier for a more heroic endurance; lifted them above their sufferings, nerved them for coming battles; gave them a higher conception of duty; imbued them with a spirit of cheerful submission to the decrees of Providence; sustained them with a calmer and nobler courage; and rendered them superior to danger.⁶²

Chaplains viewed their job as not only to win converts to the Lord, but also to improve their morale and make them better soldiers. It has often been stated that religiously inclined soldiers make for a higher quality soldier. In assessing the impact of religion on the soldiers with whom he had come in contact, the Reverend J. J. D. Renfroe, chaplain of the Tenth Alabama Infantry Regiment, had this to say:

I believe it was generally conclusive that religious men made the best soldiers. And I know that officers frequently expressed themselves as believing thus. Religious soldiers complained less at army regulations, hard service, and short rations. They did their duty more generally and more willingly, and I have never knew one of them to disgrace himself in battle. Many of them died at their post. They straggled less on marches, and committed fewer depredations on the rights of citizens.⁶⁴

Baptist Ministers in the Ranks and Their Influence

The Methodist denomination supplied the largest number of chaplains to the Confederate army. Although the Southern Baptist Denomination was approximately the same size, they provided about half the number of chaplains as the Methodists. The reason for this is that many Baptist ministers chose to serve in the ranks, either as officers

or as enlisted men. The fighting ministers had a profound influence on their men despite the fact that many ministers chose to fight rather than serve as chaplains. During two separate revivals, a Georgia Brigade and an Alabama Brigade, each with a few Baptist ministers in the chain of command, had 120 men join the Baptist Church after the conclusion of the services. Interestingly, both revivals had been sponsored and led by Methodist preachers. As a general rule, the Baptists were leery of having an educated clergy; therefore, Baptist chaplains were less educated than the other Protestant denominations.

Although a majority of chaplains assisted the surgeons and ambulance teams in the rear, this was not always the case. One remarkable act of heroism was attributed to the Baptist chaplain W. G. Curry of the Fifth Alabama Infantry Regiment. During unusually heavy fighting in the Battle of Chancellorsville, Chaplain Curry, without regard to his own safety, rushed onto the battlefield to pick up one of his wounded soldiers. The Federal troops were astonished at this act of bravery demonstrated by a "man of the cloth." So astonished were they that they actually held their fire until the chaplain had returned safely to his own lines with the wounded soldier. 67

The obituaries below are just two of hundreds that give an indication of why there were so few Baptist ministers who chose to serve as chaplains. These tributes were taken from the Report of Notice of Deceased Ministers contained in the Minutes of the Fortythird Anniversary of the State Convention of the Baptist Denomination in South Carolina in July 1863. They read as follows:

Reverend R. B. Halk

A member of New Harmony Church licensed in 1859. He was sent to school two years under the guardianship of the Association, who were anxious upon the

favorable report of his teacher that he should continue. But saying, "That he could not be satisfied without doing something in this country's cause," he volunteered in the 14th S.C. Regiment, and fell at the second battle of Manassas, August 29, 1862, at the age of twenty-four years.

Reverend W. M. Boyd

This highly esteemed brother volunteered in the 3d S.C. Regiment, in July 1862, and was stricken down at the battle of Fredericksburg December 13, 1862. He belonged to the New Prospect Church and in 1859 was licensed to preach, and was at once felt to be an able minister of the Gospel. After he entered the service of his country, his regiment being destitute of a chaplain, he labored earnestly and faithfully in promoting the spiritual welfare of his comrades in arms.⁶⁸

Even though the formation of the Confederate chaplaincy had an inauspicious beginning, it grew into an organization that exceeded all expectations. Despite the fact the Southern Baptists were initially opposed to certain facets dealing with the government's handling of the chaplaincy and the conscription laws, they found ways to make significant contributions. Through dedicated efforts of Southern Baptist chaplains, missionaries, evangelists and soldiers, the spiritual fitness of thousands of soldiers was not neglected. Although, the Southern Baptist's contributions to the chaplain ranks were comparatively low, the impact of their ordained ministers throughout the army was significant. Many of the finest men in the denomination gladly fulfilled their obligations to serve their country in a time of crisis. Regardless of the capacity in which they served chaplain, missionary, colporter, evangelist, or as a common soldier or officer in the ranks, their influence was phenomenal and reflects positively on the Southern Baptist Denomination.

¹Lawrence P. Fitzgerald, *History of the Southern Baptist Chaplaincy* (Atlanta: Southern Baptist Convention Home Mission Board, 1970), 28.

- ²Roy J. Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), 121.
- ³Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), ix-x.
- ⁴W. Harrison Daniel, "The Southern Baptists in the Confederacy," Civil War History, vol. 6 (1960): 391.
- ⁵W. Harrison Daniel, *Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy* (Bedford VA: University of Richmond, 1989), 64.
- ⁶Willard E. Wight, *The Churches and the Confederate Cause*," *Civil War History*, vol. 6 (1960): 364.
- ⁷Herman Albert Norton, *Struggling for Recognition: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1791-1865* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 131.
 - ⁸Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 56.
 - ⁹Norton, The United States Army Chaplaincy 1791-1865, 134.
 - ¹⁰Daniel. Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 57.
 - ¹¹Ibid., 55.
- ¹²Minutes of the Forty-Third Anniversary of the State Convention of the Baptist Denomination in South Carolina (Columbia: South Carolina State Baptist Convention, 1863), 201.
 - ¹³Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 64.
- ¹⁴Herman Albert Norton, *Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1961), 28.
 - ¹⁵Ibid., 26.
 - ¹⁶Ibid., 28.
- ¹⁷Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Session of the Southern Baptist Convention (Macon: Southern Baptist Convention, 1863), 49.
 - ¹⁸Norton, Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains, 33.

- ¹⁹Charles F. Pitts, *Chaplains in Gray: The Confederate Chaplains' Story* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1957), 29.
- ²⁰J. William Jones, *Christ in the Camp or Religion in Lee's Army* (Richmond: B. F. Johnson & Company, 1887), 265.
 - ²¹Norton, Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains, 27.
 - ²²Ibid., 91.
 - ²³Pitts, 29.
 - ²⁴Ibid., 117.
 - ²⁵Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 86.
 - ²⁶Ibid., 83.
- ²⁷Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Session of the Southern Baptist Convention (Macon: Southern Baptist Convention, 1863), 39.
- ²⁸Pleasant Gold, to Miss Julia E. Pipkin, 19 November 1862, LS, Pleasant Gold Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.
- ²⁹William Robert Gwaltney, to his wife, 12 December 1863, LS, William Robert Gwaltney Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.
- ³⁰Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb, The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943), 181.
 - ³¹Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 72.
- ³²Fred Anderson, "Held Hostage," Baptist History and Heritage 32, no. 3-4 (July/October 1997): 88.
- ³³Alan J. Lefever, "God in the Camps: Ministry to the Soldiers," Baptist History and Heritage 32, no. 3-4 (July/October 1997): 24.
 - ³⁴Norton, Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains, 81-82.
 - ³⁵Ibid., 84.

- ³⁶Anderson, "The Fighting Parson," Baptist History and Heritage 32, no. 3-4 (July/October 1997): 116.
 - ³⁷Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 65.
 - ³⁸Norton, Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains, 60.
 - ³⁹Pitts, 82.
 - ⁴⁰Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 68.
- ⁴¹John L. Johnson, to his sister Tina, 8 July 1863, LS, John L. Johnson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.
 - ⁴²Norton, The United States Army Chaplaincy 1791-1865, 145-147.
 - ⁴³Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 87.
 - ⁴⁴Ibid., 70.
 - ⁴⁵Anderson, *Peacemaker*, 6.
 - ⁴⁶Jones, 231.
 - ⁴⁷Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 71.
 - ⁴⁸Ibid., 91.
- ⁴⁹John K. Street, to Winnie Street, No. 57, 17 April 1863, LS, John K. Street Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Manuscripts Department, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.
 - ⁵⁰Norton, Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains, 66.
 - ⁵¹Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 91.
 - ⁵²Norton, Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains, 46.
 - ⁵³Norton, The United States Army Chaplaincy 1791-1865, 145.
 - ⁵⁴Wight, 365.

⁵⁵U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies, serial. I, vol. 33* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), 1150.

⁵⁶Norton, Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains, 61.

⁵⁸Norton, Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains, 102.

⁵⁹Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 56.

 62 William W. Bennett, *The Great Revival in the Southern Armies* (Harrisonburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1876), 413.

⁶³Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 94.

⁶⁵Norton, Rebel Religion: The Story of Confederate Chaplains, 35.

⁶⁷Philip Katchner, *The Army of Robert E. Lee* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1994), 180.

⁶⁸Minutes of the Forty-Fourth Anniversary of the State Convention of the Baptist Denomination in South Carolina (Columbia: South Carolina State Baptist Convention, 1864), 205.

⁵⁷Jones, 211.

⁶⁰Ibid., 56.

⁶¹Ibid., 65.

⁶⁴Pitts, 116.

⁶⁶Ibid., 36.

CHAPTER 4

SOUTHERN BAPTIST RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

Religious literature during the Civil War took on an increasingly important role as the war progressed. The significance of the various denominations' religious papers, tracts and Bible distribution cannot be overlooked in the study of spiritual matters in the Confederate army. The availability of religious materials served to lift the morale of the common soldier by encouraging them to avoid the numerous spiritual "pitfalls" of army camp life as well as to confront them on the issue of salvation, especially in the face of a high likelihood of being severely injured or killed on the battlefield. The Southern Baptist Convention understood what a fertile field the Army was for winning souls, and they determined that they would fully support a ministry that reached out to soldiers in need of spiritual guidance.

A field of ministry was developed in order to better meet the needs of the Confederate soldiers in this area; the result was the creation of a colporter. A strict definition of a colporter is one who travels around the countryside and distributes or sells religious reading materials to groups or individuals. However, during the Civil War the colporter was almost always an agent of one of the major Protestant denominations. Most of the literature was usually provided to the soldiers for free because they were donated by denominational bodies from around the world.

This chapter will address the impact that the Southern Baptist colporter and religious materials had on the soldier. In order to fully understand how and why this ministry came to fruition, a denominational background must first be discussed. It covers not only what was taking place in the Southern Baptist Convention on the national level

but also looks at a cross section of the Baptist State Conventions and Associations, specifically those of Texas, Alabama and South Carolina. This chapter will then determine the approaches they took to meet the needs of soldiers in the area of religious literature.

Southern Baptist Convention of 1861

The Southern Baptist Convention held its Eighth Biennial Session at the First Baptist Church in Savannah, Georgia, from10-13 May 1861. During this session the Church leaders were concerned with making the necessary administrative changes to the Southern Baptist Convention's formal organizational documents to reflect the current status of affairs relating to the creation of the Confederacy. They decided to change the language of the preamble and parts of the constitution from referencing the "United States." The convention delegates resolved to substitute instead the "Southern States of North America" where applicable. It appears that with the war just finishing its first month the convention members did not fully comprehend the degree to which the nation would be torn apart. Nor did they realize the significant strain in terms of manpower, money, and sacrifice that would be required of their denomination in meeting the wartime religious needs of their new country. At the time of this convention the war was not even a month old and the delegates maintained focus on the normal Convention business that involved reports and forums on Foreign Missions, Domestic Missions, and the Sunday School and Publications Board.

At this point in time there were no actions undertaken to minister to the soldiers in the army. The Chairman of the Committee on Domestic Missionaries, Basil Manly, called for men to assist in meeting the needs of churches and congregations that were struggling to survive, the needy in poor neighborhoods and urban areas and especially the millions of slaves within their borders. As far as the Foreign Mission Board was concerned they understood that the war would likely become an impediment to supporting missionaries in the field. The issue of continued funding to overseas missionaries and the feasibility of even sending new missionaries abroad was a vital concern. The delegates were informed that it was the intention of the Foreign Mission Board to send out the five missionaries that were already under appointment, however, the war conditions had temporarily prevented that from happening. In regards to the missionaries already deployed overseas, the committee's foremost concern was keeping them at their posts. They had faith that financial support would somehow make its way into the hands of the missionary. The committee had no desire to recall missionaries back home from the field. They felt recalling missionaries would cause untold damage to the denomination's evangelistic efforts in a particular area. Another significant consideration was the expense that would be incurred in bringing a missionary home. It was estimated that it would cost as much to bring someone home as it would to support them in the field for an entire year.²

The convention delegates were also informed about the current state of affairs pertaining to the publishing of the denomination's religious materials. The Chairman of the Periodicals Committee, Reverend M. T. Sumner, accurately predicted that some of the Confederate States' denominational papers would have to reduce publication output or suspend operations altogether. In light of this possibility, the Southern Baptist Convention vowed to do everything possible to continue its circulation of their own periodicals, especially that of the *Home and Foreign Journal* and *The Commission*. It was

a real possibility that these national level publications might prove to be the only source of news about the denomination's Missions and Bible operations available to its members scattered throughout the South.³

Southern Baptist Convention of 1863

With the Civil War now entering the third year of conflict, the Southern Baptist Convention held its Ninth Biennial Session at the Green Street Baptist Church in Augusta, Georgia, from 8-12 May 1863. The proceedings of this session were drastically different from the previous session held in May of 1861. Although there were reports from the Foreign Mission Board on the activities of missionaries abroad, the vast majority of topics dealt directly with denomination issues relating to the war. Finances and donations were also of the utmost concern to the Convention.

The war was affecting the amount of business that the Southern Baptist

Convention was conducting to such a degree that some positions were consolidated or eliminated altogether. One position that felt this downsizing was that of the

Corresponding Secretary for the Foreign Mission Board. Normally there were two individuals designated to fill this position, however, now there was only enough work for one person. In a cost cutting move, Reverend A. M. Poindexter, a corresponding secretary, retired from his position within the Convention. Although in a retired status, Reverend Poindexter did not just sit back on his farm in Virginia. He immediately offered to serve as a colporter in the Richmond Hospitals for the Virginia Sunday School and Publications Board. He dedicated himself to the physical and spiritual care of the thousands of sick and wounded soldiers who ended up in the city. Reverend Poindexter eventually ended up as a Post Chaplain in Richmond, Virginia.⁴

Unfortunately, the hardships brought on by the ongoing Civil War did not spare the periodicals of the Southern Baptist Convention. Although every effort was made to continue publishing the denomination's religious material, the undeniable realities set in soon after the conclusion of the 1861 convention. Publication of the two denominational periodicals was discontinued for several reasons. The cost to print and distribute them became exorbitant, in part due to the difficulty of obtaining paper and because of a decrease in the number of regular subscribers. Most of the normal subscribers were no longer at their homes, but were instead scattered throughout the country serving in the various armies in the Confederacy. The cost to publish was so burdensome the decision was made to cease operations; subsequently the last issues were printed in September 1861. At the 1863 Convention the Sunday School and Publication Board chairman, Reverend J. Lewis Shuck, felt that the Southern Baptist Convention's press releases could be sufficiently promulgated through the religious newspapers that were still operating in the various states. A resolution was passed whereby all Conventional Boards would utilize the existing state denominational newspapers to keep members apprised of necessary information. A positive outcome of the suspension of these publications resulted in the Convention shifting the savings from the publications budget and turning it into much needed financial support for the missionaries in the field.⁵

Domestic Mission Board

Before the Civil War commenced there were over 150 missionaries that served on the home mission field, which included working with Indian nations in the various states and territories. Due to the nature of the war, all but one individual had to be recalled from his duty location.⁶ Because of the tremendous national burden of providing manpower to

the Southern armies, public opinion demanded a greater effort of ministry to their soldiers. This shift in focus came at the expense of the Indians and those in other spiritually lacking areas in the country.

In 1863 the Southern Baptist Convention stated that their Army Mission was now the most important program administered by the Domestic Mission Board. To this end the Board officially established the Convention's Army Missions Program in January of 1862. They resolved that in view of the pressing spiritual wants of the troops they would make every effort to reach out and provide the Confederate defenders with all types of supplies, not just religious literature. They would assist with food, clothing and comfort items when at all possible. The delegates knew that God was calling them to harvest the fertile fields of the armies. They had received numerous reports from chaplains in the army that more workers were needed because the soldiers were suffering from exposure, moral temptations, and the emotional stress of possible sudden death. This constant state of uncertainty broke down the normal barriers and opened men's hearts to receive the Word of God. One solution they came up with was to make an appeal to pastors in the denomination to volunteer to work as missionaries or evangelists to the army. They proposed to encourage local church congregations to allow their Pastors to take temporary furloughs to allow them to minister to soldiers in the hospitals and the camps. The Board agreed to coordinate the labors of those who were willing to volunteer in order to provide the most coverage as possible.⁷

The Domestic Board sent out the word to all available missionaries and ministers that it was accepting volunteers to enter military in the capacity of a chaplain. These requests were promptly answered by several influential ministers from throughout the

denomination. However, even in the economically hard pressed times it was more difficult to obtain men than to obtain the financial assets to support them. Between 1862 and 1863 the Domestic Board issued commissions to twenty-six men to be appointed as chaplains to the army.

The Domestic Board described the missionary operations within the army as being extremely diversified from one missionary or chaplain to the next. Basic duty requirements covered a wide spectrum of expectations from the commands. Duties ranged from long distance foot marches with the regiments and brigades to preaching when there was available time. Often chaplains did not confine their ministry to only one unit. Missionaries generally had the liberty to move freely among various camps to provide more spiritual coverage to units that were lacking a chaplain at the time. When resources were available the commanders and men expected the chaplains to provide informal counseling services and to distribute whatever religious material they might have on hand to include New Testaments, Bibles, religious newspapers, and tracts. Other expectations were to hold prayer meetings, to conduct of Sunday services, and to explain spiritual truths, especially those related to death, salvation and eternal life.⁸

Printing and Acquisition

At the outset of the Civil War most of the large publishing companies were situated in the Northern states. As a result the printing capabilities in the South were extremely limited. The main presses in the Southern states were located at Richmond, Raleigh, Columbia, Charleston, Augusta, Mobile, Macon, and Atlanta. Until 1861, most Southern religious denominations had agreements with their brethren in the North to provide religious materials through a variety of publication societies. In 1861 the Federal

government classified these Bibles and New Testaments as "contraband of war" and cut off the shipments to the South. One notable exception was the American Bible Society based in New York. Throughout the war they provided their own literature and raised over \$100,000 to assist with the circulation of God's word throughout the South, to both civilians and to soldiers. Initially the only option available to the Southern denominations was an attempt to secure materials by running them through the naval blockades or having them produced at substandard facilities in the South.

As far as Bible production was concerned there was only one full length Bible printed in the South. The Bible was printed by the Southwestern Publishing House, which was owned by a group of Baptist leaders and businessmen. They raised one thousand dollars through appeals to the readers of the *Tennessee Baptist* newspaper. The money was needed to purchase the plates required to print the Bible. The plates were bought in the city of Philadelphia and smuggled to Nashville through Kentucky. This publishing house printed New Testaments that were about the size of a three by five card and less than an inch thick. They had 954 pages, the type was extremely small and they sold for fifty cents apiece. The publishing house printed Bibles and New Testaments until February of 1862 when the plates were confiscated by the Union forces during the occupation of Nashville.¹⁰

In 1861 the first Confederate Bible to be printed was made at the Southwestern Publishing House in Nashville, Tennessee. This Bible was subsequently delivered to Jefferson Davis who vowed to utilize it at his inauguration. In an effort to assist the Confederacy in obtaining religious material the British and Foreign Bible Society

donated large shipments of Bibles and Testaments as well as extended unlimited credit which allowed the Southern denominations to purchase needed Scriptures.¹¹

Even though at the outset of the war in 1861 the United States had imposed a trade ban against the South some items still made their way through the lines. Sometimes religious materials were sent through the lines under a flag of truce. It has been estimated that over three hundred thousand Bibles, Tracts, and New Testaments were delivered from Northern Bible Societies to the South, generally by way of Baltimore. The American Bible Society based in New York was by far the largest contributor of religious materials to the South. The Reverend Levi Thorn, a Baptist preacher from Kingston, North Carolina, was responsible for the Confederacy's single largest shipment of Bibles. He appealed to the board of managers of the American Bible Society for Bibles to be given to Confederate soldiers. The board responded generously by sending one hundred thousand Bibles in December of 1863.

Throughout the war there were numerous attempts to secure religious material from other countries. Some Baptists in Texas attempted to import some Bibles by way of Mexico in the autumn of 1864. In December of 1864, Reverend J. B. Jeter was chosen by the Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board and the Colportage Board of Virginia to travel to England to buy Bibles and tracts. Before he was able to execute this mission the war drew to a close. ¹²

Readership

The soldiers in the field always desired to have reading material of any sort. Most religious organizations saw this as a huge opportunity to witness to those in need of salvation. The vehicle for getting the religious material to the troops was through the use

of a colporter. Even though the main protestant denominations had been able to distribute vast quantities of religious literature in the form of newspapers, books, Bibles and tracts, they were not able to keep up with the demand from the armies. Colporters and their tracts were almost always welcomed in the camps, even by some of the most irreligious officers. These officers realized that the efforts of the tract distributors resulted in improved behaviors of their men both in the camp and on the battlefields.

It is impossible to quantify the impact that this material had on individual soldiers.

However, colporters would often send letters back to the Convention describing their personal observations.

Colporters observed that many men who had no leanings towards religious matters back at home were now demonstrating a great desire to learn more about God after experiencing the horrors of combat. Some desired the printed materials because it was their only source of information and they would be willing to read anything they got their hands on. Others, who would have normally picked up their current events through conversations with friends and acquaintances back home, were finding that this was the only medium consistently available to them in camp life. New Testaments and Bibles were highly sought after by the soldiers, however, they were generally hard to find in adequate numbers to meet the demand. There are several cited cases where a missionary or chaplain would show up at a hospital with reading materials and the sick and injured would temporarily forget their aliments in their haste to secure a copy of whatever was being distributed.¹³

Colportage Work

The Southern Baptists were the first major denomination to independently create literature for the Confederacy. The Virginia Baptist Sunday School and Publication Board had been writing, printing and distributing tracts since 1857. Tract depositories were formed in fourteen major cities throughout the Confederacy. The cities included the following: Richmond, Stauton, Danville, Marion, Orange Court House, Goldsboro, Raleigh, Wilmington, Savannah, Atlanta, Mobile, Montgomery, Corinth, and Knoxville. ¹⁴

The Sunday School and Publishing Board made a special announcement to formally recognize the outstanding work that had been accomplished to this point in the war by the Virginia Baptist Colportage Work. Under the direction of its General Superintendent, the Reverend A.E. Dickinson, they had already provided over five million pages of tracts to army missionaries for distribution to soldiers in the field and in the hospitals. He was able to raise a work force of almost one hundred trained colporters that worked among the camps and hospitals within Virginia's borders. Reverend Dickinson was gifted with the ability to garner and maintain support for his operations from the highest-ranking officials and most prominent civilians within the Confederacy. He made his appeals to all Christians of the South through speaking engagements in churches as well as articles in secular and religious newspapers. His administrative savvy and proactive recruitment efforts enabled his organization to actually increase the number of colporters and army missionaries his Board employed throughout the duration of the war. In 1862, only one year into his efforts, he announced in his annual report that, "We have collected \$24,000, with which forty tracts have been published, 6,187,000

pages of which have been distributed, besides 6,095 Testaments, 13,845 copies of the little volume called "Camp Hymns," and a large number of other religious books" These figures are just the beginning of what was to be one of the greatest ministries in the history of Southern Baptist Convention. Reverend Dickinson's final report on the work of the Colportage Board of Virginia during the war years contained the following statistics: the Board printed over a hundred different tracts, distributed over 50 million pages of tracts, distributed over one hundred thousand hymnals, and an untold number of religious newspapers. Not only was Reverend Dickinson a great organizational leader but many say that he was at his best while he was in the camps and hospitals preaching sermons, witnessing and encouraging individual soldiers.

Religious newspapers were often the most sought after items within camp. They were especially desirable if they were from the soldier's hometown or state. The papers were highly prized because almost all reading material was in extremely short supply. The religious papers, of course, contained topics relating to spiritual matters, however, they also had a good bit of current national news and world events information. This type of information was often difficult to obtain while in an army that was constantly on the move. It should be noted that the denomination did not want the papers to overshadow the primary witnessing tool, which was the religious tract.¹⁷

Religious tracts were an invaluable tool in spreading the "good news" among the soldiers in the army. They were given a variety of names such as: "little missiles of truth," "little preachers," "the Bread of Life," or even "silent preachers." They were designed to impart small pieces of spiritual truth to the reader or to supplement a particular sermon that the soldier had heard previously. Although all Protestant

denominations had their own writers and published their own tracts, there was never a sense of competition amongst the different groups. There were no attempts by the different religious groups to steer soldiers to one denomination over another; instead the intent behind most tracts was to guide people to the saving grace of Jesus Christ. The format of a normal tract resembled either a letter type, which was basically a letter from a parent or pastor to the soldier, or it was written like as a short sermon. The tracts could be written as if it were a prayer, or it could use a story or illustration to get the main points across. Every tract had one central theme to convey to the reader, and usually the theme was also in the title of the tract. The majority of tracts sought to point the soldier to the straight and narrow path that all Christians should strive to attain. Tracts were ultimately designed to convert soldiers to Christianity but a secondary hope was to improve morale. A common belief was that Christian soldiers were more positive individuals when faced with hardships of army life and that they were braver than non-Christians in combat. Many tracts were designed to alter undesirable behaviors, such as gambling, swearing and drinking, which were prevalent in camp life.

Several of the most distinguished Southern Baptist clergymen used the content from their army sermons to write the messages contained in the pages of the denomination's tracts. Many of their individual efforts resulted in some of the most recognizable tracts that were produced during the war. A few famous Baptist tracts include the following: 'A Mother's Parting Words' (probably the most popular tract of the entire Civil War, it is estimated that over 250,000 copies of that tract were issued); 'The Evils of Gaming; a Letter to a Friend in the Army,' by Reverend J. B. Jeter; 'God's Providence, a Source of Comfort and Courage to Christians,' by Reverend A. M.

Poindexter; 'We Pray for You at Home,' by Reverend John A. Broadus; and 'It is a Fearful Thing to Live,' by the Reverend Andrew Broaddus.¹⁹

Hymnals were another item that colporters would deliver. These hymnals would be received with great enthusiasm by the chaplains and the soldiers. They were full of songs like "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name," "Just as I Am," and "Nearer My God to Thee," that were common to all evangelical Protestant denominations.

Colporters reported with great consistency the nearly universal positive reaction that most soldiers had to being offered religious material and a few words of encouragement. It was commonly reported that across the Confederate army, soldiers were starving for religious material. The tracts were often seen by soldiers as being less confrontational or threatening than the preachers or evangelists. Commanding generals authorized colporters to come and go as they pleased within the army camps. Most colporters were also pastors or evangelists so when they were visiting a camp they often performed duties normally associated with a chaplain such as preaching, baptizing, conducting funerals, or visiting the sick and wounded.²⁰ In most cases the tracts were received with great eagerness and were read with great interest. They often caused the soldier to reflect back on admonitions he had received either from his mother and father or his wife when he was at home prior to his departure. Many soldiers regretted turning a deaf ear to this advice after they had been lured to evil by the temptations that they were faced with in the camp life.

Literature Distribution

Tracts were read everywhere and passed from soldier to soldier with the greatest of care. Many colporters reported that their job of distributing publications and talking

with soldiers was the most rewarding thing they had ever done. They related numerous stories where the desire for tracts and the extent to which soldiers would go to obtain them bordered between humorous and awe-inspiring. One colporter lamented that when a large shipment of tracts and Testaments arrived in Stauton, Virginia, he had no means to transport them to Winchester. A passing squad of soldiers volunteered to carry the entire shipment for the colporter, a distance of ninety-two miles. The squad's only motivation for doing this was a strong desire for their fellow soldiers to possess the valuable literature. The Reverend W. R. Gwaltney, a colporter and later chaplain of the First North Carolina Regiment, recalls a scene during the Battle of Fredericksburg where many soldiers were engrossed in reading their Bibles in their entrenchments while awaiting orders. On many occasions men who were convinced to change their lives as a result of a particular tract would give money to the colporters to purchase additional tracts so "their comrades should have the precious messengers of salvation."

Another chaplain tells of being charged by soldiers as if they were taking breastworks once the word was out that the chaplain had literature to distribute. Often the colporters would be relieved of their entire supply of tracts and Testaments by eager soldiers even before he would make it into camp. Often when soldiers found out that a colporter had reading material they would not wait on him to distribute it, instead they would come to his tent to request copies. Reverend Tilman R. Gains tells of preaching a sermon one night and announcing that he would have a large quantity of Testaments available the next morning at 8:00 A.M. He was immediately approached by many men attempting to secure a reservation for one. The next morning he stepped outside of his

tent into a throng of soldiers waiting for the Testaments. Reverend Gains' supply was exhausted within fifteen minutes. ²²

There were several techniques for passing out the tracts and some were very unique but practical. When there was a shortage of materials colporters or chaplains might require the soldiers to promise to return the items after they read them so the materials could then be passed along to others. Quite surprisingly the return rate was extremely high and done rather quickly. Some tracts were posted in fixed locations such as on the walls of hospitals, guardhouses, or in a central location within a camp. The most unusual method of passing out tracts was to tie them to a tree or fence by a string, thus enabling the soldiers who were marching by to obtain a tract without disrupting the formation.²³

Besides denominational donations, another method of securing religious materials in the army was through appeals in letters written by chaplains or by the soldiers back to their hometown newspapers and congregations. These articles brought to light the despair of soldiers in not having Bibles available to read. They usually encouraged people or families to sacrifice just a little more in order to send money for religious material or a Bible to the front lines. Often ladies would send Bibles attached with notes saying that it had belonged to their son, husband, or father who had carried it until they were struck down on the battlefield. Reverend Dickinson recounted two of the most touching instances of sacrifice, which occurred immediately after he made a public appeal in Augusta, Georgia. The first is when a four-year-old girl brought him a dime and asked him to, "Tell my brother Johnnie howdie, and buy him some good little tracts with this."

rainstorm and presented him with a gold dollar. The man felt guilty that he was allowed to hear the Gospel every week, while his young master was in the army fighting for him and not being provided with religious materials.²⁴ These heartfelt demonstrations of love and concern spoke volumes about the general feelings most of the Southerners had towards religion. These humble and giving attitudes were very much appreciated by the soldiers and the colporters.

Healing Words

Tracts were not only used to witness to the soldiers in camp and while on the move, but they were a tremendous comfort to soldiers who filled the Southern hospitals. Patients were eager to receive the religious materials and were hungering for Godly instruction. Hospitals may in fact have been the place where most spiritual matters were contemplated and acted upon. The hospitals afforded the soldier time to reflect and do soul searching without being surrounded by the negative influences of the camp. In most cases the soldiers had just experienced a close brush with death and were generally more inclined to be concerned with their spiritual welfare. Many colporters feel they did their finest works in the hospital setting. They were constantly sought after to provide materials and sermons and they had the opportunity to conduct individual visits to those who were in real physical and spiritual need. The Reverend George B. Taylor, post and hospital chaplain in Stauton, Virginia, recalls that as the war progressed the soldiers' attitudes towards religion changed remarkably. Early on in the war when men would attend services they would engage in behaviors that were most disrespectful, such as wearing their hats, smoking, talking and generally not paying attention to the preaching. As the war progressed the soldiers transformed into men who were eager to hear and

obey the teachings of the Bible, and held the men of God in high esteem. In the city of Stauton, Reverend Taylor and the Southern Baptist Sunday School and Publication Board established two rather large libraries for the soldiers to use. This program was a great success, as attested to by visitors to the hospitals who likened the hospital wards to that of a college or university because almost every soldier was reading a book on their cot.²⁵ One great benefit of changed lives in the hospitals was the personal witness of the soldiers themselves. Many a young man could not wait to return to their regiments to be living testimonies and to proclaim the blessed changes in their lives upon hearing the Word, which they had received as a result of being wounded.²⁶

Baptist State Convention of Texas

The shortage of religious material crisis in the army was addressed during the Fifteenth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas held in Waco from 25-28 October 1862. Reverend J. A. Kimball, in his report on books and periodicals, stated that there was only one denominational periodical that was being printed west of the Mississippi River. It appeared that even that one publication was likely to be discontinued before January of 1863. It was acknowledged that some non-religious publishers in the Confederacy were now producing tracts in an attempt to supply the soldiers with the desperately needed literature. He stressed there was a slim possibility that a Baptist paper could again be published for the state and that it was a much needed item to spread the denomination's news throughout the region.²⁷

At the Baptist State Convention in 1863 the report on Domestic Missions pretty much mirrored some of the same sentiments of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Reverend J. H. Thurmand, of the Domestic Missions Board, sadly reported that very little

had been accomplished in the past year in the home mission field due to the impact of the war. He took the opportunity to make a recruitment pitch to the delegates to entertain the idea of serving the Confederate soldiers in some capacity. He impressed upon them that the soldiers were fathers, sons, and brothers who were called to defend their country, homes and their families. Many fighting in the army were Christian men prior to leaving for the hardships of war and were in need of spiritual encouragement that had been lacking in the army. The greater call was to witness to the large numbers of friends, neighbors and countrymen who had no knowledge of the saving grace of God.²⁸

Alabama Baptist Association

In October of 1863, at the Forty-fourth Session of the Alabama Baptist

Association, Reverend C. F. Sturgis, chairman of the Special Committee on Colportage, presented a proposal to better address soldiers' needs in the city of Montgomery.

Montgomery was a crossroads of the Confederacy and there were large numbers of soldiers that were sent to hospitals in the city for recovery. Additionally, there were large numbers of troops moving through the city to join various army units. Under the present circumstances the work that needed to be done for soldiers exceeded the capacity of the current organizational structure of the Alabama Baptist Association. He proposed that a special colportage committee be created to work among the soldiers in Montgomery. This move required the approval of the Domestic Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention because the committee would receive monetary funds directly from the tithes and donations collected in the state. The new colportage committee would receive one-forth of every Sabbath collections with the remainder being sent to the Southern Baptist Convention. This committee would also be empowered to request support directly from

the churches within the state to provide financial assistance, used books and tracts or anything else that may be useful in furthering their cause.²⁹

State Convention of the Baptist Denomination in South Carolina

At the Forty-second Anniversary of the State Convention of the Baptist Denomination in South Carolina, held in Greenville from 25-28 July 1862, the issue of supporting soldiers was also addressed. Reverend Dargan, corresponding secretary of the South Carolina Sunday School and Colportage Board, reported that due to the all-consuming nature of the Civil War, the Board had determined that it could not adequately cover both responsibilities. The Board felt they were led by Providence to devote their efforts mostly toward colportage, for the time being. The Board also decided that, like almost all other religious agencies, it would refrain from publishing denominational specific literature, and would not charge money to the recipients of the tracts. One reason for pursuing this policy was the shortage of religious materials and Bibles throughout the Confederacy. Many colporters reported that the soldiers were often overwhelmed and became emotional when they realized how much the Confederate Christians cared about their spiritual fitness.³⁰

The following mission statement of the South Carolina Baptist Denomination, described how it desired to work among the soldiers of the Confederate armies. From the start of the conflict the South Carolina Baptists had two primary objectives. The first was to put the "word of God" into the hands of every South Carolina soldier. The second objective was to publish and circulate religious tracts. The state association did a superb job at accomplishing both objectives. In achieving the first objective they far exceeded what most state associations accomplished in way of distribution efforts. They did not

confine their efforts to only soldiers from their own state but were liberal with their publications to all who were serving in South Carolina, as evidenced by their distribution of over twelve thousand New Testaments. The South Carolina Baptists did a phenomenal job in meeting the second objective. Between 1861 and 1862 they were able to publish forty-seven tracts. Between 1862 and 1863 they were able to publish fifty-two additional tracts for distribution. During that same time span, the SC Baptists collected \$25,744.37 for the spiritual and physical wants of the soldiers, distributed over four million pages of tracts, 8,500 New Testaments, 20,000 copies of the *Confederate Baptist*, and appointed eighteen army missionaries and colporters.³¹

Even though extensive efforts were made by all denominations to provide enough Bibles for the common soldier there just were not enough to meet the need. The Southern Baptist Denomination was quick to realize that providing religious literature to the Confederate army was a sure way to reach individuals for Christ. They led the way for all the other denominations in terms of their initiatives undertaken, the vast numbers of colporters enlisted and the sheer volume of religious literature acquisition and production. The hard work and dedicated efforts of the denominational leadership and membership at all levels provided immediate comfort to hundreds of thousands from the horrors of war. Their contributions impacted and changed men's lives not only during the war years, but eternally.

¹Proceedings of the Eighth Biennial Session of the Southern Baptist Convention (Richmond: Southern Baptist Convention, 1861), 57.

²Ibid., 58.

³Ibid., 59.

⁴Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Session of the Southern Baptist Convention (Macon: Southern Baptist Convention, 1863), 24.

⁵Ibid., 23.

⁶Ibid., 41.

⁷Ibid., 52.

⁸Ibid., 35.

⁹J. William Jones, *Christ in the Camp or Religion in Lee's Army* (Richmond: B. F. Johnson & Company, 1887), 151.

¹⁰W. Harrison Daniel, *Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy* (Bedford VA: University of Richmond, 1989), 100.

¹¹Jones, 148.

¹²Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 106-109.

¹³Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Session of the Southern Baptist Convention (Macon: Southern Baptist Convention, 1863), 36.

¹⁴Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 108.

¹⁵Charles F. Pitts, *Chaplains in Gray: The Confederate Chaplains' Story* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1957), 168.

¹⁶Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 109.

¹⁷Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Session of the Southern Baptist Convention (Macon: Southern Baptist Convention, 1863), 40.

¹⁸Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 115.

¹⁹Jones, 188.

²⁰Daniel, Southern Protestantism in the Confederacy, 117.

²¹Jones, 153.

²²Minutes of the Forty-Second Anniversary of the State Convention of the Baptist Denomination in South Carolina (Columbia: South Carolina State Baptist Convention, 1862), 154.

²³Roy J. Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), 142.

²⁴Jones, 162.

²⁵Ibid., 187.

²⁶William W. Bennett, *The Great Revival in the Southern Armies* (Harrisonburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1876), 153.

²⁷Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Houston: Texas Baptist State Convention, 1862), 7.

²⁸Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of Texas (Houston: Texas Baptist State Convention, 1863), 12.

²⁹Minutes of the Forty-Fourth Annual Session of the Alabama Baptist Association (Montgomery: Alabama Baptist Association, 1863), 7.

³⁰Minutes of the Forty-Second Anniversary of the State Convention of the Baptist Denomination in South Carolina (Columbia: South Carolina State Baptist Convention, 1862), 152.

³¹Minutes of the Forty-Third Anniversary of the State Convention of the Baptist Denomination in South Carolina (Columbia: South Carolina State Baptist Convention, 1863), 182-184.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND LESSONS LEARNED

Research Questions

This paper originally set out to answer several questions about Southern Baptist contributions to the Civil War. Although several of the original questions were answered in the body of this work there were a few that were not addressed. Regrettably, adequate coverage of the material could not be accomplished in the restrictive length of this thesis.

The formation of the Southern Baptist Denomination and its contributions to the war effort were covered in great detail. The difficulties associated with the creation of the Confederate chaplaincy, its organizational structure and how Baptist chaplains functioned within that structure were also outlined. Not only were the contributions of the most notable Southern Baptists discussed, but also those significant achievements of the average Baptist ministers serving in the ranks, in a variety of capacities.

Although the information contained in the paper could lead the reader to infer that the Southern Baptists played a significant role in the "Great Revivals," the topic is not specifically discussed. Another shortcoming of this paper is the lack of information uncovered in the area of participation by Southern Baptists in the Union forces.

Researching the denominations of individual chaplains proved extremely difficult unless the chaplain was mentioned in published sources or was cross-referenced in individual state or local association documents. One can logically assume that chaplains from the border states were affiliated with the appropriate denomination, American (Union) or Southern Baptist (Confederate), with which their regiment was aligned. The paper also alludes to some results that came out of active participation in the war by the Southern

Baptists, (formation of the "Bible Belt" and increased attendance at seminaries by former soldiers); however, it fails to analyze all the results in any great detail.

Relationship to Previous Studies

Previous studies have been conducted on a wide number of subjects in regards to the relationship between organized religion and its impact during the Civil War. Most endeavors in this category are rather generic and holistic in nature and fail to focus on the specific contributions each denomination made to the war effort. Usually, the writings attempt to make a comparison of the number of chaplains that each denomination provided to the army, either in relation to the percentage of men serving as soldiers from that particular faith group or to the overall denominational membership. In addition to the chaplain figures, only the most notable ministers are mentioned for their distinguished service, with only a cursory mention of the chaplain's denominational affiliation.

The purpose of this paper was to concentrate on individual Baptist ministers on a more personal level. It is an attempt to gain an understanding of their unique motivations for serving the Confederacy and the Southern Baptist Denomination in the manner in which they did, whether it was as a chaplain, missionary, colporter or soldier in the ranks.

Some historians and authors have covered a broad range of topics that are on the periphery of the Civil War and its impact on the Southern Baptists. A few of the academic studies include analysis of the war's impact on the following: Baptist foreign missions, Baptist churches, Baptist political views before and during the war, and perspectives held by Baptists on the changing status of the black population within their denomination.

Only two authors have made dedicated efforts to document the exploits of the Southern Baptist chaplains, evangelists, and missionaries. Both articles were extremely limited in scope and content. Although the writers provided a wealth of information, when writing about religion in the Civil War, they generally mention only those Baptist ministers that are referenced by other notable scholars.

This paper exposed some of the genuine thoughts, disappointments, concerns and fears that the average chaplain experienced while performing his duties. In many cases these men had huge burdens to bear. In addition to taking care of the men in their own regiment they often had to carry extra workloads to cover those regiments that lacked dedicated chaplain support. While ministering in every conceivable circumstance they also had to fight for legitimacy and recognition from the soldiers and officers from within their own organizations. To make matters worse they often had to maintain their strained relationships with their wives, and in some cases agonize over the spiritual condition of their hometown church. Often these pressures overwhelmed the chaplain and they would resign their commissions in an attempt to salvage the life they had before the war.

Suggestions for Further Research

There are numerous areas in this field that would benefit from further academic study and research. The area that potentially offers the most readily available documentation would be an in-depth analysis of the contributions of the Southern Baptist denomination to the religious revivals that took place across every army in the Confederacy. Another closely related topic would be the correlation of those young men who participated in the Civil War to the percentage of students enrolled in the Southern Baptist Seminaries from 1865-1870. Of particular interest would be those factors that

influenced the men to attend seminary. This could potentially lead to a quantitative analysis of how effective the Southern Baptist denomination had been in its efforts to minister to the soldiers during the Civil War. Most of these men probably experienced life changing events while in the army and the influence of a chaplain, missionary, evangelist or a certain religious tract, may have been the reason for the decision to pursue religious education.

A final topic well worth the research effort would be a study of the lessons learned by the Southern Baptist denomination in relation to their war efforts. Were their contributions to the various religious support agencies adequate? Did they have the right priorities of effort or should they have provided a higher percentage of any one category: chaplains, missionaries, evangelists, tract production, or religious newspaper output? Were there lessons learned that the denomination internalized and subsequently adopted as resolutions in the convention in order to better support the Federal army in the future?

Final Thoughts

At first glance, based purely on statistical data of the numbers of chaplains who served, one might conclude that the Southern Baptist denomination did not shoulder their fair share in meeting the responsibility of ensuring the spiritual fitness of Confederate soldiers. Upon closer examination of the facts one can learn the true reasons for the low number of Baptist ministers who served as regimental chaplains. Not only was the denomination initially hesitant to supply chaplains because of a philosophical aversion, but, truth be known, most ministers agreed with the Confederate government's position that more fighting men were needed than chaplains. Therefore, at the outset of the Civil War numerous ordained Baptist ministers enlisted in the ranks or served as officers. This

phenomenon is also a result of the total lack of initial forethought given to the establishment of a Confederate chaplaincy. As the war progressed, many of these Baptist ministers did transition into the role of regimental chaplain.

The Southern Baptist denomination also realized early on that, besides chaplains, additional measures would be required to meet the spiritual needs of the soldiers in the field. They saw this as a new mission field ripe for harvest, and the denominational leadership made the necessary adjustments to accomplish this task. The Southern Baptist Convention led all denominations in supplying missionaries, evangelists, and colporters to the army. They also produced and distributed more religious tracts than any other denomination, through a combination of their own printing presses and those produced in conjunction with the other Southern Protestant denominations.

The distinguished efforts of hundreds of Southern Baptist ministers during the Civil War are a tribute to the Southern Baptist denomination. The dedication and honorable service demonstrated by these brave men speak volumes to their collective character. These ministers performed their duties with tremendous acts of individual courage on the battlefields, camps, and hospitals while serving their God, their country and their soldiers. As we continue our global war on terrorism, the information contained within this paper should serve as a reminder to those men and women at the Southern Baptist Seminaries that genuine service to the army can come in many forms. Whatever route is taken to serve, one should understand that the road to service is difficult at best, but in the end is highly rewarding.

APPENDIX--A

Notable Southern Baptist Ministers

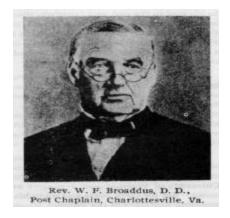
Biographical Information and Photos

Photographs taken from 1887 book, it is exempt from current copyright restrictions.

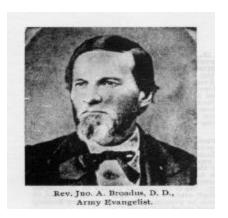


Rev. J.P. Boyce, D.D., Army Evangelist

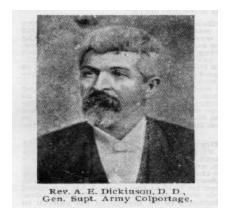
Rev. J. P. Boyce, D.D., served as the first president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Served briefly as a regimental chaplain for the Second South Carolina Infantry Regiment. He continued to serve as a missionary and evangelist to the Army of Northern Virginia for the duration of the conflict. After the war he helped to reopen the Seminary and served as the president of the Southern Baptist Convention from 1872 to 1879 and again in 1888.



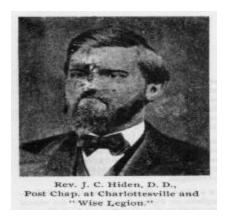
Rev. Dr. W. F. Broaddus was Post Chaplain at Charlottesville, and one of the most efficient workers among the soldiers. Just after the war he did a grand work as Agent for the Education of soldiers' children. He was at different periods Pastor of Baptist Churches in Charlottesville and Fredericksburg, Virginia and Lexington, Kentucky. He was widely known as a popular preacher and a noble man, recognized as one of the most useful ministers of the Gospel whom God ever gave to the world.



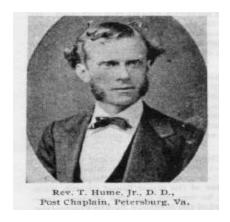
Rev. John A. Broadus, D.D., LL.D., served as an Assistance Professor of Greek and the Chaplain at the University of Virginia and was the pastor of the Baptist Church in Charlottesville. Became professor of "Homoletics," and "New Testament Interpretation" at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He rose to the very forefront of biblical scholars, writers, and preachers, and had a reputation second to none on this Continent. He never did grander preaching, or more effective service than when he thrilled the crowds of Confederate veterans who flocked to hear him when he was preaching in the camps of Lee's army.



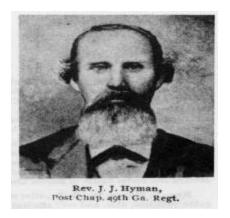
Rev. A. E. Dickinson, D.D., was the efficient General Superintendent of the Virginia Baptist Colportage Work when the war gathered on the soil of the Old Dominion the largest Confederate armies that were maintained there throughout the struggle. He at once put to work in the camps and hospitals his band of nearly one hundred trained colporters, and by his untiring zeal, wise management, and real ability he enlisted in his work the sympathies, prayers and contributions of the South's highest officials and popular support, so that to the end of the war he was enabled to maintain and increase his force of colporters, and army evangelists, to publish many millions of pages of tracts, and to do a work which eternity alone can reveal. He did his most successful preaching, and other personal work in the camps and hospitals, and no man was more abundant in labors or more useful than he.



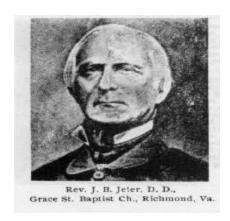
Rev. J. C. Hiden, D.D., of Virginia, entered the army As Chaplain in Wise's Legion, and afterward became the efficient Post Chaplain at Charlottesville. After the war he served as a Pastor of Baptist Churches in Virginia, Kentucky, North and South Carolina and Massachusetts. He was regarded as one of the most scholarly men, effective preachers, graceful writers, and popular platform speakers in the Southern Baptist Denomination.



Rev. T. Hume, Jr., D.D., after serving for a time in the field was the indefatigable, judicious, able, and very efficient Post Chaplain at Petersburg where he stuck to his post to the end, and faithfully discharged his duties, despite shot and shell. After the war he served as a pastor in several churches as was regarded as a chaste, tender, and effective preacher. He eventually became a Professor of English at the University of North Carolina where he made a reputation in his department second to no other in the country.



Rev. J. J. Hyman, Chaplain of the 49th Georgia Infantry Regiment, was one of the most laborious, self-denying, and successful Chaplains in the army, and he probably preached as many sermons, baptized as many men, and accomplished as much good as any other chaplain during his period of service. After the war he was the devoted and useful Pastor of Baptist Churches in Georgia.

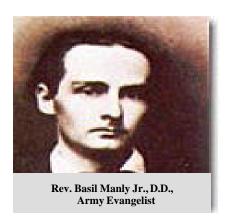


Rev. J. B. Jeter, D.D., of the Grace Street Baptist Church was one of the most useful Pastors in Richmond, and one of the most untiring and successful workers among the soldiers. For many years he was one of the ablest and most influential leaders in the denomination. Soon after the war he became one of the editors of the *Religious Herald*, and died, recognized by all as one of the ablest thinkers, soundest theologians, clearest writers, and wisest leaders among all evangelical Christians.

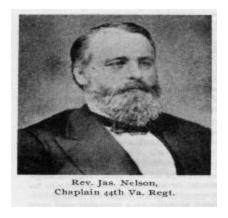


Rev. J. William Jones, D.D., Chaplain 13th Va. Regt.

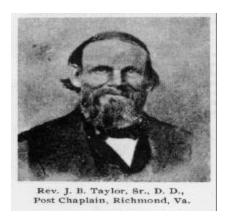
Rev. J. William Jones was one of the most influential men within the Southern Baptist Convention. He was a graduate the University of Virginia and was in the inaugural class of the Southern Baptist Seminary in Greenville, South Carolina. In 1860, Reverend Jones was sanctioned by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention to serve as a missionary to Canton, China. However, the onset of the Civil War prevented his departure. In 1861, he enlisted in the Army of Northern Virginia in the Thirteenth Virginia Infantry Regiment as a private and fought at Harper's Ferry. He was eventually appointed as the chaplain to his regiment and remained with his unit until it surrendered at Appomattox in the spring of 1865.



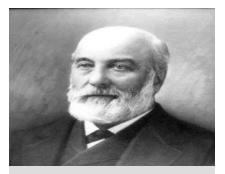
Rev. Basil Manly, Jr. D.D., was born in South Carolina and was the son of the famous preacher, Basil Manly, Sr. who was also the official chaplain to the Confederacy. Basil Jr. was one of the four original professors of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary founded in Greenville, S.C., in 1859. He was the first president of the Southern Baptist Sunday School Board. During the Civil War he was extremely engaged with the Confederate army. Was requested to become the Regimental Chaplain for the 2nd South Carolina Infantry Regiment, however, he chose to serve as an evangelists and devote himself to writing numerous religious tracts.



Rev. James Nelson, D.D., entered the army as a private soldier in the 23rd Virginia Infantry Regimen, and afterwards became Chaplain of the 44th Virginia Infantry Regiment, making one of the most laborious and efficient Chaplains in the army. After the war he successfully served as a pastor in Baptist Churches in Georgetown, D.C. and in Farmington and Staunton Virginia.

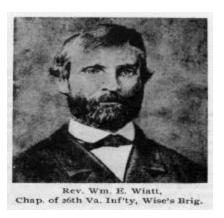


Rev. J. B. Taylor, Sr., D.D., was Post-Chaplain at Richmond and threw into his work zeal, wisdom, and consecrated tact which ever distinguished him. He served as the Pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Richmond and Chaplain of the University of Virginia. He served for forty years as the able and efficient Corresponding Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

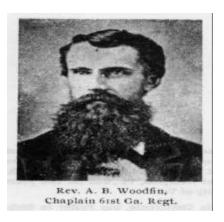


Rev. Isaac T. Tichenor, D.D., Chaplain 17th Al. Regt.

Rev. Isaac T. Tichenor, D.D., served as Chaplain of the Seventeenth Alabama Regiment. He was also known as a "fighting chaplain" and as a distinguished sharpshooter by his actions during the Battle of Shiloh. Served as a Pastor of several Baptist Churches in Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee. He became the first president of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College at Auburn, Alabama. Within the Southern Baptist Denomination he served as the Secretary of the Home Mission Board and was known as the "father of Southern Baptist Sunday School literature.



Rev. William E. Wiatt, of Gloucester County, Virginia entered the Confederate army as a private soldier. Afterwards he became Chaplain of the 26th Virginia Regiment. When he became Chaplain he did not forget that he was still a soldier and was one of the most laborious and useful Chaplains in the army. After the war he served as a Pastor of Baptist Churches in Gloucester and Giles Counties in Virginia.



Rev. A. B. Woodfin, D.D., of Virginia, was the efficient Chaplain of the 61st Georgia Regiment and was greatly blessed in his labors. After the war he was the pastor to churches in Alabama, South Carolina and Virginia. He also served two years as the popular and efficient chaplain at the University of Virginia.

APPENDIX--B

Roster of Confederate Army Southern Baptist Chaplains

NAME REGIMENT or POST

Adams, George General Magruder's Army
Allen, L. W. General Magruder's Army
Bagby, George F. 40th Virginia Infantry Regiment
Bennett, W. Thom 12th Tennessee Infantry Regiment
Broaddus, W. F. Post Chaplain Charlottesville, Virginia
Buck, William C. 42nd Alabama Infantry Regiment
Camp, J. C. 10th Georgia Infantry Regiment

Carson, W. B.

Churchhill, Orvin

Cobb, N. B.

Chen, A. D.

Collins, S. M.

14th South Carolina Infantry Regiment
31st North Carolina Infantry Regiment
14th North Carolina Infantry Regiment
46th North Carolina Infantry Regiment
29th North Carolina Infantry Regiment

Crews, H. G. Hospital Winchester, Virginia
Cridlin, R. W. 38th Virginia Infantry Regiment
Curry, W. G. 3rd & 5th Alabama Infantry Regiments

Davis, William
1st Flordia Infantry Regiment
DeVotie, J. H.
2nd Georgia Infantry Regiment

Eatman, T. J. 33rd North Carolina Infantry Regiment

Fry, John G.

Goforth, N. B.

Gwaltney, William

Gwin, T. D.

Hackett, J. A.

Hall, William A.

Stit Forth Carolina Infantry Regiment

1st North Carolina Infantry Regiment

1st South Carolina Infantry Regiment

1st South Carolina Infantry Regiment

Washington Artillery Battalion

Hardwick, J. B. Hospital Chaplain Petersburg, Virginia

Harris, G. W. 8th Virginia Infantry Regiment

Hinden, J. C. Wise's Legion & Post Chaplain Charlottesville, VA

Howerton, S. W. 15th North Carolina Infantry Regiment

Hume, Thomas

Hyde, G. W.

Huguenot Springs Hospital, Virginia
Hyman, John J.

Johnson, John L.

Post Chaplain Lynchburg, Virginia

Johnson, J. W. Army of Mississippi

Jones, John Willian13th Virginia Infantry RegimentJones, W. B.61st North Carolina Infantry RegimentJordan, William18th North Carolina Infantry Regiment

NAME

REGIMENT or POST

Keep, W. W. Long, J. C. Marsh, R. H.

Marshall, A. Mathias Martin, Joseph Martin, J. H.

McCullough, John W.

McVeigh, T. J. Moore, R. A. Nelson, James Renfroe, J. J. D. Roach, J. M. B. Royall, William B.

Searcy, J. B.
Skinner, J. G.
Snodgrass, D. S
Stough, A. L.
Street, John K.

Taylor, George B. Taylor, James B.

Taylor, James Sr. Tichenor, Isaac T. Toy, Crawford H. Tribble, Allen K. Tupper, H. A. Walters, W. E. Walton, Payson E.

Wiatt, William E. Williams, J. G. Williams, William Willis, E. J.

Winkler, E. T. Woodfin, A. B.

Worrell, A. S.

46th Mississippi Infantry Regiment Hood's Corps Army of Tennessee 26th North Carolina Infantry Regiment

12th Georgia Infantry Regiment Post Chaplain Richmond, Virginia 18th Tennessee Infantry Regiment

Army of Tennessee

Post Chaplain Farmville, Virginia 43rd North Carolina Infantry Regiment

44th Virginia Infantry Regiment
10th Alabama Infantry Regiment
10th Alabama Infantry Regiment
55th North Carolina Infantry Regiment
26th Arkansas Infantry Regiment
Post Chaplain Manassas, Virginia
21st Mississippi Infantry Regiment
37th North Carolina Infantry Regiment

14th Texas Cavalry Regiment

25th VA Regt. & Chaplain Stauton, VA

10th Virginia Cavalry

Post Chaplain Richmond, Virginia 17th Alabama Infantry Regiment 51st Georgia Infantry Regiment 34th Tennessee Infantry Regiment 9th Georgia Infantry Regiment 2nd South Carolina Infantry Regiment

5th Virginia Infantry Regiment
26th Virginia Infantry Regiment
3rd South Carolina Cavalry Regiment
Post Chaplain Richmond, Virginia
15th Virginia Infantry Regiment
25th South Carolina Infantry Regiment

61st Georgia Infantry Regiment

Army of Tennessee

Southern Baptist Missionaries and Evangelists

<u>NAME</u> <u>LOCATION</u>

Anderson, C. T. Army in North Carolina

Baker, J. S. Army of Northern Virginia Boyce, James P. Army of Northern Virginia

Breaker, J. H. Army in Flordia

Broadus, John A.

Burrows, J. L.

Camp, G. W.

Campbell, J. H.

Carroll, W. H.

Creath, S. A.

Daniell, D. G.

Army of Northern Virginia

Army in North Carolina

Army in Georgia

Army in Virginia

Army of Alabama

Army of Alabama

Dodge, H. W. Army of Northern Virginia
Emerson, A. J. Army in North Carolina
Ford, R. Army of Tennessee

Fry, C. F.

Gilmore, S.

Gold, Pleasant D.

Harton, W. H.

Hatcher, H.

Army of Northern Virginia

Army of Northern Virginia

Army in South Carolina

Army of Northern Virginia

Hawthorne, J. B. Army in Alabama
Holman, R. Army of Tennessee
Howard, William H. Army in Mississippi

Jeter, J. B.

Army of Northern Virginia
Manly, Basil Jr.

Army of Northern Virginia
Army of Northern Virginia
Army in North Carolina
McNeill, Jason

Army in North Carolina
Army in North Carolina
Army in North Carolina
Army in North Carolina
Army in Georgia

Patterson, J. B. T. Army in Virginia
Patterson, R. A. Army in North Carolina
Pittman, A. B. Army in North Carolina

Robert, W. H. Army in Georgia

Rollings, J. L. Army in South Carolina Rossm B. B. Army in Mississippi Sears, A. D. Army of Tennessee

NAME LOCATION

Seeley, L. W. Army in Virginia
Solomon, J. B. Army in Virginia
Taylor, J. W. Army in Mississippi

Thomas, James Trans-Mississippi Department

Toby, T. W.
Army in Mississippi
Truman, J. L.
Army in Virginia
Warren, E. H.
Army of Tennessee
Whilden, B. W.
Army in South Carolina
Whitson, S. N.
Army in North Carolina
Williams, G. F.
Army of Tennessee
Wilson, N. W.
Army in North Carolina

Southern Baptist Colporters

NAME LOCATION

Abell, A. P. Hospitals Richmond, Virginia

Ammons, John North Carolina Troops in East Tennessee

Anderson, M. D. Hospitals Richmond, Virginia

Barrett, W. A. Petersburg, Virginia

Belcher, F. A. Army of Northern Virginia

Brunt, W. Weldon and Raleigh, North Carolina Buckles, W. Along Virginia-Tennessee Railroad Chambers, J. D. Along Virginia-Tennessee Railroad Clopton, J. C. Hospitals Scottsville, Virginia Crowder, W. J. W. Army of Northern Virginia Hospitals Liberty, Virginia

Davis, J. D. Confederate Army in North Carolina

Dickenson, A. E. Superintendent Virginia Baptist Colportage Work

Ervin, A. B. Army of Northern Virginia Fitcher, W. L. Hospitals Petersburg, Virginia Fox, J. N. Culpeper Court House, Virginia Grimsley, A. M. Upper Shenandoah Valley Harris, J. H. Knoxville, Tennessee Pocotalio, Virginia Hawkins, Perry Upper Shenandoah Valley Huff, William Huges, J. A. Hospitals Atlanta, Georgia

Hume, Thomas Sr. Hospitals Petersburg, Virginia
Jessup, B. F. Hospitals Wilmington, North Carolina
Jones, F. H. Greenville and Washington, North Carolina

Jordan, W. H. Army of Northern Virginia

Landrum, S. Savannah, Georgia

Lewis, R. Along Virginia-Tennessee Railroad

Madison, H. Upper Shenandoah Valley
Margrave, William G. Upper Shenandoah Valley
Martin, E. Petersburg, Virginia
Martin, T. J. Knoxville, Tennessee

Miles, C. A. Hospitals Lynchburg, Virginia
Oliver, P. Army of Northern Virginia
Philips, B. Hospitals Richmond, Virginia
Poindexter, A. M. Army of Northern Virginia

NAME LOCATION

Rogers, H. A. P. Hill's Corps (taken prisoner at Gettysburg) Ryland, C. H. Hospital Rockbridge Alum Springs, Virginia

Ryland, Robert. Hospitals Richmond, Virginia
Shaver, D. Hospitals Richmond, Virginia
Skinner, T. E. Overseas buyer and blockade runner

Stradley, J. A. Ramseur's Brigade

Taylor, John H. Caroline County, Virginia
Trevillian, G. C. Hospitals Lynchburg, Virginia

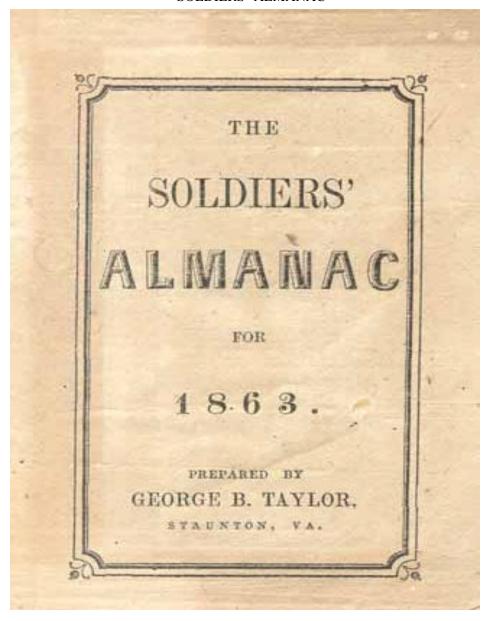
Wheeler, Jesse Clingman's Brigade Charleston, South Carolina

Williams, J. W. Madison County Virginia

Yarborough, J. H. Hospital Goldsboro, North Carolina

APPENDIX--C

SOLDIERS' ALMANAC



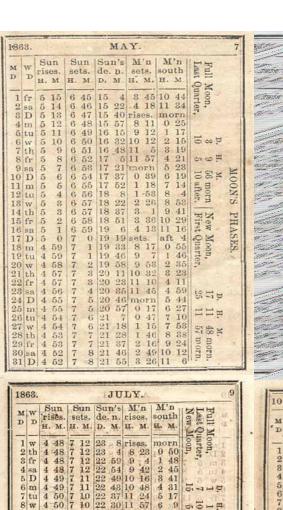
The use of this almanac and the religious tract publications are authorized for use in this Thesis by permission granted from the University of North Carolina.

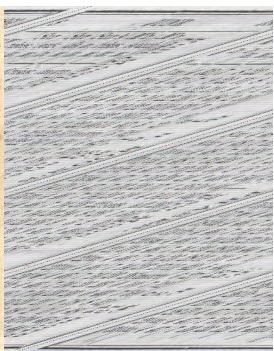
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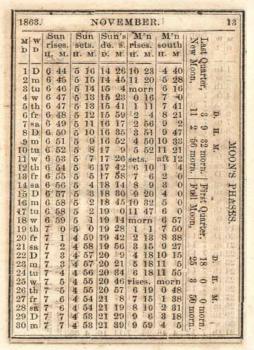


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A NEW YEAR.

1 Come, let us anew, Our journey pursue, Roll round with the year, And never stand still, Till the Master appear.

2 His adorable will Let us gladly fulfill, And our talents improve By the patience of hope, And the labor of love.

3 Our life is a dream, Our time as a stream Glides swiftly away; And the fugitive moment Refuses to stay.

4 The arrow is flown, The moment is gone; The millennial year Rushes on to our view, And eternity's here.

5 O that each in the day At his coming may say, "I have fought my way through I have finished the work Thou didst give me to do."

6 O that each from his Lord May receive the glad word, "Well and faithfully done! Enter into my joy, And sit down on my throne!"

OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF CHRIST.

When Sir Henry Havelock entered Persia, at the head of a British army, he wrote: "I have good troops and cannon under my command; but my trust is in the Lord Jesus, my tried and merciful friend. To Him all power is entrusted in heaven and on earth. Him daily seek for me, as I seek Him without shadow of doubting." After a battle, he wrote: "We must be ever thankful for the preserving mercies of the day. The cannonade was warm, and my steamer, the Berenice, crowded with Highlanders, led the troop-ships to the point where we landed. I felt throughout that the Lord Jesus was at my side." When tidings of peace came, he wrote: "The intelligence, which elevates some and depresses others, finds me calm in my reliance on that dear Redeemer, who has watched over and cared for me, even when I knew Him not, these three-score and two years."

'With desire have we desired' to hear that voice from our civil rulers or military leaders, and have not heard it. Alas, it has had no echo in the official papers of the President, the resolutions of Congress, or the dispatches of Generals. Search through all those, and you will not find a word that is distinctively Christian. Every one of them might have been penned by a mere Theist. *None testifies that the author of it has a "Lord Jesus."*

And is there no grievous wrong, no desert of national chastisement, in this? Is not the Lord Jesus, by the testimony of Scripture, the Administrator of Providence, "the Prince of the kings of the earth," who rules and overrules all things, in preparation for the time when the glad acclaim shall be heard, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord *and of His Christ*, and he shall reign forever and ever?" Is it not true that we can never conquer peace and independence, until He--the Lamb in the midst of the throne--"has taken to Himself His great power" and exercised it on our behalf? And shall He not withhold the more signal interpositions of His hand, if, when that Hand is put forth to help us, our authorities persistently seal their lips against all confession of it? Oh, for at least one hearty, outspoken acknowledgment of the Lord Jesus, from the men who fill the high places of the Government and the army! It would come to us as one rift in the clouds that overhang the nation--one ray of serener light from the heavens.

THE UNSEEN BATTLEFIELD.

There is an unseen battle field,

In every human breast,

Where two opposing forces meet,

And where they seldom rest.

That field is veiled from mortal sight,

Tis only seen by One

Who knows alone where victory lies,

When each day's light is done.

One army clusters strong and fierce,

Their chief of demon form:

His brow is like the thunder cloud,

His voice the bursting storm.

Pride and Lust, and Hate,

Whose troops watch night and day,

Swift to detect the weakest point,

And thirsting for the fray.

Contending with this mighty force

Is but a little band;

Yet there with an unquailing front,

Those warriors firmly stand!

Their leader is of God-like form,

Of countenance serene;

And glowing on his naked breast

A naked cross is seen.

His captains, Faith, and Hope, and Love,

Point to that wondrous sign,

And gazing on it, all receive,

Strength from a source divine.

They feel it speaks a glorious truth,

A truth as great as sure,

That to be victors they must learn

To love, confide, endure.

That faith sublime, in wildest strife,

Imparts a holy calm;

For every deadly blow a shield,

For every wound a balm.

And when they win that battle-field,

Past toil is quite forgot;

The plain where carnage once had reigned,

Becomes a hallowed spot:

A spot where flowers of joy and peace

Spring from the fertile sod,

And breathe the perfume of their praise

On every breeze--to God.

HASTE, TRAVELLER, HASTE!

Haste, traveler, haste! the night comes on, And many a shining hour is gone; The storm is gathering in the west, And thou art far from home and rest; Haste, traveler, haste!

Oh, far from home thy footsteps stray, Christ is the life, and Christ the way, And Christ the light. Yon setting sun Sinks ere the noon is scarce begun; Haste, traveler, haste!

The rising tempest sweeps the sky,

The rains descend, the winds are high,
The waters swell, and death and fear
Beset thy path, no refuge near;
Haste, traveler, haste!

Oh yes, a shelter you may gain,
A cover from the wind and rainA hiding place, a rest, a home-A refuge from the wrath to come;
Haste, traveler, haste!

Then linger not in all the plain;
Flee for thy life, the mountain gain;
Look not behind, make no delay;
Oh, speed thee, speed thee on thy way;
Haste, traveler, haste!

Poor, lost, benighted soul, art thou
Willing to find salvation now?
There yet is hope, hear mercy's call-Truth, life, light, way, in Christ is all;
Haste, traveler, haste!

THE HAND OF GOD RECOGNIZED.

The following remarks, by the Hon. H. V. Johnson, Confederate States Senator, of Georgia, merit the serious consideration of all who desire the peace of their country:

"When is this struggle to end? Shall we conquer the North? No, we have no desire to do this. Shall the North conquer us? Forbid it, Heaven! But I tell you that this war will never be ended till we are all conquered by the chastising hand of Providence, and we are brought back to the virtues of our forefathers. Though our armies have been victorious in nearly every battle, yet almost every man and woman is bathed in tears and cast down with sorrow at the loss of some friend or kinsman most dear. Every hearthstone is rift of its enjoyments by mourning and weeping, and the wails of sadness are heard all over the land. This is the chastisement of God, inflicted upon us for a departure from the paths of virtue. This is the lesson of the hour. Then let us return with humility to the practice of those great virtues which our fathers cherished, and without which our liberties cannot be maintained."

OUR FATHER.

Oh! The unspeakable privilege to have him for our Father, who is *the Father of all mercies and the God of all comfort*. Do not think he can shut out a bleeding soul that comes to him, and refuse to take and to bind up a broken heart that offers itself to him puts itself into his hand and entreats his help. Doth he require pity of us, and doth he give it to us, and is it not infinitely more in himself? All that is in angels and men is but an insensible drop to the ocean. --Leighton.

DARK HOURS.

Scenes of deep distress await us all. It is in vain to expect to pass through the world without falling into them. We have in our Lord's example a model for our behavior in the most severe and most trying of these occasions; afflicted, yet resigned; grieved and wounded, yet submissive; not insensible of our sufferings, but increasing the ardor and fervency of our prayer in proportion to the pain and acuteness of our feelings. But whatever may be the fortune of our lives, one great extremity, at least, the hour of approaching death, is certainly to be passed through. What ought, then, to occupy us? What can their support us? Prayer, prayer, with our blessed Lord himself, was a refuge from the storm; almost every word he uttered, during that tremendous scene, was prayer; prayer the most earnest, the most urgent --repeated, continued, proceeding from the recesses of his soul--private, solitary--prayer for deliverance--prayer for strength--above everything, prayer for resignation. --Paley.

RELIGION IN THE ARMY.

A correspondent of the *Confederate Baptist* writing from Morris Island says that drear and bleak as it is, to many a soul it has been as Patmos to the apostle John, where he was inspired to sing "unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father; to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever." God's Holy Spirit has been in their midst, blessing their nightly services with refreshing from on high. Christians have been greatly revived and strengthened, and several are rejoicing in "hope of glory."

THE PIOUS DEAD OF THIS WAR.

The martyred dead have taken possession of this Southern soil for the Southern people. It was theirs originally, by the gift of God, and they have bought it anew by their blood. This land will be endeared to us and to our posterity, because it is the earthly resting-place of our immortal dead. It was the boast of the ancient Greek, as his eye wandered over his beautiful and beloved land, that every hill bore the tomb of a hero or the temple of a god. But more noble dust mingled not with the soil of Attica than that which reposes in the bosom of our own dear native land. It surely lends attraction to heaven, viewed with reference to our present constitution, to think that there we shall behold and converse with the best and loveliest we have known on earth. If Socrates could talk of transports of joy at the prospect of seeing Palamedes, Ajax and other heroes of antiquity in a future world, how should the Christian feel when he looks forward to all everlasting abode, not a transient meeting with the saints of all ages--with his Christian friends who have fallen in his defense--and with Christ Himself, the Author and Finisher of our faith. If he hoped for felicity in comparing his experience with theirs--how shall we rejoice in reviewing dispensations of Providence now impenetrably dark, or in, perfectly understood, but then shining in the light of Heaven. The past and the future meet in the memory of the dead. The sweetest and brightest link in the chain that stretches back over the past, binds us to the dead; and that chain stretches forward to eternity and attaches itself to the throne of the living God. Thus death joins on to life; and all that is sacred in memory connects itself with all that is inspiring in hope. Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. --Rev. J. M. Atkinson.

AN ADMIRAL ON HIS KNEES.

Admiral Benbow, after many years of hard service, for he had only merit to recommend him, visited Shrewsbury, his native town, and, on his arrival, proceeded to the house of his nativity, which was then occupied by people in no way related to him. Yet he entered the house as if it had been his own, walked up stairs, went into the room where he first drew breath, fell on his knees, and returned thanks to the great Disposer of events, for His protection and support through his past eventful life.

READING THE SCRIPTURES.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, as is well known, was distinguished as a moral writer; his compositions have seldom been excelled in energy of thought and beauty of expression. To a young gentleman who visited him, on his death-bed, he said, "Young man, attend to the voice of one who has possessed a certain degree of fame in the world, and who with shortly appear before his Maker; read the Bible every day of your life."

THE RIGHT BASIS OF COURAGE.

A Richmond correspondent of the "South-Western Baptist" says: "Stonewall Jackson remarked to an officer, 'I believe as truly as I do anything, that if I die heaven will be my home. Thank God, that matter is settled; and I have nothing to fear from Yankee bullets.'

THE CHRISTIAN'S PRIVILEGE.

To be a Christian is an unspeakable privilege Calvin did not overrate it, when he wrote to Edward VI. "It is a great thing, Sire, to be a king, especially of such a country; and yet I doubt not that you regard it as above all comparison greater to be a Christian." It lifts us from the depths of hostility to God, and numbers us with His elect-- adopts us among His sons. It assures us of His Favor, employs us the accomplishment of His purposes, transforms us into His likeness, animates us with His Spirit, and finally gathers us to His presence.

ONE DAY.

No man knows what a day may bring forth; what miseries, what good or what evil, what afflictions, what liberty, what bonds, what good success, or what bad success, a day may bring forth; and therefore, a man need every day be in the closet with God, that he may be prepared and fitted to entertain and improve all the occurrences, successes, and emergencies which may attend him in the course of his life.

IT IS NOT DYING.

No, no! It is not dying

To Jesus' self to go;

The gloom of earth forsaking,

In one's pure home awaking,

Should give no pang of woe.

No, no! It is not dying,

To leave this world of strife; And seek that blessed river, Where Christ shall lead forever, His sheep 'neath trees of life.

THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT LOCATED AT RICHMOND, VA.

(Organized temporarily February 8th, 1861; permanently, February 18th, 1862.)

- President (term 6 years)--JEFF. DAVIS, Miss.
- Vice President--ALEX. H. STEPHENS, Ga.
- Secretary of State--J. P. Benjamin, La.
- Secretary of War--Jas. A. Seddon, Va.
- Secretary of Navy--S. R. Mallory, Fla.
- Sec'y of the Treasury--C. G. Memminger, S. C.
- Attorney General--Thomas H. Watts, Ala.
- Postmaster General--John H. Reagan Texas.
- Commander of C. S. Forces--Gen. R. E. Lee, Va.
- Quartermaster General--A. C. Myers, Va.
- Commissary General--L. B. Northrop,--
- Surgeon General--S. P. Moore, S. C.
- Medical Purveyor--E. W. Johns, S. C.

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LIST OF GOVERNORS OF STATES.

Alabama, John G. Shorter. Arkansas, H. Flanagan.

Georgia, Joseph E. Brown. Louisiana, Thomas O. Moore.

Mississippi, John J. Pettus. North Carolina, Zebulon B. Vance.

Tennessee, Isham G. Harris. South Carolina, Milledge L. Bonham.

Texas, F. R. Lubbock. Virginia, John Letcher.

Florida, John Milton. Missouri, T. C. Reynolds.

Kentucky, Richard Hawes.

APPENDIX—D

SAMPLE TRACTS

IN THE HOSPITAL.

BY REV. G. B. TAYLOR, POST CHAPLAIN, STAUNTON, VA.

My dear friend, I wish, in the following pages, to offer you some suggestions for your good. Let me, in the outset; assure you of my friendly sympathy. I am, indeed, personally, a stranger to you. Yet I am a Southerner, and, I trust, a patriot and a Christian; and as such, I cannot be uninterested in one who has voluntarily left all the comforts and delights or home, to endure all the hardships and dangers of a soldier's life. Specially do I appreciate your present position, as an inmate of a hospital. Your bodily sufferings, your lack of the ministrations of loving friends, your loneliness and weariness, as day after day, for weeks it way be, you languish upon a sick bed, surrounded by strangers, and by scenes and sounds of suffering, might well touch a heart of stone. They certainly touch my heart, and have induced me to try to offer some thoughts for your good.

It may be you are sometimes tempted to feel a disgust with the work, which you have undertaken--to regret it, and to wish you could leave it. If so, let me beg you to recall the feelings, which animated you when first you enlisted. Doubtless you then were persuaded of the justice of the cause, and freely offered yourself, aware of its dangers, and willing to run all the fearful risks of wounds, disease and death itself. If then, you thus entered the service, and if the cause is still the same, I appeal to you to bear with cheerful fortitude your present sufferings and privations.

The North, and perhaps the world, thought at the outset, that the Southern soldiery might indeed be brave, but were not possessed of endurance. They have begun to see their mistake, and to realize that our men, with a courage superior, have also a fortitude at least equal to that of our enemies.

In this view, your cheerful suffering, your heroic endurance are seen to be no less valuable qualities than the courage that would charge a battery. "They also serve, who only stand and wait." Do not, then, I beseech you, yield to a feeling of discontent, because you are laid aside from active duty. Yours is now the more difficult, and the no less useful part. Every right thinking person regards the sick or wounded soldier, who patiently and cheerfully suffers his appointed time, as no less heroic than when marching or fighting; and doubtless, the historian of this war will refer to our hospitals as being not less glorious to our people than our bloody and victorious battle fields.

Nor may it be amiss to remind you that, painful as is your condition, it might have been far worse. Many of your fellow soldiers have been less kindly dealt with--How many have perished? Yet you tire still spared.--How many have been suddenly cut off, some unprepared, and without opportunity even to breathe a prayer formerly for mercy! Yet you are still on praying ground. How many have languished and died for want of the very attentions you now receive! How many have died without one friend to close their dying eyes, and have found not only nameless, but unknown graves! You, on the other hand, may hope yet to recover; and resume your wonted duties, morally benefited by

your affliction. Or, if you are to die, you have opportunity to communicate with absent friends--perhaps summon them to your bedside--and, what is more important, if you are still unprepared to die, secure that "Friend that sticketh closer than a brother," to accompany you through the dark "valley of the shadow of death." Dear impenitent friend, think what would now be your condition, had you been cut off, as many have been?

But I urge upon you still stronger motives. The foregoing might be felt by a heathen, and might lead him to a stoical endurance of ills which could not be avoided, and which might be worse. I would have you cherish a Christian resignation under your trials, and seek to improve them to your everlasting good.

Consider, then, that you are where you are, and as you are, by the will of God. It was no chance bullet, which made that fearful wound. That fever which now consumes your blood--that rheumatism which racks your limbs--that cough which wastes your frame, came not by accident.--Nor was the second cause which brought it an accident, but an appointment of God. He had a plan of your life, formed in eternity, and when you hung, a helpless babe, on your mother's breast, he distinctly foresaw and willed all this through which you are now passing. You are then bound, as a creature and subject, to submit cheerfully to the will of your Creator and Sovereign--to lie passive in the hands or Him who has a perfect right to dispose of you as He pleases. Specially strong is this obligation in view of the fact that you are sinner against his Sovereign, and that your life has been far more happy than you could rightly have expected it to be.

This argument equally applies to all the circumstances of discomfort, which surround you. However minute they may be, however annoying, and no matter to what extent they may be the result of carelessness or crime on the part of men, they are all none the less a pat part of the great plan of God for your life. Accepting them as such, they may appropriately be endured with a quiet spirit.

But I rise to a yet higher--a more blessed thought. Not only is God your Sovereign, but He is infinitely wise and gracious in His control. He has done all that He has done for your own highest good. He has done for you just what you would have done for yourself, if you had possessed the knowledge which He possesses. His very judgments are mercies; and this none the less because men often pervert these judgments, as they do all His mercies, to their hurt. Whatever your character may be, the present sufferings at are necessary for you; "for the Lord doth not afflict willingly the children of men,"--Lam. iii: 33; and if you are a child of God, they are true blessings, "for all things work together for good, to them that love God,"--Rom. viii: 28.

It becomes you to receive these chastenings in the right spirit. Ponder, then, the advice a of the Apostle to the afflicted "My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor saint when thou art rebuked of him." Beware on the one hand, of despising your chastening; that is, bearing it with a sullen indifference, and remaining unaffected by it. But, on the contrary, accept it as an affliction with a heart anxious to turn it to spiritual good. On the other hand, do not faint under it, giving way to desponding thoughts, but recognize the smiting as front a Father's hand. If you feel sad and lonely, and cast down, let me invite you, in the precious language of the Bible, to "cast your burden on the Lord and he shall sustain you." It is alike your privilege and your duty to be anxious for nothing, but in every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, to make your requests known unto God, and the peace of God which passeth all understanding shall keep your hearts and minds by Christ Jesus. Commit, then, your

body, your soul, your absent friends--yea all that gives you concern, to God, as a faithful Creator, and all will indeed be well.

It is certainly possible for you to be peaceful, in every condition in which you can be placed. I have recently seen two striking illustrations of this in one of the hospitals, which I daily visit. A soldier from Mississippi, suffering with a dreadful and offensive wound, and rapidly wasting away with disease, said to me in substance, "All is well, and I would not exchange my hope in Christ for a thousand worlds." Soon afterwards, having exhorted the occupant of the next cot to seek the Saviour, he calmly "fell asleep," giving one more proof not only that religion can cheer in every other trial, but that "Jesus can make a dying bed feel soft as downy pillows are."

I now see almost daily a noble youth--a mere boy--from North Carolina, who lost both of his legs in the battle of Sharpsburg! He is recovering his health slowly, and always meets me with a cheerful smile upon his sweet, girlish face. He is a Christian, and can cheerfully suffer his great deprivation, and calmly look forward to the life of a helpless cripple.

My dear impenitent friend, consider the certainty and depth of your doom, if you are not affected by all these dealings of God with you. If *these* do not make you thoughtful and tender, what means shall He employ?--And, at the last day, how without excuse will you be when He shall say, "I not only gave you Sabbaths, and sermons, and the Bible, but I came near to you in my Providence. Having tried blessings in vain, I brought my judgments upon you, and solemnly addressed you, *as an individual*, warning you to turn from your evil way, but you would none of my reproof."

But, if you will now hear God's voice, and turn to Him, how adapted is the Gospel to your case! In a peculiar sense, you are now miserable and helpless, but Jesus will be your all sufficient and loving Saviour.

Doubtless this will fall into the hands of some *convalescent*. To such an one I would say, that, in addition to all the motives urged, two should peculiarly affect your mind. Gratitude for recovery should lead you to repentance and consecration; while a remembrance of the vows you uttered while in trouble should lead you to serve that God whose mercy you then invoked, and whom you then so faithfully promised to serve. I now remind you of those vows. I exhort you to "pay that which thou hast vowed." I warn and entreat you not to add to other guilt that of broken resolutions.

PREPARE TO MEET THY GOD.

SOLEMN admonition! To whom is it addressed? Reader, it is addressed to you. It may be the last that the God of infinite mercy will ever give you. He has often spoken to you before; sometimes in the language of threatening, sometimes in the tender tones of invitation and promise. He has addressed you by his word, and by his ministers -- by his judgments, and by his mercies. His next call may be from the throne of judgment. O, then, as you value your immortal soul, "To day, if you will hear his voice harden not your heart." "Prepare to meet thy God."

Consider the *certainty* of the event. You *must* meet God. Other events may be doubtful; other meetings may never take place; but from this there is no escape: "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ." "So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God." Willing or unwilling, prepared or unprepared, *you must appear in the presence of God*.

This meeting *may take place soon* -- it cannot be *very* far distant. If delayed to old age, it will soon arrive. The intervening years are lost in comparison with eternity. But you may never see old age; you may never see another year; nay, another *day*, another *hour* may usher your soul into the presence of your Judge.

Consider whom you are to meet. Not a man like yourself; not an angel, however exalted, but GOD! The infinite Creator and Governor of the universe: a Being whose majesty and glory fill the highest seraph with awe; a Being of perfect holiness, inflexible justice, unchanging truth, as well as boundless goodness and mercy. Reader he is thy God. Thou mayest never have acknowledged him as such; thou mayest never have chosen him as thy portion: yet he is thy Creator, thy Preserver, thy Sovereign and Judge. On him thou art entirely dependant; to him indebted for every blessing; and thou art accountable for the use thou hast made of all his gifts. Art thou ready to appear in his presence? He is coming to judgment! "The voice of the archangel and the trump of God announce his approach. "Behold, he cometh with clouds. "The startled world looked up in amazement; the millions of the dead are waked and stand before the Judge in silent and awful expectation: and thou among them, reader. The books are opened, and the dead are judged out of the things that are written in the books, every one according to his deeds.

Say not with the cavilers of "the last days," "Where is the promise of his coming?" "The day of the Lord *will* come as a thief in the night." The *day of death* will be to you the day of judgment; the sentence of which will be confirmed amid the pomp and splendors of the final scene.

How fearful will be the consequences if found UNPREPARED! What shame and confusion, what consternation and despair will overwhelm the spirit, as it is ushered into the presence of the infinite Judge, with all its neglected opportunities, its unheeded calls and warnings and invitations full in recollection! What self-reproaches, what bitter regrets, what agonies of remorse will convulse and tear the soul! But the righteous sentence must be pronounced! "Depart ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." O, what a pang of insufferable woe does this sentence strike through the soul! and yet it is but the beginning of sorrows. It is but a foretaste of the worm that never dies, and the fire that is never quenched. The sinner now finds himself in

the hands of the omnipotent God, beneath whose all-consuming wrath he must sink forever. Resistance is vain; tears are of no avail. Repentance now comes too late. The day of probation is closed; *his doom is sealed*. And Oh, what a doom!

Banishment from heaven, and eternal misery in hell! Yes, the bright abodes of purity and peace, where angels and saints mingle their praises and joys in sweet and holy fellowship, he shall never see, except "afar off," and only to aggravate his pain. Separated for ever from the good and holy, his dwelling is amidst the "blackness of darkness," his companions devils and damned souls, destitute of every lovely feature, "hateful, and hating one another." Scenes of horror and sounds of woe, the mournful fruits of sin, such as eye have not seen, nor imagination conceived, meet his eye and his ear in every direction: it is indeed "a place of torment." Hope, that sweet solace amid the trials of this life, now dies. ETERNAL PUNISHMENT is written on all sides of this infernal prison, and is echoed in all the wailings of the lost.

Reader, is this to be your portion? It will be, unless you listen to the gracious admonition now addressed to you--"Prepare to meet thy God." Can you be so thoughtless, so rash, so hardened, as to neglect it? Will you give heed to the admonition of an earthly friend, and not listen to "Him who speaks from heaven?" Will you prepare in summer for the desolation of winter; in health for sickness; in youth for approaching age: prepare for every earthly contingency, and yet make no preparation for eternity? Will you prepare a habitation for the body, which must soon crumble to dust, and neglect the never-dying spirit? Will you prepare to meet the chief magistrate of the nation, and make no preparation to meet God, the Judge of all?

Is the happiness of the immortal soul of so little value, that you can afford to part with it for the few uncertain and short-lived pleasures of this life? Are *they* sufficient to counterbalance *the endless pains of the second death?* Oh, no, you cannot say this, you do not believe it. Why, then, not awake immediately to your peril and your duty? God is now calling upon you; the Savior extends his compassion arms; the Holy Spirit, it may be, is striving with you; Christians are praying for you; the angels are waiting to rejoice over you; and are *you only* indifferent?

Do you plead your pressing engagements! What engagements? This is the prime business of life -- the only thing worth living for; and this neglected, whatever else is attended to or obtained, life is *lost; all* is lost for ever.

Are you waiting for a more convenient season? What reason have you to believe that you will ever see such a season? The present is all the time of which you are sure; the future may be in eternity. If not, it may find you surrounded with more hindrances, and more callous to every impression of truth. God, in his righteous anger, may withdraw his Spirit, give you up to your own lusts, and swear, in his wrath, that you shall *never enter his rest*.

O, how many beacons warn you of the danger of delay! How many blighted hopes and ruined souls admonish you to prepare *now* to meet God! It falls from the gasping lips of the dying sinner, and comes up in tones of anguish and despair from the bottomless pit: "Prepare to meet thy God." It is echoed from heaven and earth, from time and eternity, and from the voice of your own conscience within, "Prepare to meet thy God." Now, in this excepted time, this day of salvation, make your peace with God.

I will indulge the thought that your careless mind at length begins to think, and your hard heart to feel, and that you begin to inquire, "What shall I do to be saved?"

Most gladly would I endeavor to answer the question. If then, a single serious thought has arisen in your mind, *cherish* it. As you value your immortal soul, let it not go till it has led you to peace and safety. Now form the purpose at once, that preparation to meet God shall, from this moment, be the great business of life. Look up to God to confirm this purpose. Fall at once before God, and with a broken and penitent heart *confess your sins, and resolve, in his strength, utterly and for ever to forsake them.*Implore his forgiveness, and yield yourself up to him to be his servant forever.

Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Without him you are lost. "There is no name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." Trust in him with all your heart, and you are safe. "His blood cleanses from all sin." Guilty and hell-deserving as you are, you need not fear to go to him. He himself has said, "Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out." Go, now and commit your condemned and polluted soul to his hands, and you will find "how freely Jesus can forgive."

And now, my friend, what is your decision? Whatever it is, it is recorded in heaven, and you will meet it at the last day. Will it be with joy or grief?

THE EVILS OF GAMING. A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN THE ARMY.

BY REV. J. B. JETER, D.D., RICHMOND, VA.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Learning that GAMING is prevalent in the Army, I have concluded to address you a letter on its EVILS. I hardly need to assure you that I am actuated in this determination by the most sincere desire to guard you against a fascinating amusement which may issue in your ruin. I fully persuade myself that you will listen to the counsel of one who loves you, who feels a deep solicitude for your welfare, and whose age and experience qualify him to offer you wholesome instruction and warning.

That gaming is a *sinful* practice, you will readily admit. It is, like many other sins, not expressly but virtually prohibited in the scriptures. It is utterly at variance with their spirit and tenor. It springs from the inordinate love of money, "the root of all evil." This insatiable desire plunges the gamester "into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts," by which he is in dander of being drowned "in destruction and perdition." He violates the law of love: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Were this divine rule universally understood, loved and obeyed, it would banish gaming, and its attendant evils, from the world. The life of the gambler exemplifies the remark of Solomon, "He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent." Not content with the slow and steady gains of industry and economy, the gamester seeks to grasp the golden prize, reckless of the means of attaining it. He cannot pray, without mocking his Maker, "Lead me not into temptation." The petition implies a desire to escape, and an obligation to resist temptation; but the gamester courts, knowingly and fearlessly, the most dangerous temptations. Good men, in all countries, and in all ages, and almost without an exception, agree in the condemnation of gaming. Most civilized nations have enacted stringent laws to suppress the vice as a nuisance and curse to society. Even gamblers themselves admit that the practice is wrong. An estimable man--a reformed sportsman--once said to me, "I would rather a gambler should warn my son against gaming than you should: he knows the evils of it from experience, and you do not."

Gaming is a most *seductive* vice. The path that leads to this dangerous precipice is strewed with flowers. "There is no harm," says the tempter, "in gaming for amusement." Perhaps, there is none. A game of chance or skill for relaxation or diversion seems to be innocent. It violates no express law of God or man. But the sport creates an agreeable excitement; and the fondness for this excitement grows by indulgence. At first the game is resorted to merely to fill up an idle hour, or to relax the mind from grave and wearisome pursuits; but soon it encroaches on the business of life, and the seasons of devotion. The pleasurable emotion is increased by small stakes; and there is no more evil, it is plausibly maintained, in betting than in playing for amusement. To keep up or to augment the excitement, the stakes are gradually and indefinitely increased. The amount staked becomes an object of desire, and the utmost skill and exertion are put forth to win it. Success allures to continued and bolder, and failure to deeper and more reckless gaming; and thus by winning and by losing the excitement is kept up, and the hopeful or the despairing adventurer presses forward in his career. The gamester has now reached a crisis at which secrecy becomes necessary to screen him from suspicion and reproach;

and he will find haunts suited to his purpose--rooms splendidly furnished, barred and guarded, accessible only to the initiated, or to the candidates for initiation, where he is invited to partake of the richest fare, "without money and without price." In these gambling "hells," as they are appropriately called, he will meet, not merely with the low and the mean, but with the rich, the refined, the gay and the great. Cheered by the presence and the example of persons so numerous and respectable, he pursues his course, and soon becomes confirmed in the habit of gaming. Now arguments, warnings and entreaties are addressed to him in vain--the loss of property and character cannot deter him, nor can the miseries, tears and pleadings of his wife and children win him, from the path of ruin on which he has entered.

Gaming is a most *pernicious* vice. I cannot better illustrate its evils than by giving a simple statement of the career and doom of a gambler whom I knew well, but who shall be nameless in this letter. He was of respectable parentage and connections, and of a most amiable and generous nature. He grew up a promising, noble young man, the admiration of his friends, and the pride of his family. He, early in life, evinced an aversion to steady employment, and became the victim of artful, selfish and unscrupulous gamesters. His patrimony was soon spent, and he found it necessary to resort to gaming, and its usual arts of deception and swindling, to supply his wants. He quickly became a confirmed gamester. Removing to a large city, he entered regularly into the gambling business. His associates were gamblers, and sharpers, and their dupes, of various degrees of guilt. From virtuous and respectable society, such as he had known in his youth, he was, of course, excluded. From the Christian sanctuary, and all its sacred privileges, he habitually excluded himself. His noble nature, aided by the upright principles instilled into his mind by his pious mother, long resisted the corrupting influences of his business and his associations. He retained a warm attachment to his kindred, who were happily ignorant of his degradation, and from his ill-gotten gains made generous contributions for their support. He was accounted honorable among gamblers, for they have a code of honor among themselves. A gamester who does not swindle according to established rules is deemed a disgrace to their fraternity, and is liable to be expelled from it. But the subject of this sketch was conscientious, so far as conscientiousness can be affirmed of one whose business is pursued in violation of the laws of man and of God. Repeatedly he made efforts to abandon his occupation, tear himself away from his associates, and regain his position in reputable society. But poor man! What could he do? Without employment, without the means of support, without kind and faithful friends, and without encouragement to reform, after a few fitful struggles, he would relapse into his inveterate habit. He had entered into a society in which the Bible was not respected, the Sabbath was not known, and piety was ridiculed; and nothing much short of a miracle could have extricated him from the bad and potent influences that were hurrying him to destruction. Over the door of the gambler's retreat might be appropriately inscribed, in letters of lurid flame, "This is the way to hell; going down to the chambers of death." But few of the multitudes who enter these haunts of dissipation, crime and infamy, ever make their escape to the circle of virtuous society, or become heirs of heaven; and the man of our story was not one of the flavored few. After every failure at reformation, he sunk to lower depths of vice and degradation. Gambling is rarely, or never, a solitary vice. Profanity, drunkenness, debauchery, swindling, and such like evils, spring up spontaneously in the gambler's hell, and reach an early and fearful maturity. The unfortunate gamester was not

exempt from the vices so common to his profession. He was, I know, addicted to drunkenness, and it is probable that he was the victim of all its kindred sins. The way of transgressors is always hard, and usually short. The poor gambler was doomed not to live out half his days. His drunkenness was followed by *delirium tremens*; and in a fit of this horrible disorder, he leaped from the third story of his wretched abode upon the paved street, and was found at early dawn by the watchmen of the city, a mangled, unconscious and dying man. I attended his funeral. It was a solemn and instructive scene. But few of his accomplices in crime, and his companions in degradation, were present. They avoided a sight, which must have painfully reminded them of their guilt, infamy and approaching doom. As I attended his body to the grave, two of his associates testified that their lives had been preserved in a time of fatal epidemic, and general panic, by his kind, assiduous and skilful nursing. The gambler, drunkard and suicide was laid in a solitary, unblessed and dishonored grave. I often notice it in passing with a sad heart. No stone marks the spot where rest his mortal remains--no flowers blossom on his tomb--but the place is barren and desolate--a fit emblem of his life and doom.

In the story of this unfortunate man, you have, my dear friend, the history, omitting circumstantial variations, of every professional gambler. This numerous class are all on the high road to ruin. They have lost their virtue, their character, and their happiness. They are wasting their time, prostituting their talents, corrupting the youth of the country, deceiving and swindling the unfortunate victims of their arts, setting thorns in their death pillows, and preparing their souls for eternal destruction. It is questionable whether they are not the most hardened, the most reckless, and the most godless class of persons on the earth. "The finished gambler," said Dr. Nott, "has no heart--he would play at his brother's funeral--he would gamble upon his mother's coffin." Truly as I love you, my friend, and earnestly as I desire your earthly welfare, I would rather see you an inmate of the poor house than an occupant of the most splendid gambler's hell, and in the most successful course of accumulating wealth by the base and infamous arts of gaming.

Thus far I have portrayed the evils of gaming on professional gamesters--let us now notice the effects of the vice on the dupes and victims of these sharks in human form. It is surprising that any man, of sane mind, not initiated into the swindling arts of the profession, should venture to play with a practiced gamester. There is no equality in the contest. It is simplicity contending with cunning--inexperience contending with skill. The uninitiated can never win, except as they are permitted to do so, or the purpose of encouraging them to bet more largely. Success does not depend on chance, or even so much on skill as on the arts of deception and swindling. Some years ago, I was present in a select company before which a reformed gambler exhibited the various contrivances and arts by which the ignorant and unsuspecting are cheated of their money. To the unpracticed these means seemed little less than miraculous. Cards are usually manufactured by gamblers, and by marks that escape the notice of the novice, they are known as readily by their backs as by their faces. In shuffling, cutting and dealing a pack of cards, the skillful player can, without the danger of detection, secure for himself any card, or just such a hand as he chooses. Nor is it so surprising that astute gamblers, stimulated by the intense desire of gain, and devoting their time and powers to the art of playing and deceiving, should attain to great skill in their business. They learn of one another, and quicken one another's ingenuity; and they are restrained in their tricks by no regard to law, justice or humanity. They belong to a realm from which conscience is

banished. Gamblers generally travel and operate in company, that they may the more successfully seduce and fleece the unwary. These sharpers play with each other so as to attract attention. One seems to be in luck, and winning rapidly. He allures into partnership with him some simpleton, who hopes soon to reap a golden harvest. But the tide of luck quickly changes; and the miserable dupe is stripped of all his treasures, and left to bear his loss and his shame as best he can. The execrable swindlers when alone divide their ill-gotten gains, and continue their heartless robberies. By these, and similar arts, multitudes are every year deprived of their honest gains, or their patrimonial estates. It is by such victims that gamblers live, grow rich, and dwell in splendor. I knew a plain, industrious, honest and worthy man, who, from a thirst for gaming, went every Saturday evening to squander at the gaming table, among professional harpies, his hard earnings, until he had lost twenty thousand dollars. He knew that he would lose in every visit to the gaming table, and yet such was his infatuation, that no argument, no entreaty, and no motive could induce him to forego the pleasure of the sport. But in the face of all these facts and considerations, gamblers, the lowest and the meanest of men, still find victims of their arts, and derive their profits, not merely from the thoughtless and the dissipated, but from the intelligent, the wealthy and the respectable. Year after year, thousands are reduced, by the nefarious arts of gaming, to poverty and ruin. Their families, in many instances, stripped of the means of comfort and support, are disheartened, grieved and humbled.

If then, my friend, you would preserve your virtue, your character, and your happiness--if you would not prostitute your powers, prove a curse to the world, and a grief to your fond parents--if you would not plant thorns in your dying pillow, bar the gate of heaven against yourself, and force your passage to destruction, shun the gambler, and the gambler's hell, as you would the plague. Gamesters are not fit to be your associates. They are debased in their sentiments, corrupt in their principles, vicious in their practices, and baleful in their influence. They may, indeed, be polished in their manners, and warm in their professions of friendship; but they seek your money and your ruin. You cannot touch them without contamination. To be acquainted with them is to be dishonored. You cannot enter their haunts without peril to all your best interests. If there were no sin and no reproach in gambling, it would be the greatest stupidity to risk your money on games with the most skillful, the most unscrupulous, and the most dishonest of sharpers. You had better throw your money into the fire; for in gaming you are simply giving it to the most selfish and the meanest of human kind--to harpies, who are seeking to cheat you not only out of your money, but out of your virtue and of your soul. The honest man who stakes his property at the table of a professional gamester is simply a fool, He shuts his eyes that he may suffer himself to be cheated. He richly deserves to be fleeced, and put to confusion and shame; and happy will it be for him, if he learns from his first lesson his folly and his danger.

Beware of gaming even for amusement. It is not necessary for purposes of relaxation and diversion. Fortunately, there is no lack of recreations, innocent in their nature, and refining in their tendency. Conversation, reading, walking, riding, athletic sports, and numerous simple diversions, may be resorted to in the intervals of toil or study, to refresh and invigorate the body, or to unbend the mind. But gaming is an amusement fraught with peril. It nourishes a habit that may prove the wreck of property, the bane of virtue, the blight of happiness, the ruin of the soul, and the curse of eternity. Abstain then from

an indulgence that yields little pleasure and no profit, and is pregnant with such fearful peril. He that enters this flowery, downhill, slippery road, knows not where he will stop. Thousands who begin by playing for pleasure end by playing for gain. Thousands who play honestly in the beginning, in the end, resort to all the tricks and frauds of the profession.

I need not repeat, my young friend, how sincerely I desire your welfare. You are the comfort, the pride and the hope of your parents. They anxiously, as I know, trained you in the ways of virtue and piety; and their earnest prayers have accompanied you to the camp. You are nobly engaged in your country's service. I have confidence that, guided by the principles taught you in your youth, sustained by the prayers of your friends, shielded by the knowledge you have of the dangers that encompass you, and humbly trusting in God, and animated by the prospect of a bright reward, you will pass uncorrupted through the temptations of a soldier's life, and return to your home, to be the support and solace of your parents, the delight of your friends, and an ornament of society. Your very sincere

WELL WISHER

IT IS A FEARFUL THING TO LIVE.

BY REV. ANDREW BROADDUS.

DEDICATED TO OUR FAITHFUL SOLDIERS.

Few of the human family are so reckless as to be void of seriousness, in view of the fact that they must *die.*—In heathen as well as in Christian lands, all possess an instinctive shrinking from approaching dissolution. The soldier, who goes forth in defense of his country, fondly hopes that he shall pass through the deadliest conflicts that await him, and not fall into the embraces of the destroyer. There are many reasons why men prefer not to die; but the dread of the unknown future, with its tremendous realities, is that which, more than aught else, binds them to life.

Now, while it is greatly wise to think much on *death*, it is equally so, to think on "the life that now is;" yet I fear that many who may chance to read this, bestow but little reflection on the subject. I propose, therefore, a few suggestions on the solemnities associated with *living*; hoping that they may serve, at least, to awaken serious reflection on this great subject.

First, then, I observe, our creator has invested us with certain faculties and susceptibilities, in the use of which, to glorify him. He would have us consecrate all those powers to the well-being of our race, and thereby bring honor to His great name. It is a sad mistake, made by many, that he contemplates simply our individual happiness. He calls us into His vineyard, that, having entered it, we may labor for the advancement of the true interests of our race. How solemn the thought, that instead of "serving their day and generation," thousands are prostituting their immortal powers to the pleasures of sense; unmindful altogether of this most reasonable requirement of their Maker. Better had such persons never lived than to be making utter shipwreck of their qualifications for doing good.

Secondly, It is impossible for any to *live*, without exerting an influence upon those around them, either for weal or for woe. All have influence, devolving upon them the most fearful responsibilities; and it is melancholy, that very many, not only madly refuse to labor for the good of their fellows, but are indulging in practices, the imitation of which, without Divine intervention, must lead others the downward road. To have lived here, to no better purpose than to affect the ruin of immortal beings, were worse than never to have lived at all. I repeat, then, it is a fearful--an awful thing to *live*.

Thirdly, It is while men *live*, that they bid defiance to the laws of the God of the universe, and slight and despise His infinite goodness. Thus they subject themselves to the penalties due to rebellion. Sustained by His bountiful providence, and fostered continually by His kindly guardianship; by persisting in sin, they develop a heartlessness which is "nigh unto cursing." Had they never *lived*, of course, they had never deserved as they do, "the vengeance of eternal fire." Never could they have turned away from Him, who so sweetly invites to come and enlist under His banner.

Again, He who *lives* in this world must live forever. Live we must, since we live at all, as long as He who gave us life shall live. As, therefore, we can never cease to live; and as life beyond the grave must needs be made happy or miserable by the manner in

which we live here, how solemn the fact that we ever began life's endless career! Better, methinks, had it been for many, if the All wise had spared them an introduction to this mortal existence. Let none indulge the impious thought, however, that He who knew the end from the beginning, committed an error, when He breathed into their nostrils the breath of life; for rely upon it, He designed us all for His glory, which can be promoted in no way so effectually as by our giving our hearts to Him, and employing our time and talents in His reasonable and delightful service.

Someone perhaps may say, "if what the writer says is true, that it is a fearful thing to *live*, I wish I had never lived." Such a wish is simply vain. You *do* live, and although you might commit suicide, it would but transfer you from time to eternity, there to continue forever, the life begun on God's footstool.

In view of the above considerations, what is necessary to render life here, and life hereafter, a blessing rather than a curse? I rejoice that "Grace has contrived a way" by which the awfulness associated with living may be done away; and every one who will embrace it be made to rejoice that he is counted worthy a place among the sons of men. When Jesus lived, he laid the plan by which we may live by faith in him: and when he died he finished the work necessary to our living with him beyond the swellings of Jordan. Reader, will you avail yourself at once, of His all-sufficient atonement? Soldier, will you? Let me here observe, that there is no class of men for whom I feel a deeper solicitude, than the noble defenders of our rights, civil, political and religious. You have bared your bosoms to the cannon's mouth; and your lives may be said to be in jeopardy every hour. I would to God, that you were all prepared for living, and for dying, that you might live eternally with Christ in the upper mansions.

Allow me, affectionately, to exhort you so to live, so to repent, and so to trust in Christ, that, whether you live long or die soon, you may be counted worthy, through Jesus, of an "inheritance with the saints in light." What you do should be done quickly; for during the next few months, many, very many of you may be called to stand before your Judge. Let not the arch-deceiver of mankind, beguile you longer; but with a fixedness of purpose commensurate with the value of the immortal spirit, determine to prove the efficacy of that blood which cleanseth from all sin; and great shall be your reward.

Oh! Where shall rest be found? Rest for the weary soul; 'Twere vain the ocean's depths to sound Or pierce to either pole.

THE YOUNG DESERTER.

BY REV. B. MANLY, JR., D. D., GREENVILLE, S. C.

In the beginning of the war, a youth (whom we will call Charles R--) joined the Confederate army. He seemed fired with hearty zeal for the defense of our assailed rights. His parents were of Northern birth, but of Southern residence, and professed decided adhesion to Southern views. The first few movements of the war, however, brought their place of abode within the enemy's lines. Their son's company was stationed to guard an important point, where, across the waters of Hampton Roads, the United States flag was full in view, beneath which his father and family had taken refuge. Every day, as he gazed over the wavy expanse, he could see where they dwelt, now reconciled apparently to the Yankee yoke, even if they had not become its aiders and abettors. What influences prevailed over his boyish mind, cannot be certainly known--But somehow, the longing to join them, or the dislike of camp restraints, or the fickleness of a boy, triumphed over his oath of enlistment, his conviction of the righteousness of our cause, and his dread of the peril of desertion.

The opportunity was not long wanting, which ripened his scarcely formed desire into action. Numerous light boats were drawn up along the beach, with which the men were accustomed to sport, sometimes fishing, sometimes barely amusing themselves with a brief excursion. One evening as the gold of sunset was mingling with the silver that crested the waves, Charles R. entered a boat and pushed off. He floated about carelessly with the ebb tide, as it seemed for a while, by degrees getting further and further out, till, from the distance and the darkening twilight, he might safely venture more decided movements. Perhaps even then he paused, debating whether to go or return; but the attractions ahead were too strong. Behind him were his sworn comrades in arms. Before him loomed the enemy's castle, with the associates of his early life. To them his heart cleaved. The doubt was over. With all the speed his eager and practiced hand could give, he urged his boat to Fortress Monroe. He was a successful deserter.

I have known some to enlist under the banner of Jesus, who seemed all animated with noble zeal, whose promptitude and ardor outran the diffidence of slower minds, and gave promise of abundant and extensive usefulness. They "seemed to run well," and received a confidence and position in the church, which gave them power afterwards to bring reproach on the cause. They were not, perhaps, deceivers at first. They meant well, felt earnest, thought themselves sincere; but there was no steadfastness, no principle, no actual renewal about them. Their true attachments were elsewhere. Their chosen associations, their strongest ties, their deepest feelings bound them to the enemy. And so, after a struggle with the shame of fickleness, and with the dread of the soul's peril, and with the obligation of their vows and covenants they departed. It was not all at once, perhaps; not by vigorous and determined movements at first. But they went. They left the Lord, they left his people, they left his ordinances, they left his ways, they cast his book aside, they put his laws behind their back, they cut themselves off from Him and His. In the outset, perhaps, it was apparently a simple yielding to the stress of an ebbing tide, to the breathing of an off-shore wind; it was but an imperceptible movement, unsuspected by others, possibly not fully determined on by themselves; but the tendency was away from God and goodness, it was prevailingly toward evil. The temptation grew stronger as the distance and the darkness of the soul increased, and at last they struck out straight to join the enemy.

Are these any such deserters in this camp? Are there any, who are likely to become such? Are they any, who are even now conscious of the temptation, which is seducing them from God? Are there any who have begun that have sportive, half serious parleying which may so subject them altogether to its snares? Are there any, who are even now swaying back and for on the deceitful waves that lie between the regions of purity and evil, half questioning with themselves whether to return or stay?

You have not gone far. Therefore it is easy to stop now. You are not yet determined to yield and go. Therefore determine at once not to go. Your danger may seem slight. It is for that very reason more likely to delude and to destroy you. Your error from the path of duty may appear plausible, may almost seem extenuated, or excused, by the circumstances around you. Therefore take the more heed lest you fall. Oh stop! Think where you are going? Pray for grace to Him that is able to keep you from falling.

But perhaps there are some who have passed beyond this doubtful stage of indecision. You are not resisting temptation, not struggling against backsliding; you are not merely meditating a desertion, and hesitating before you begin. You have passed the Rubicon. You have made your choice. You are free from the restraint of religious profession, and have cast the fear of God behind you. Well, you are a successful deserter. You have gone forth from God's people, because you were not of them. And what now? The vows of God are upon you. You have broken them; but the shattered links still cling around your soul, and cannot be shaken off. You have renounced his service. But that does not alter the fact that you once voluntarily enlisted in it. And so you stand, before God and angels and men, as a breaker of your promise, as a conscious violator of a solemn deliberate covenant with your God. Is it not so?

Your influence is most decidedly felt against the cause of Christ, which once you professed to honor. You are not only ranked with the enemy; but you are so ranked by your own deliberate preference. And you have power to do more to religion, than those who never professed to be Christians. Your conduct seems to say to the world--that you have tried religion, and found it to be a delusion. You may say, this is not your meaning; but such, alas, is the interpretation, which those who do not love God will put on your testimony. They will delight to point to you and say, "There is a man who was 'one of the saints.' but has grown wiser." They will boast of your impiety, will strengthen themselves on your weak compliances, and will glory in your shame. They will take a fiendish satisfaction in dragging you with them to deeper and more damning degradation, because you once tasted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come. Your vices will be the theme of peculiar merriment, because you once sat at the table of the Lord, because your hands have handled the holy sacrament. Your blasphemies will be greeted with special glee, because your lips have joined in the songs of heavenly praise. And your case will be urged as the convincing argument which should deter the giddy from serious thought, the thoughtful from conviction, the convinced from faith in Christ, the trembling believer from public profession--You will be made the stumbling block, for the blind to stumble over into hell!

Your case is one of fearful danger, as well as of aggravated sin. "If he that despised Moses' law died without mercy, of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood

of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?" There is in your case peculiar, tremendous danger lest you will lose your soul--lest the same influences which have drawn you aside, should keep you away from God--lest your previous profession of piety may itself become one of the most serious barriers to your becoming willing even to listen attentively to God's word--lest your former experience may hinder you forever from striving to enter in at the strait gate-may shut you up without effort here, without hope hereafter.

Your case is only not desperate. There is salvation even for such as you, with Him who "is able to save unto the uttermost." There is pardon for Deserters, who repent and return. Listen! "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." It is said that this word scarlet means double dyed. Come, then, ye double dyed transgressors, who, have broken both God's law and your own promise --come and try how freely, fully, Jesus can forgive. "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." "The blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin."

TOO LATE.

An impenitent sinner was recently brought into the near prospect of eternity, and the terrors of God's wrath fell upon him. His friends sent for a minister to come and counsel and pray with him; but though he sought earnestly to lead him to Jesus, it seemed of no avail. Every exhortation was met by the mournful plaint, "it is too late--too late!" The minister spoke of the mercy of God, of his long suffering under provocation, and of his gracious assurance that he has "no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but rather that he turn from his way and live." A bitter groan was the first response; and then, as a look of agony convulsed his features, he deliberately said:

"My case is beyond all this. There was a time when God's mercy might have reached me. In after life I often felt the need of religion, but I could not bear to give up the pleasure of sin, and I quieted my conscience by resolving to spend only a *few* years in sinful indulgences; then I though I would marry, and promised myself that when once settled down in life, I would without delay give my heart to God.

"At twenty-four I married, and then again conscience reminded me of my vow, and claimed its immediate fulfillment. But I was too deeply intoxicated with the cup of earthly joys to listen to the faithful monitor, and I said, 'Go thy way for this time also.' "

"Then affliction came, and I was brought to the very borders of the grave. In bitter agony I sought the mercy-seat; and again I promised that, if spared, I would at once repent and lead a new life. God's mercy spared me; but with returning health came renewed cares about my business and family, and the great business of life was again put off for a more convenient season. That season never came; serious thoughts and solemn resolutions have often visited me; God's messages of wrath and of mercy have been sounded in my ears, my broken vows have clamored loudly of my guilt, and again and again I have promised myself that *tomorrow* I would repent. Thus have I passed forty years of the most aggravated folly and guilt--God's mercies and judgments alike unregarded; and can you wonder that he now forsakes the wretch he has so long and so patiently borne with? He is just. My destruction is the work of my own hands, and I must reap the bitter fruit to all eternity. *Lost, lost, lost!* must *for ever* be my wail."

And thus he died, another fearful example of the danger of delay, and the vital importance of living in preparation to meet God.

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