

# ***THE GREAT REVIVAL OF 1863*** **THE EFFECTS UPON LEE'S ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA**

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Reverend J. William Jones, a chaplain in Robert E. Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia and a witness to the significant religious activity within that army during the American Civil War, stated,

But 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 the humble piety and evangelical zeal of many of its officers and men -- would be incomplete and unsatisfactory.<sup>1</sup>

His words summarize the general mood experienced by the soldiers of Lee's Army during the "Great Revival." There were two sweeping and prolonged revivals that the Army of Northern Virginia experienced. The first occurred along the Rappahannock River in the Fredericksburg, Virginia area, from September 1862 until May 1863. The revivals reappeared more forcefully a second time from August 1863 (after the Gettysburg Campaign) until May 1864 along the Rapidan River near Orange Court House, Virginia. In these two extended revivals, which often marked the time between campaigns for the Confederate soldier, large crowds of soldiers gathered repeatedly, impressive numbers of professions to the Christian faith were counted, demands for tracts and testaments increased, and the individual soldier-converts exhibited a changed lifestyle. As setbacks beset Lee's Army in 1863, and news of Confederate defeats in other theaters arrived, the Army of Northern Virginia became more introspective, humble, and repentive of perceived sins. Many of the soldiers even became convinced that God would intervene on their army's behalf, but only when the Confederate nation purged its bad elements.

Overall, the individual soldier, the clergy, and everyone else close to the revivals were profoundly effected. A close investigation into these meaningful religious events with a focus on 1863 will show the extent to which the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia was impacted by religious zeal.

Religious fervor was not always the order-of-the-day. A quick scan of religious activity throughout the war indicates that although sermons were preached and professions of the Christian faith were made before September 1862 and after May 1864, religious response was not as great. The reason for decline in revival fervor **after** May 1864 was directly linked to the harassing, disruptive nature of army life experienced by Lee's army during the last year of the war. That army was involved either in constant campaigning or siege warfare, from May 1864 until it surrendered in April 1865. It must be understood that large scale army revival required months of soldier inactivity, along with a close consolidation of forces, whereby large numbers were able to readily convene. These conditions proved to be impossible during the last eight months of the war.

Distinct reasons can be identified to account for the slow start in revival activity during the first year of the war. First, revival activity was sabotaged somewhat by deficiencies within the chaplain service. There were shortages in the number of chaplains and a shortage of quality spiritual leaders. Early on, the chaplaincy seemed to attract vain members who were either adventure seekers or who enjoyed collecting the monthly wage of \$85.00, at a time when the average Confederate soldier's pay was \$11.00. Adding to the non-committal status of the chaplaincy was the optimism shared by virtually everyone that the war would not last very long. Although there were many sincere clergy, enough "slackers" were present to taint their profession. Indicative of ill feelings expressed towards the clergy early in the war, one English visitor observed,

...As but little was seen or heard of them [chaplains], save when some fortunate *mess* of turkey, or chicken, and then, of course, the minister was sure to put in his appearance...Most of these gentlemen were particularly condescending in their small talk...and sometimes betrayed alarming proficiency in handling cards...<sup>2</sup>

A Presbyterian Minister may have summed it up best stating, "I have always been disposed to think that the character of the chaplaincy improved after the first year or so."<sup>3</sup>

As the conflict progressed, war fever waned. This, along with a salary cut for the chaplain and censorship applied to his status and privileges, led to an exodus of the insincere ones.<sup>4</sup> Replacing these chaplains proved very difficult considering that churches on the home front seemed unwilling to relinquish their pastor for service in the army. There was a general belief

throughout the war among the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist denominations that civilian flocks should be primary. The solution to shortages in the army chaplaincy, according to the *Southern Christian Advocate*, was to realize that, “there are enough worthy, intelligent and truly pious preachers serving as private soldiers to fill every vacancy in the army.”<sup>5</sup>

Fortunately for the religious element within the army, not all southern church denominations were inattentive to their spiritual needs. In fact, each of the denominations supplemented salaries of chaplains as well as sponsored missionaries, who labored in the army without an army commission and government salary.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, each of the denominations would underwrite different institutions that published religious tracts and Bibles. The Evangelical Tract Society in Petersburg, Virginia, The General Tract Agency of Raleigh North Carolina, The South Carolina Tract Society in Charleston, The Tract Society of Houston, Texas, and The Sunday School and Publication Board of Virginia, sold tracts “at the rate of 1,500 pages for one dollar, and were purchased by all protestant denominations.”<sup>7</sup> Austin Dobbins, Company B, 16<sup>th</sup> Mississippi jotted down in his journal that, “Tracts are also interesting, particularly ‘Come to Jesus’ [48 pages] and ‘Dangerous Delay.’ The papers are free but the tracts cost a penny or so apiece.”<sup>8</sup> Supply and demand reveals that Dobbins was not alone in reading such tracts. In fact the Sunday School and Publication Board of Virginia alone, accounted for the printing of over one hundred different tracts with a distribution beyond 50,000,000 pages of the same, from 1861 to 1864.<sup>9</sup> The same board would publish and distribute 100,000 camp hymnals during the same period.<sup>10</sup>

By September of 1862, the officers and men of Lee’s Army were better primed for spiritual revival. The frivolousness of 1861 had been replaced by long arduous marches and hard campaigns, which had produced startling numbers of battlefield casualties, and non-battle casualties from disease. Bell I. Wiley stated it this way,

Veterans who saw regiments dwindle in strength from hundreds to handfuls could not escape the realization that their chances of surviving the bloody battles yet to be fought were slim. The urge was strong, therefore, to escape damnation and to gain assurance of eternal peace by getting religion.<sup>11</sup>

The summer of 1862 had witnessed the carnage of the Seven Days Battles, Cedar Mountain, Second Manassas, and Sharpsburg, regarded as the single bloodiest day in American History. After Sharpsburg, when the Confederate Army returned to the vicinity of the Rappahannock River in Northern Virginia, soldiers exhibited a keen interest in spiritual matters. As chaplains conducted their normal Sunday morning and evening services to their individual regiments in an outdoor forum, which was usually a field or a clearing in the woods, they quickly recognized a more appreciative audience. Reverend Scott, who was preaching near the Rappahannock at

“Camp Nineva,” on October 12, 1862, detected the difference remembering, “From the beginning of these services it was evident that God’s spirit was working in many hearts. The men listened with the deepest attention, and seemed very reluctant to leave the ground when the benediction was pronounced...”<sup>12</sup> The Reverend William Wallace Bennett confirmed that, “Early in October while the army lay near Winchester, there were evident signs of a deep awakening among the troops.”<sup>13</sup> Bennett added that, “The men were deeply impressed by the dangers they had escaped, and their hearts were open to receive the truth.”<sup>14</sup>

Other chaplains noted the increased interest of soldiers towards preaching of the gospel. Reverend John C. Granberry wrote to the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, “I have never before witnessed such a wide-spread and powerful religious interest among the soldiers...It would delight your heart to mark the seriousness, order, and deep feeling, which characterizes all our meetings.”<sup>15</sup> As Chaplain William B. Owen of the 17th Mississippi Infantry Regiment preached several evenings of revivalists sermons, a Baptist chaplain observed that, “It was a touching scene to see the stern veterans of many a hard-fought field, who would not hesitate to enter the deadly breach or charge the heaviest battery, trembling under the power of divine truth.”<sup>16</sup>

As spiritual interest increased within the soldier ranks, the frequency of revival meetings multiplied. This was particularly the case after the December 13, 1862 battle of Fredericksburg where Lee’s Army won a resounding victory, which seemed to be coronated from the heavens by a rare display of the “Northern Lights.” This divine sign, as it was interpreted, seemed to further christen the efforts of the chaplains. By January and February religious flurry was reaching new heights. The *Religious Herald* reported on February 26, 1863 revival meetings occurring, “fifty-five consecutive days and nights without regard to weather or other untoward circumstances.”<sup>17</sup> Moreover, “Each day, sermons and prayer meetings were virtually hourly affairs from noon until late at night as soldiers became alive with religious animation.”<sup>18</sup>

A typical week of worship included Sunday School, preaching, prayer meetings, Bible classes, inquiry, exhortations, and singing meetings.<sup>19</sup> The evening assemblies, which gained so much attention, were impressive sights indeed. Reverend Bennett recalled, “You behold a mass of men seated on the earth all around you...in the wild woods, under a full moon, aided by the light of side strands.”<sup>20</sup> John H. Worsham, a soldier in the 21<sup>st</sup> Virginia Infantry, painted a picture of the typical outdoor revival forum, writing,

Trees were cut from the adjoining woods, rolled to this spot, and arranged for seating of at least 2,000 people. At the lower end a platform was raised with logs, rough boards were placed on them, and a bench was made at the far side for the seating of preachers. In front was a pulpit, or desk, made from a box. Around this platform and around the seats, stakes were driven into the ground about ten or fifteen feet apart. On top of them were placed baskets of iron wire,

iron hoops, etc. Into these baskets were placed chunks of lightwood, and at night they were lighted and threw a red glare far beyond the confines of the place of worship.<sup>21</sup>

Reverend Bennett with much affection reminisced, “The hearty singing in these gatherings in the fields or forest... Hundreds of strong, manly voices poured out a volume of rich melody on the evening air.”<sup>22</sup> Reverend Scott authenticated the accounts of Bennett, Worsham, and Jones, remarking, “These services were held after dark, in the open air, around a blazing campfire. They commenced always with singing, which quickly attracted a congregation...”<sup>23</sup>

The revivals from the autumn of 1862 through the spring of 1863 also included large gatherings in the churches of Fredericksburg, which were mostly abandoned by the citizens of that town during the battle. When services were first held in these shell-marked churches in January 1863, the numbers were moderate enough to meet in smaller buildings such as the Presbyterian Church. As the soldier congregations grew, they moved to larger structures such as those of the Methodist church, and finally the largest Episcopal sanctuary.<sup>24</sup> Reverend Bennett recalled a service in the latter facility on March 27, 1863 noting, “At 11:00 [A. M.] we assembled at the Episcopal Church. On this occasion, perhaps 1,500 were in attendance, mostly soldiers. Every grade, from private to Major General was represented.”<sup>25</sup>

The nature and mood of the services were consistently solemn. They were not arenas for “...holy barks, shouts, jerks, and other excessive emotional outbursts...”<sup>26</sup> The men were earnest listeners and the preachers preached straightforward messages of redemption and salvation. That is not to say the services were without fanfare. For instance, when a regimental band was available, they would provide the background melody for hymn singing, perform offertory hymns, and deliver special music. And, although the sermons were doctrinally forthright, on occasion the soldiers were treated to the oratory skills of renowned evangelistic preachers such as, “John B. McFerrin, Methodist; Joseph C. Stiles and Moses Hoge, Presbyterians; and John A. Broadus, Baptist.”<sup>27</sup> Evangelists, unlike chaplains, tended to be powerful public speakers who wooed their audience with pathos while still maintaining an appeal to logic. Most of those mentioned above had trained at distinguished theological schools such as Yale and University of Virginia, had pastored congregations for many years, and therefore spoke with authority. Regimental chaplains, missionaries, and soldier converts, who provided daily preaching and devotions benefited from the work of the evangelists and naturally followed-up on their efforts.

How did the officers feel about all of this spiritual activity? Were they concerned about their men devoting so much time to activities outside of a soldier’s normal routine? Actually the colonels, whose duty it was to recommend chaplains for appointment to their individual

regiments, were generally favorable to the idea. Whether they were religious or not, the colonel understood that the Christian religion tended to make soldiers more loyal to cause, faithful to duty, honest, and less susceptible to vices -- which might become destructive -- such as heavy drinking, gambling, and overuse of profanity. Moreover, many colonels realized that,

It is impossible to quantify the value of such [chaplain] service. How can we establish the worth of a bereaved family's comfort in the knowledge that a son, husband, father, or brother had been comforted at death and accorded a Christian or religious burial... We simply cannot measure such intangible service, yet only the most cynical among us would deny the contribution... in a very real sense [chaplains were] the morale of the army.<sup>28</sup>

Numerous colonels and officers did far more than merely acquiesce to the necessity of a chaplain. Scores of them actively participated in the religious services, or at least listened to the preacher with their men. With satisfaction a correspondent to the *Christian Observer* commented,

It has been a delight to have some high standing Colonel to kneel down before a thousand men and lead them, not upon the field of battle, but in holy prayer, and sometimes as ably, humbly, and piously as to make you rejoice at the thought that so many of our soldiers had so good a man to go before them.<sup>29</sup>



A SERVICE INTERRUPTED.

Jones, *Christ in the Camp* (B. F. Johnson & Co., 1887).

Some colonels were so respectful of chaplains that they would occasionally yield their own plans to the chaplain's wishes. For instance, one night as Chaplain Owen was preaching to men of Barksdale's Mississippi brigade at Fredericksburg, the brigade received orders to march immediately. Brother Owen persisted that, "...the Lord would not let them leave while the interest in the meeting continued so deep... The next morning the orders [to march] were countermanded."<sup>30</sup>

Not all colonels were so amicable. *The Richmond Christian Advocate* reported an incident where, "One hapless chaplain who delivered a sermon against swearing found himself at the mercy of his commanding officer. The colonel charged him with 'having taken advantage of his position to lecture him on

swearing,' and as a result would not hear him preach again."<sup>31</sup> Confrontations such as this seemed to be the exception.

That winter and spring of 1863 at Fredericksburg, coupled with the previous autumn at Winchester, brought together many spiritual players, as we have seen, including chaplains, evangelists, religiously active colonels, even missionaries and colporteurs. Through the use of vacated church buildings, and with the creation of rough outdoor, log-hewn cathedrals, the spiritually devout convincingly passed along their message in sermon, song, and in the form of tracts and Bibles.



*J. William Jones, author of Christ in Camp, in a wartime photo as chaplain of the 13th Virginia Infantry. Jones, Christ in the Camp.*

The numbers of professions of Christian faith, along with requests for prayer and inquiries for Christian literature, may never be known with precision, but the figures were probably in the thousands. For example, Reverend Jones recorded in a letter from Hamilton's Crossing, dated April 10, 1863 that, "There were... in Barksdale's Brigade at least 500 professions of conversion -- many of the converts coming from other commands -- and the... influences of the meeting went out all through the army."<sup>32</sup> Reverend Dr. J. C. Stiles provided another glimpse into tangible evidence of revival at Fredericksburg when he wrote in the latter part of February,

At every call for the anxious, the entire altar, the front six seats of the five blocks of pews surrounding the pulpit, and all the spaces thereabouts ever so closely packed, could scarcely accommodate the supplicants; while daily public conversions gave peculiar interest to the sanctuary services.<sup>33</sup>

Simply counting conversions, while excluding the number of curious listeners and readers, Reverend William Jones conservatively estimated that, "...in the fall and winter of 1862-63, and spring of 1863, there were, at the *very lowest estimate*, 1,500 professions of conversion in Lee's Army."<sup>34</sup>

The spring and summer of 1863 was a very active season for Lee's army. They clashed with the Union Army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville in early May. Following their victory in that battle, "General Lee [had] issued an order...to his army, 'recommend[ing] that the troops unite

on Sunday next in ascribing unto the Lord of hosts the glory due unto His name.”<sup>35</sup> Lee would not stop there however. Just a month later, as his army prepared for the Gettysburg Campaign, he reiterated that, “I trust that our merciful God, our only help and refuge, will not desert us in this our hour of need, but will deliver us by His almighty hand, that the whole world may recognize His power and all hearts be lifted up in adoration and praise of His unbounded loving kindness...”<sup>36</sup> As his army pushed north into Pennsylvania that June and July, many in the ranks shared Lee’s belief that God had blessed them in battle and would continue to do so.

The beginning of the campaign season brought a change in pace and a more active schedule from that of winter and early spring. Sudden movements and frequent maneuvers of the army made revivalism impractical through much of the summer. The chaplains remained behind the lines primarily serving in the capacity of emergency care for wounded and sick men. They would roam the field hospitals and comfort those who desired spiritual guidance. To this fact, Lieutenant-Colonel James Risque Hutter of the 11<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry testified, “Our Chaplain, the Reverend John C. Granberry (who has long been a Bishop of the M.E. Church), whenever he saw a man badly wounded would go and kneel by him and pray for and with him. I never knew a more divine specimen of a man.”<sup>37</sup> In addition to kneeling beside the wounded, chaplains would often accompany them in the ambulance from the battlefield. In such instances, chaplains inconspicuously went about addressing the emotional and spiritual needs of the army. Armstrong, in his excellent work on chaplaincy reminded his readers that,

There are no statistics revealing the number of lives that were saved through the aid rendered by a chaplain on the field of battle. It cannot be determined how often frightened men remained to fight because a chaplain encouraged them to do their duty and by setting an example of personal courage prevented their flight to the rear. But instances of courage and determination were commonplace.<sup>38</sup>

The services of chaplains were immeasurable and invaluable. They encouraged, comforted, counseled, made funeral arrangements, performed funerals, wrote letters home on behalf of the deceased, and generally added sanity to the upheaval of a soldier’s life. Modern psychology was not an option for another thirty years, thus the counsel of a chaplain was often the only option standing between a soldier’s despair and hope.

For many soldiers, chaplains provided a structured theological answer to “why” humans so often struggle, fight, suffer, transgress, grieve, and even die. They also offered a message of hope, which emphasized that sin and death had been ultimately overcome upon a cross, eighteen hundred years earlier. From this a soldier might gain confidence in his struggles, even to the point of death. Christian soldiers were taught to believe that fallen comrades were merely asleep

and would wake again at the sound of a trumpet, clothed in a glorified body. “Closure,” a modern clinical word unfamiliar to the Civil War soldier, was achieved in a sense through this belief. Under the daily tutelage of chaplains, scores of soldiers found that, “worship and trust in God, and a belief in the hereafter, made life amid the horrors of the war bearable.”<sup>39</sup>

The retreat of Lee’s Army from Pennsylvania led the soldiers to settle along the Rapidan River in the area of Orange Court House, north of the town of Gordonsville and southeast of Culpeper, Virginia. From September 1863 through April 1864 the revivals resumed with only the disruption of the Mine Run Campaign from late November through early December. The difference in intensity between the revivals before the Gettysburg Campaign and after was significant. After Gettysburg the revivals occurred on a much larger scale. This was evident almost immediately upon the army’s return from Pennsylvania, as there was a general sentiment within the rank-in-file of the need for repentance. There was a sense that the losses at Gettysburg and Vicksburg were the results of God’s punishment for ongoing sins in both Lee’s army and the Confederate nation.

Within the army, General Lee helped to shape this mindset by issuing General Order No. 83 on August 13, 1863 stating, “Soldiers: we have sinned against Almighty God...and we have relied too much on our own arms for the achievement of our independence.”<sup>40</sup> His General Order was felt throughout all levels of the army and would set the tone for revival. From the private to the clergy, to the infantry officer, a fear of God’s admonishment reverberated down from Lee’s declaration. At the enlisted man’s level, Private Azariah Bostwick of Company D, 31<sup>st</sup> Georgia exhibited this feeling when he wrote in August 1863 that,

...I believe we as a nation have incurred the displeasure of a just God, and have been exceedingly wicked, and that is the cause of this war, and the reverses we have met with of late have all been for our good and to make us more humble and to have a firm reliance in Him who doeth all things well...if we fail to put our confidence in Him, how soon may the tide of success be turned against us?<sup>41</sup>

In the congregational pulpits this same sentiment was expressed by James Armstrong Duncan, who was editor of the *Richmond Christian Advocate* and pastor of Broad Street Episcopal Church (where Lee and Davis attended). Following the same theme as Lee’s General Order No. 83, Duncan commented that, “A day of genuine repentance is what we want to see in the Confederacy -- a day on which sinners shall cry for mercy on their souls, and plead with God not to curse the land on their account.”<sup>42</sup>

Clergy in the ranks preached, as well, that repentance was necessary if the army expected to reverse its military defeats. Private Ted Barclay of Company I, 4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry listened to

such a sermon by Pastor Beverly Tucker Lacy entitled, “Be ye not deceived, God is not mocked.”<sup>43</sup> Although Barclay did not provide detailed statements from the sermon, he did reveal the clergyman’s central message when he contemplated, “Oh that this army was a bunch of Christian men, then we might indeed expect peace, no longer then would we be punished by the fall of our cities and the repulse of our armies.”<sup>44</sup> Protestant ministers did not act alone. Catholic priests joined them as well in warning that repentance was necessary after the disasters of Gettysburg and Vicksburg. In August 1863, for instance, Catholic Reverend James B. Sheeran, 14<sup>th</sup> Louisiana, preached, “...to the whole Brigade [of] both Protestants and Catholics...[on] the vice of impurity...[he] was much consoled to see the effects of this sermon on both officers and men.”<sup>45</sup>



Rev. M. D. Hoge, D. D.

Jones, *Christ in the Camp*.



Rev. Jos. C. Stiles, D. D.,  
Army Evangelist.

Jones, *Christ in Camp*

Shattuck, in his excellent history of religious life in the Civil War armies, described the backdrop and environment for revival in Lee’s Army after the Gettysburg Campaign. He stated that, “the revivals functioned in this milieu as a symbolic cushion against defeat, for the disasters befalling Lee’s army only strengthened the belief of religious soldiers that the South would receive victory through the will of God alone.”<sup>46</sup> Bishop Brown, one of Lee’s biographers, noted that Lee fostered and nurtured this milieu. Brown wrote that,

Throughout the war Lee assured soldiers and civilians alike of God’s continued presence, preservation and power. He promised that as long as they tried to do what was right, they could leave the outcome to Heaven without pride in victory or recrimination in defeat. He also reminded them that victory was not necessarily granted to the largest armies. Sometimes it was a reward for faith and practice, or as an instrument of Divine Justice.<sup>47</sup>

By September of 1863, Lee's message was indeed getting through. Every indicator points towards a mood shift in his army where attributes of genuine revival were present and where "Nothing occurs with which any pious man can find fault...The convictions of sin are deep and humbling...[T]he love of God is shed abroad...A Spirit of devotion is enkindled...Prayer is the exercise in which the soul seems to be in its proper element."<sup>48</sup> These characteristics were especially evident in Lee's Army after Gettysburg in the fall of 1863. Open and expressed devotion to God became an accepted behavior during this period.

What specifically were the sins in Lee's army which spawned a mood of repentance among the men, and for which God had levied a penalty of military defeat? James A. Duncan, a Methodist minister and editor of the *Richmond Christian Advocate* enumerated these as, "...profanity, dancing, theatre-going, frivolity, a harsh temper, croaking [to grumble], pimping and operating in money, Sabbath breaking, liquor, dueling, snarling [an angry growl or to make excessively complicated], and especially extortion..."<sup>49</sup> Duncan believed that, "God would not bless a people who sinned." Indeed, the result of sin was defeat on the battlefields. Therefore, in times of stress and defeat, Duncan called for repentance."<sup>50</sup>

Many in Lee's Army believed the sins they were being punished for were not for their own transgressions but rather those committed by civilians who lived in Richmond. Numerous soldiers pointed the finger at a new class of wealth in the South whose profits came from the war, at the expense of others. The *parvenues*, as Lee's soldiers called them, were not interested in the deeper principles for which the Confederacy stood but rather were caught-up in their own self-interests. As Peter Carmichael pointed out in his insightful work on the Confederate artilleryist William Pegram,

By 1863 Southern soldiers increasingly held to the conviction that large elements of the civilian population disparaged [degraded] the army's sacrifices, were concerned with prospering from the war, and encouraged the faithful to abandon the Confederate cause. Their traitorous behavior, Pegram and many other soldiers maintained, undermined the moral fabric of the Confederate nation and its ability to prosecute the war.<sup>51</sup>

Carmichael added that, "While Pegram believed the war had strengthened the moral fiber of the soldiers, he [also] maintained it had produced the opposite effect on most civilians." "From all accounts," Pegram surmised that "Richmond must be getting fearfully corrupt." Carmichael noted that whenever anyone discussed the decadent state of the city, Pegram impressed "upon them the fact that the gayety & corruption exists among the *parvenus* and newcomers" who were jeopardizing the South's special relationship with God, as they succumbed to greed and

profiteerism. Pegram warned that, "God will not favor us" if Richmond continued to decay morally.<sup>52</sup>

Gregory C. White documented in his work on the 31<sup>st</sup> Georgia Infantry that Nicholas W. Miller of Company H, like Pegram, was very disturbed by the activities of the *parvenues*. Miller strongly condemned them when he wrote,

...Let the base spirit of extortion and selfish speculation be driven out of our land. Let the vampires who are feasting upon the life's blood of our country be marked, and let the name of every such man go down to posterity laden with the execrations [detestables] of all mankind...<sup>53</sup>

Miller also blamed another group outside of the army who evoked God's judgement when he proclaimed, "Let those at home and elsewhere, who are skulking from duty in the army, be brought out and sent to the field to aid their fellowmen who are struggling amid privation and hardship for their country's freedom."<sup>54</sup> Concluding, Miller instructed both the *parvenues* and skulkers that, "Personal and selfish considerations should give way before the high claims of duty and patriotism."<sup>55</sup>

In addition to the perception of transgressions within the army, and sins from the *parvenues* and skulkers outside the army, there were other factors, which pre-conditioned Lee's men to relate defeats on the battlefields with sin. One such underlying factor stemmed from the general acceptance in nineteenth century America of a divine being. It was the rule to recognize both God's existence and his involvement in human affairs. Moreover, the average soldier had been raised in light of a Judeo-Christian background, which emphasized that sin brought about separation between humanity and God, and that only repentance and genuine humility could restore that relationship. Again, the typical Civil War soldier was predisposed to think this way largely because he was surrounded by a society where Christian thought prevailed. Armstrong phrased the preconceived disposition of the average soldier this way;

When weighing the value of religious counsel given to dying men or to men facing probable death, it is important to remember that religion in America at the time of the Civil War had not yet felt the full impact of Darwin's On The Origin of Species or of modern scientific discovery. Even the Unitarians and their offspring, the Transcendentalists, were considered radical and rather dangerous by the orthodoxy of the day; and although there were doubtless many who were irreligious, the belief in a life beyond this one with accompanying punishment or reward was more common and much stronger than is the case today.<sup>56</sup>

Not only did the Civil War precede the "full impact of Darwin's On The Origin of Species, or of modern scientific discovery," the war also came before the rise in America of Marxist thought

with its milder form of Socialism and a de-emphasis of God. Along with this socialism, which pervaded European cities in the mid-nineteenth century, and American urban centers later in the nineteenth century, came Karl Marx's interpretation that religion kept the poor urban masses down and fettered. Marx proclaimed that religion was the "opium of the masses," and he dogmatically declared that a belief in God pacified workers to cope with hardships and to accept barriers which they otherwise might challenge. The ultimate aim of Marxism was -- and still is -- to create a classless society, an egalitarian system, where every citizen becomes economically, politically, and socially equal.<sup>57</sup> Since even the concept of God cannot rise above this equality of citizenry, and because the idea of a sovereign God justified an "old order" which Marx wanted to dispense with, then there was no place for God in his philosophy. Marx's atheistic and socialistic views, which have gradually blended in with mainstream American thought over the last one hundred years, would have been foreign to the Civil War soldier. Such modernistic thought did not convolute the 1860's soldier's view of God. Darwin and Marx had not yet challenged his faith, with its tenets of sin and redemption.

In addition to the American Civil War representing a period of pre-Darwin and pre-Marxist thought, there were still other underlying reasons that explain why large-scale revival occurred in Lee's Army in 1863. One of these was the rise in Armenian thought versus Calvinist thought by the 1860's. As James McPherson brought to light in his relatively new book entitled, For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought In The Civil War,

The Calvinist doctrine of predestined election of a select few appealed to a declining number of Americans in this age of evangelical revivals, democratic egalitarianism, and the ambitious quest for upward social mobility. And just as most American Christians by 1860 believed they could achieve salvation by faith and an attempt to abjure [avoid] sin, so most Civil War soldiers believed they could improve the chances of God's protection on the battlefield by faith and prayer.<sup>58</sup>

A clarification might be necessary here. On one hand, Calvinists believed (and believe) that God has chosen His *elect* for salvation, and has bestowed special favor upon them at His discretion based on His "good will and pleasure." In this doctrine, God chooses man and humans have little say in the matter. Moreover, man's "free will" is not a factor in the process. Instead, God's elect are predestined for protection and eternal life only by His grace, which literally means "undeserved favor." Early Puritan Americans who settled the Northeast in colonial times were of this mindset.

In contrast, Armenians believed (and believe) that humans can accept God -- or not accept Him -- and win His favor through obedience, good works, and by living a righteous life. Armenians

do place great emphasis on man's "free will," whereas, again, the Calvinists stress God's absolute sovereignty. Armenians tend to believe that humans can improve their spiritual condition whereas Calvinists profess that man's condition is one of total depravity and without hope apart from God's election and His ability to revive a lost soul. What McPherson was trying to convey is that middle-nineteenth century Americans leaned more towards Armenianism with its broad offer of salvation. Accompanying this was the concept of revival with its extended, open-ended, even limitless offer of redemption. Revival settings were considered normal for the time. The average Southern Civil War soldier would have understood the notion of large tent revivals and week long revival meetings, where wholesale decisions might be made in the name of Christ. Calvinists would have frowned upon these evangelistic gatherings and seen them as misguided and futile.

Even though several underlying factors for revival in Lee's army have been enumerated, still more factors were present in the fall of 1863. Another such factor involved the question among numerous Confederate soldiers over why they had survived so many close encounters with death. Over-and-over, on many battlefields, including the recent one at Gettysburg, survivors had reason to wonder why they were not counted among the dead? This second-guessing led many to search into spiritual matters. Shattuck summarized their deep introspection when he stated that, "the continual presence of death and the awesome threat of eternal damnation, of course, moved many soldiers to examine their consciences and make themselves aware of God's presence beside them."<sup>59</sup>

Soldier accounts support Shattuck's assessment. For instance, Private Ted Barclay, Company I, 4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry, Stonewall Brigade, emphatically asked, "why have I been spared those two years of toil and danger whilst many who promised to be bright and shining lights have been cut down? I thank God I was not cut-off in my sins but spared...by the mercy of God..."<sup>60</sup> Expressing the same conviction, Private John C. West of Company E, 4<sup>th</sup> Texas Infantry ("Hood's Texans") reflected, "of course there is great danger every time we go into battle. It seems to me it must be the utmost stretch of divine power to save one in the thickest of a fight."<sup>61</sup> Making reference to the Bible he added that, "...The rescue of Shadrack, Meshack and Abednego was no more of a miracle than the preservation of some of us on the afternoon of Saturday, the nineteenth of September, at Chickamauga."<sup>62</sup> West went on to write; "I have passed through trials of endurance and of my courage to which I thought myself unequal, but the hollow of the Almighty hand has been over me, and the trials of yesterday I can smile at today... Verily I believe God has guarded and preserved me every hour."<sup>63</sup>

Like Private Barclay and Private West, Captain D. August Dickert of Company H, 3<sup>rd</sup> South Carolina (Kershaw's Brigade) became convinced that God had preserved him in battle. With vividness he recalled the Knoxville Campaign where,

We could see the shells on their downward flight...Here the soldier witnessed one of those incidents so often seen in army life that makes him feel that at times his life is protected by a hand of some hidden, unseen power. His escape from death so often appears miraculous that the soldier feels from first to last that he is but 'in the hollow of His hand,' and learns to trust all to chance and Providence.<sup>64</sup>

Describing the process by which a soldier might first contemplate divine involvement in battle on his behalf, Armstrong reasoned that,

If there was a moment in the soldier's life in which a universal need was felt, however, it probably occurred with the realization that death, that unknown quantity, was imminent. This moment of dread and uncertainty, heightened perhaps by a sense of guilt, often prompted men to an interest in matters spiritual that had long been scorned, or ignored, or simply forgotten.<sup>65</sup>

Added to the "dread and uncertainty" of the pre-battle scene was the awareness after a battle, of many narrow escapes. Such a range of emotions created a formula by which soldiers considered "matters spiritual, which had long been scorned."<sup>66</sup> The many close brushes with death culminated by the fall of 1863 to produce much reflection among Lee's men.

Not everyone in the Army of Northern Virginia was primed for large-scale spiritual activity after Gettysburg. There were officers and privates who did not want to experience revival nor did they agree with the premise that it was necessary. Not everyone accepted the notion that Lee's Army was being punished for sins, that God had exercised His sovereign will discriminantly against the South, and that God controlled the path of bullets and missiles for those who sought His will. Not everyone in the Army linked judgement from the Almighty with Confederate setbacks at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. There were some who believed like Napoleon Bonaparte that "God is on the side of the strongest battalions."<sup>67</sup>

One such esteemed officer in Lee's Army whose thoughts were against the grain was Colonel Edward Porter Alexander. He was greatly bothered by the preoccupation that his army had over their punishment for sins. With considerable irritation he remarked after the war that,

It is customary to say that 'Providence did not intend that we should win,' but I do not subscribe in the least to that doctrine. Providence did not care a row of pins about it. If it did it was a very unintelligent Providence not to bring the business to a close -- the close it wanted -- in less than four years of most terrible & bloody war. And while on that subject I will say here that I think it was a serious incubus [nightmare] upon us that during the whole war our president and

many of our generals really and actually believed that there *was* this mysterious Providence always hovering over the field and ready to interfere on one side or the other and that prayers and piety might win favor from day to day. One of our good old preachers once voiced it in a prayer. I think it was Gen. Lawton who heard it and told me. He prayed, ‘Oh Lord! Come down we pray thee and *take a proper view of the situation*; and give us the victory over our enemies,’ But it was weakness to imagine that victory could ever come in even the slightest degree from anything except our own exertions.<sup>68</sup>

Colonel William C. Oates, who directed the 15<sup>th</sup> Alabama Infantry against the 20<sup>th</sup> Maine Infantry on Little Round Top, July 2, 1863, expressed similar thoughts after the war. Although he believed in “God as the Creator of all things” he did not believe that God interposed in the war.<sup>69</sup> Much like Alexander, he did not believe that personal piety, humility, or purity had any effect on the outcome of battles. Candidly he wrote,

When we went to war it was a matter of business, of difference among men about their temporal [earthly] affairs. God had nothing to do with it. He never diverted a bullet from one man, or caused it to hit another, nor directed who should fall or who should escape, nor how the battle should terminate. If I believed in such interposition of Providence I would be a fatalist.<sup>70</sup>

Although there were others in the army who would have agreed with Alexander and Oates, they were in the minority. The reason for this must be partly attributed to Lee’s desire to see his army realign with his perception of God’s purpose. That was his wish after the defeat at Gettysburg and he was able to carry it out because of the authority and respect he held with his men. To this effect, Bishop Brown remarked,

Had a request for purity and humility been issued by a Napoleon or Wellington that would have seemed absurd, but such requests were so characteristic of Lee’s fatherly concern for his young unprofessional troops that they aroused neither resentment nor ridicule. In fact, his men knew he applied such calls to himself and felt even closer to him because of them.<sup>71</sup>

Because Lee endorsed a quest “for purity and humility,” and because he voiced his belief that unrepented sin contributed to Confederate defeats in the summer of 1863, then those like Alexander and Oates had to fall-in-line or at least keep a low profile. Lee’s wishes prevailed and set the tone for revival.

In summary, the environment for revival in late 1863 was created by Lee’s call for repentance, by many close brushes with death experienced by soldiers in the many bloody battles, by the growing resentment felt in the army towards parvenues [profiteers] and skulkers, by the effects of a society deeply rooted in Christianity, by frightful increases in casualties, by the bleakness of the Confederate cause after Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and by ever-increasing hardships, all of which

compelled the army to “search their souls.” More and more of Lee’s soldiers began to believe that, “If the South were to receive the blessing of Providence, certainly the chief defenders of the state must be religious.”<sup>72</sup> Perhaps Bell I. Wiley summarized it best when he explained that, “a series of setbacks that began with Gettysburg and Vicksburg was seen as a rebuke from the almighty to sin and to overweening reliance on the strength of man...it is significant that evangelism reached its peak immediately after Gettysburg and Vicksburg.”<sup>73</sup>

Once the army settled along the Rapidan River in the area of Orange Court House just north of the town of Gordonsville and southeast of Culpeper, Virginia, revivals reignited. Unlike the revivals that had halted with the coming of the campaign season during the previous April, these new revivals were on a much larger scale. According to John H. Worsham, “The converts were so numerous that they were numbered not by tens and hundreds but by thousands.”<sup>74</sup> Reverend Bennett recalled that, “soldiers were converted by the thousands every week.”<sup>75</sup> A. E. Dickinson attested to the intensity of revival during the same period:

For nearly a week I have been aiding Reverend J. J. D. Renfroe, chaplain of the 10<sup>th</sup> Alabama, in a protracted meeting. I found Brother Renfroe nearly broken down, having for three weeks been preaching daily. Our congregations have been very large; for some distance the entire grove being crowded...it is impossible to say how many have asked to be prayed for. On several nights not less than 150 to 200 made this request for us. Many have professed conversion -- not less than 175.<sup>76</sup>

In Wilcox’s Alabama brigade, “at one service 610 came forward for prayer and over 200 professed conversion.”<sup>77</sup> Reverend G. R. Talley confirmed, “congregations large -- interest almost universal. In our chaplain’s meeting it was thought, with imperfect statistics, that about 500 were converted every week.”<sup>78</sup>

Individual soldiers in Lee’s army testified also that revival resumed at a frantic pace. Private Eli Pinson Landers of the 9<sup>th</sup> Georgia Infantry, wrote his mother in August 1863 claiming that,

We have Divine Services in the regiment every night and I am glad to see the soldiers take such great interest in it as they do. We all should appreciate and improve the time and opportunities for no time is promised to us, only the present...What a great blessing we will have at preaching tonight in our street. We have a Presbyterian for our chaplain.<sup>79</sup>

J. F. J. Caldwell of the 1<sup>st</sup> South Carolina Infantry observed the changes in camp with amazement commenting,

Nothing marked the camp near Orange Court House more than the religious spirit that arose among us. Hitherto there had been nothing like a general interest

manifested in religion. Service had been held regularly in the different regiments by their chaplains, and to quite good and quite attentive audiences; but there had been no expression of feeling by the men, and certainly very few professions were made. Now, however, almost everyone seemed to become concerned. The most ordinary preachers drew large congregations; scarcely a day passed without a sermon; there was not a night, but the sound of prayer and hymn singing was heard. Often, two or three sermons were preached at once in the brigade, and if there was none among us, we went to the other brigades to hear. The ministry throughout the Confederacy seems to have felt the necessity of greater exertion than ever before, and accordingly sent us evangelists in larger numbers than I ever saw before or afterwards.<sup>80</sup>

Austin C. Dobbins of Company B, 16<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Infantry recorded, in his diary for September 1 - 3, 1863, this same spiritual phenomena when he observed,

A. E. Garrison (48<sup>th</sup> Mississippi), T. L. Duke or H. M. Morrison (19<sup>th</sup>), and C. H. Dobbs (12<sup>th</sup>) preach almost daily. In Wilcox's and Wright's Brigades Services are held 4-5 times a week with prayer meetings at night. (We have no chaplain. Our chaplain, Isaac Reeves, resigned some time ago.) Large numbers of men (including me) are attending Services. In our brigade 40-50 men present themselves every night.<sup>81</sup>

Nicholas W. Miller of Company H, 31<sup>st</sup> Georgia, described the same occurrences as others but with more perspective. In his newspaper article dated October 6, 1863, he duly observed;

Since the army returned from Pennsylvania a series of religious meetings have been in progress until we moved from our late camp, there has been quite a spirit of revival among the troops. We hope soon to see the day when our young nation, now struggling for a foothold among the nations of the earth... [will be] greet[ed] [by] the return of peace and prosperity once more to our land.<sup>82</sup>

George Wise of the 17<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry concurred that, "a great revival of religion, throughout General Lee's Army, took place during its encampment on the Rapidan, which added many, from every regiment, to the Army of the Cross."<sup>83</sup>

Revival in the late summer, autumn, and winter of 1863 was not restricted to those of Protestant persuasion. Such activity included Catholic laymen and their priests. According to editor Joseph Durkin, Reverend James B. Sheeran, a Catholic Confederate chaplain with the 14<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Infantry,

... was having large crowds at his Masses; he was often hearing confessions until late at night; the numbers who received Holy Communion were consistently large. On one Sunday in September [1863], he had at his Mass 'a very large congregation, so much so that I feared the galleries might break down.'<sup>84</sup>

The galleries which Sheeran feared he would break were those of the Orange Court House Methodist Church which was gladly offered to him for use by the Protestants. The Protestants were so accommodating with use of their church that,

The Protestant ladies, he [Sheeran] reports, again spent the previous afternoon in decorating the altar, specially built for the occasion by an army officer. Many Protestants were present at the Mass, as they were also at many of his services elsewhere. It was not unusual for a Protestant officer to give up his tent to be used as a confessional. On one occasion a Jewish ordnance sergeant insisted on doing the same.<sup>85</sup>

As a result of the feverish spiritual activity, change became evident in Lee's Army. The change was rather sudden and easy to detect in soldier behavior. For instance Nicholas W. Miller of Company H, 31<sup>st</sup> Georgia, noticed that, "the moral condition of this army had greatly improved of late."<sup>86</sup> A fellow soldier, J.F.J. Caldwell of the 1<sup>st</sup> South Carolina Infantry asserted that, "not a few counted themselves with the church, and many more evinced, from that time, a seriousness in beautiful contrast with former immorality. The tone of the whole command was all that could be desired."<sup>87</sup> A private in George "Tige" Anderson's Georgia brigade articulated the effects of revival this way; "It [revival] has drawn out and developed all the religious element among us [creating] a very pleasant social feeling among the regiments, and has blended them into one congregation."<sup>88</sup> Historian Wiley Sword noted that, "turning to religion had a noticeable practical effect...Religious conviction...created an inner harmony among the ranks that served to bind the soldiers in spirit and faith."<sup>89</sup>

Not only had morality improved, but the revivals which enveloped Lee's Army after the Gettysburg Campaign created an aura of divine protection which ran through the army until the surrender at Appomattox in April 1865. Along these lines, George Cary Eggleston who authored Rebel Recollections summarized that,

...A sort of religious ecstasy took possession of the army in the last year of the war. The behavior of some soldiers exceeded all reasonable human levels of bravery, as each man, convinced that 'he was assisting at his own funeral,' marched confidently forward to die for his country. Soldiers ceased to rely on their military leaders. They instead looked 'for a miraculous interposition of supernatural power' on their behalf.<sup>90</sup>

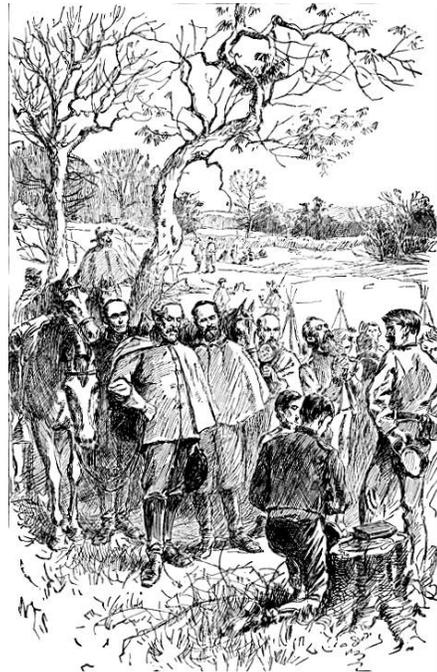
James McPherson, in his excellent study of Civil War soldiers, carefully examined a cross sample of the writings of sixty Union and Confederate combatants. Like Eggleston, he found a strong connection between deep Christian faith and fearless deeds on the field of battle. Moreover, his research indicates that a deep sense of faith remained with Lee's Army long after

the revivals of 1863.<sup>91</sup> Overall, his study generally bears out the concept that, "...he who fights for an ideal fights harder and dares more than any other man because he has put all considerations of mere Self behind him."<sup>92</sup>

With active campaigning starting anew in May 1864, revivalism subsided and although it never disappeared, religious activity curtailed significantly. Union General Ulysses S. Grant's Overland Campaign of 1864, followed by his siege of Petersburg and Richmond, brought constant pressure and harassment to the Confederate soldier in the ranks. Confederate defenders in the trenches, stationed around their capital, were thinly extended and at a poor disposition to join in large revival meetings. Smaller groups met and the chaplains continued to be attentive to their regiments, but it became impossible to duplicate the earlier revivals along the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers. Yet the effects of the former revivals lingered with the men giving them strength to endure hardships and to face challenges into the latter months of the war, even to Appomattox.

Although revival brought about a degree of unity in Lee's army, it should be reemphasized that there were lulls in religious fervor caused by periods of active campaigning. As we have seen, the nature and magnitude of revival -- as it came to be defined along the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers -- required the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia to be still, concentrated, and introspective. Again, the greatest periods of contemplation and meditation in Lee's Army coincided with the stillness of the winter and fall. Chaplains attempted to overcome the set-backs of active campaigning by, "assembling their flocks very early in the morning for a brief session of prayer and scripture reading prior to the beginning of a march...[or they endeavored] to invoke a benediction on troops before battle..." but there were too many disruptions and distractions to expect more.<sup>93</sup> Brief respites in campaigning permitted temporary gatherings but these meetings were sporadic and ever-so short.

During the Mine Run Campaign of late November through early December 1863, for instance, some of the men of the 16<sup>th</sup> Mississippi attempted to hold a prayer meeting in the trenches along Plank Road. During this activity, Austin Dobbins recalled that, "General Lee and General Hill, who were riding the line, came across our men, dismounted, uncovered their heads and joined in the worship. For a moment, perhaps, they were able to forget the war."<sup>94</sup> All throughout the siege of Richmond



Jones, *Christ in the Camp*.

and Petersburg, beginning in June 1864, prayer meetings such as these occurred at many points along the thirty-five miles of Confederate entrenchments. However, the prolongation of the battleline separated the men and prevented gatherings that had once produced large congregations. Under such conditions southern clergy could only hope to keep the spiritual fires kindled until the army reestablished winter quarters in perhaps a less restrictive setting.

The same cannot be said of the religious lull at the beginning of the war, because there existed no spiritual fire to rekindle, except that which the soldier experienced before he enlisted. It is true that many soldiers had been previously primed for interest in spiritual matters prior to the war, in their homes, churches, and families. To this point Wiley stated, “most wearers of the gray came from communities where the church was fervid, aggressive, and influential, and where revivals were common.”<sup>95</sup>

Moreover, Reverend Bennett observed that, “The gospel preached in camp was not a new sound to them, nor were the words of prayer a strange language. It was home-like to meet for the worship of God.”<sup>96</sup>

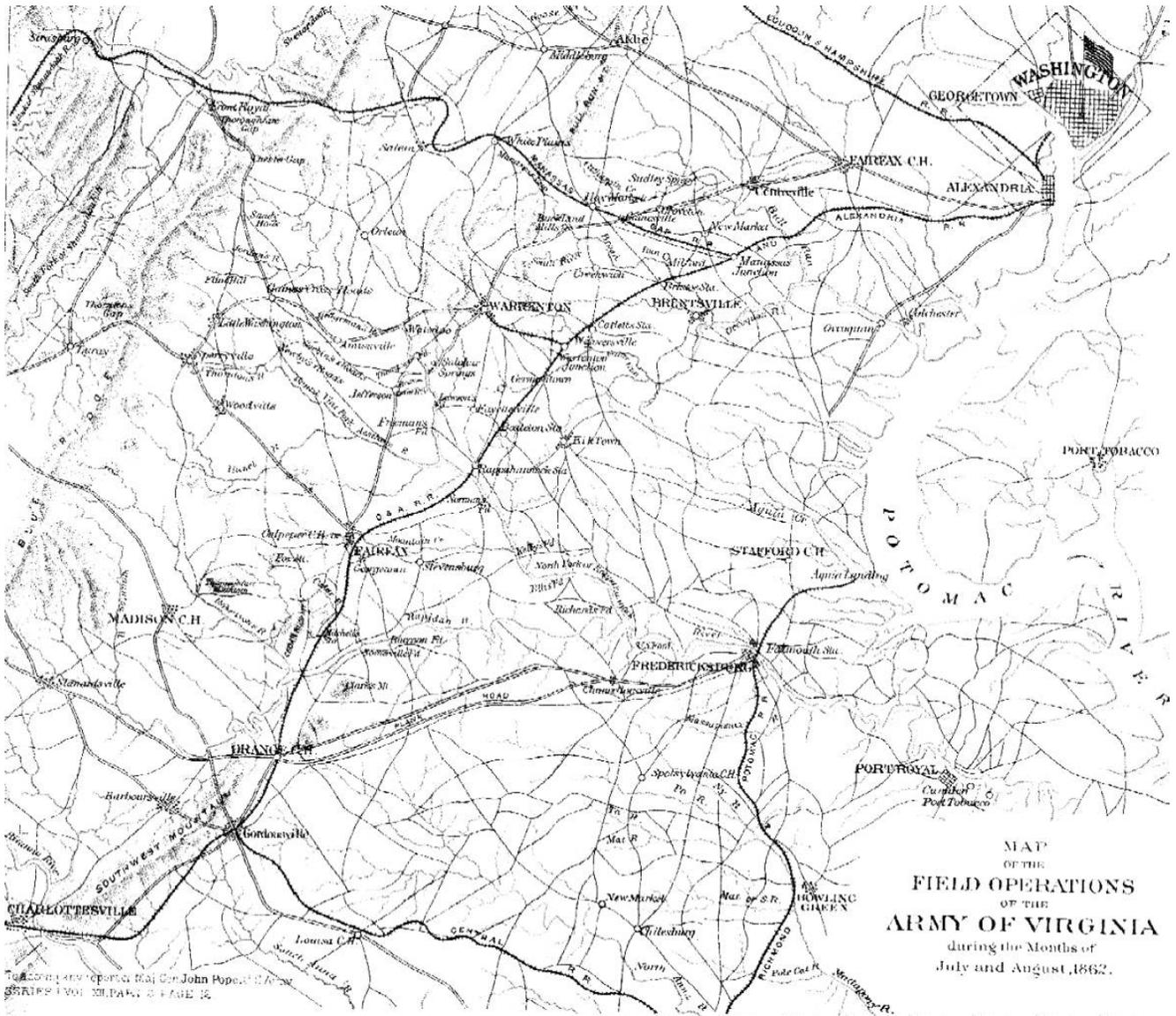
However, for as many soldiers who had practiced Christianity as civilians, there were also scores who had never been churchgoers. Perhaps some of these men had been taught Christian doctrine by their mothers and wives, but that would have been their single tie to the faith. For the revivals along the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers to have occurred, this second (non-church going) group of men had to be fully persuaded. As the war intensified, the chaplaincy purged itself of its lesser-dedicated men, while the men in the ranks became more inclined toward searching their inner-self. Especially after Confederate defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in the summer of 1863, circumstances became even more suited for the revivals, which produced



*Lieutenant George W. Finley, 56<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry. Finley was captured on July 3, 1863 at Gettysburg and imprisoned until May 14, 1865. During his imprisonment he decided to become a minister if he survived. He made good on his pledge and eventually became a Presbyterian pastor and United Confederate Veterans chaplain. Photo courtesy of John Churchman.*

volumes of new converts. Shattuck's research suggests, "approximately 7,000 men [or about ten percent of Lee's soldiers] were converted in that period [August 1863 until April 1864], and at least 32 out of the 38 infantry brigades were touched by the revivals."<sup>97</sup>

For the numerous Confederates who participated in revival, their lives changed as they became more sincere about service to country and about personal integrity. Because the issue of where each converted soldier would spend his eternity was settled, each of them perhaps was more apt to risk the dangers of the battlefield. Additionally, it is reasonable to believe that an ample number of them returned home in 1865 to become devout churchgoers and spiritual leaders.<sup>98</sup> Whatever their legacy, these survivors must have reflected back on the two immense revivals in the Army of Northern Virginia, with both amazement and fondness. Most likely, when they pondered the hardships of the war, they shared thoughts of Reverend Wallace when he wrote, "and among the sad memories... the recollection of the great and blessed work of grace that swept through all military grades, from the General to the drummer boy is 'the silver lining' to the dark and heavy cloud of war that shook its terrors on our land."<sup>99</sup>



Map showing the region occupied by the Army of Northern Virginia during the great retreats. The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Reverend J. William Jones, D.D., *Christ In The Camp: Religion in the Confederate Army* (Richmond, Virginia: B.F. Johnson & Company, 1888. Reprinted in Harrisonburg, Virginia: Sprinkle Publications, 1986), pp. 5-6.
- <sup>2</sup> Herman Norton, "Revivalism in the Confederate Armies," *Civil War History*, No. 6 (December 1960), p. 412. [Norton took this from "Battlefields in the South" (London, 1863), pp. 194-195].
- <sup>3</sup> Jones, p. 412.
- <sup>4</sup> Sidney J. Romero, "The Confederate Chaplain," *Civil War History*, No. 1 (June 1955), pp. 128 – 129; Wages lowered from \$85.00 per month to \$50.00 in late May 1861 and pay did not increase again, after much protest, until April 19, 1862. According to the U.S. War Department, *The War Of The Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 4, vol. 1, p. 1076, the Confederate Congress set the new salary at a 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant's pay of \$80.00 per month, which came to \$960.00 annually. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant's yearly compensation was comparable to the standard, nationwide pay for clergy, which was \$1,000 annually. (Hereinafter abbreviated as *OR*. All references to Series I unless otherwise noted.)
- <sup>5</sup> Romero, p. 130.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 131.
- <sup>7</sup> W. Harrison Daniel, "Southern Baptist in the Confederacy," *Civil War History*, No. 6 (December 1960), p. 398.
- <sup>8</sup> Austin C. Dobbins, "Journal Entry Of Thursday – Saturday, January 28-30, 1864 In A Camp Near Liberty Mills," *Grandfather's Journal: Company B, 16<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Infantry Volunteers, Harris Brigade, Mahone's Division, Hill's Corps, A.N.V. – May 27, 1861 – July 15, 1865* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside House, Inc., 1988), pp. 178-179.
- <sup>9</sup> Daniel, p. 399. In 1863, the Baptist expended \$60,027 for the publication and distribution of tracts, which totaled 24,000,000 pages. Daniel gathered this information from the "Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Richmond, June 1864."
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>11</sup> Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943 revised 1970, 1971, 1978), p. 184.
- <sup>12</sup> Jones, p. 287. Reverend Scott was conducting services for Brigadier General Pendleton's Reserve Artillery at Camp Ninevah, 12 miles from Winchester.
- <sup>13</sup> William Wallace Bennett (1821 – 1887), *A Narrative of the Great Revival which Prevailed in the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Rensen, & Haffelfinger, 1877 - Reproduction on Microfiche, Chicago: Library Resources, Inc., 1970.), p. 204.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 321.
- <sup>16</sup> Jones, p. 297.
- <sup>17</sup> Norton, p. 413.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 414.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p. 413.
- <sup>20</sup> Bennett, p. 208.
- <sup>21</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr. and Bell Irvin Wiley, eds., *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry*, (Reprint; Wilmington, North Carolina: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1987), p. 114. Worsham's description of this outdoor forum is more exactly a sketch of the revivals, which occurred in the fall of 1863, rather than the Spring. However, settings such as the one he depicted were common throughout the year of 1863.
- <sup>22</sup> Bennett, p. 205.
- <sup>23</sup> Jones, p. 287.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p. 296.
- <sup>25</sup> Bennett, p. 258.
- <sup>26</sup> Norton, p. 415.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. 419.
- <sup>28</sup> Warren B. Armstrong, *For Courageous Fighting and Confident Dying: Union Chaplains In The Civil War* (Lawrence: University Press Of Kansas, 1998), p. 121.

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- <sup>29</sup> Norton, p. 421.
- <sup>30</sup> Jones, pp. 297 - 298.
- <sup>31</sup> Romero, pp. 138 - 139.
- <sup>32</sup> Jones, p. 301.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid, p. 295.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid, p. 307.
- <sup>35</sup> John D. Vautier, *History Of the 88<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Volunteers In The War For The Union, 1861 – 1865* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1894), p. 100.
- <sup>36</sup> Wiley Sword, *Southern Invincibility: A History of the Confederate Heart* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin Press, 1999), pp. 171-172.
- <sup>37</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel James Risque Hutter, (11<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry), "Postwar Address At Sandusky Farm, circa 1900," *Supplement To The Official Records Of The Union And Confederate Armies*, Part 1 – Reports, Vol. 5 (Wilmington, North Carolina: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1995), p. 327.
- <sup>38</sup> Armstrong, p. 122.
- <sup>39</sup> Sword, p. 294.
- <sup>40</sup> Bishop Robert R. Brown, "*And One Was A Soldier:*" *The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Robert E. Lee* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: White Mane Books, 1998), p. 47; See Also, Richard Harwell, *Civil War Reader* (New York, New York: Mallard Press, 1957, 1991), pp. 223 – 224. Lee's General Order #83 announced also that Jefferson Davis had declared August 21, 1863 a day of "fasting and prayer."
- <sup>41</sup> Gregory C. White, "*This Most Bloody & Cruel Drama:*" *A History of The 31<sup>st</sup> Georgia Volunteer Infantry* (Baltimore, Maryland: Butternut and Blue, 1997), p. 104.
- <sup>42</sup> Henry Lee Curry III, Ph.D, *God's Rebels: Confederate Clergy In The Civil War* (Lafayette, Louisiana: Huntington House, Inc. 1990), p. 20.
- <sup>43</sup> Charles W. Turner ed., *Letters From The Stonewall Brigade, (1861 – 1864)* (Berryville, Virginia: Rockbridge Publishing Company, 1992), p. 96.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid, p. 96.
- <sup>45</sup> Reverend Joseph T. Durkin, ed., *Confederate Chaplain: A War Journal* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1960), p. 53.
- <sup>46</sup> Gardner H. Shattuck, Jr., *A Shield And A Hiding Place: The Religious Life Of The Civil War Armies* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1988), p. 100.
- <sup>47</sup> Brown, p. 47.
- <sup>48</sup> Kathryn Teresa Long, *The Revival of 1857-58: Interpreting an American Religious Awakening* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 16.
- <sup>49</sup> Curry, p. 20.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>51</sup> Peter S. Carmichael, *Lee's Young Artillerist: William R.J. Pegram* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), p. 112.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid, pp. 111, 112.
- <sup>53</sup> White, p. 104.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>56</sup> Armstrong, p. 120.
- <sup>57</sup> Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Volume 1, 1867. Volume 2, 1885. Volume 3, 1894.
- <sup>58</sup> James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought In The Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 67.
- <sup>59</sup> Shattuck Jr., p. 99.
- <sup>60</sup> Barclay, "Barclay Letters -- July 14, 1863," pp. 93, 94.
- <sup>61</sup> Judge John C. West, (Private in Company E, 4<sup>th</sup> Texas Infantry), "Letter Of October 9, 1863 To His Wife," *A Texan In Search Of A Fight: Being The Diary And Letters Of A Private In Hood's Brigade, On A Trip From Waco To Gettysburg, And Chickamauga, In 1863* (Waco, Texas: Press of J.S. Hill & Company, 1901 - Reprinted as the Second Volume of The Army of Northern Virginia Series, at Baltimore, Maryland: Butternut And Blue, 1994), p. 121.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid, pp. 119, 120.

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- <sup>64</sup> D. August Dickert, *History Of Kershaw's Brigade, With A Complete Roll Of Companies, Biographical Sketches, Incidents, Antedotes, Etc* (Dayton, Ohio: Press Of Morningside Bookshop, 1976), p. 323.
- <sup>65</sup> Armstrong, p. 120.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>67</sup> *The History of the Fighting Fourteenth* (14<sup>th</sup> Brooklyn Infantry), (Privately Published, No City Given, 1911), p. 4.
- <sup>68</sup> General Edward Porter Alexander, *Fighting For The Confederacy: Personal Recollections* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 58 - 59.
- <sup>69</sup> William C. Oates, *The War Between The Union And The Confederacy* (Reprint; Dayton, Ohio: Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1974), p. 247.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>71</sup> Brown, p. 49.
- <sup>72</sup> Curry, pp. 22, 23.
- <sup>73</sup> Wiley, pp. 183-84.
- <sup>74</sup> Worsham, p. 114.
- <sup>75</sup> Bennett, p. 324.
- <sup>76</sup> Jones, p. 327.
- <sup>77</sup> Jones, p. 329.
- <sup>78</sup> Jones, p. 337.
- <sup>79</sup> Elizabeth Whitley Roberson, ed., *Weep Not For Me Dear Mother* (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Company, 1996), p. 113.
- <sup>80</sup> J.F.J. Caldwell, *The History Of A Brigade of South Carolinians: Known First As "Gregg's" And Subsequently As "McGowan's Brigade"* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, Printers, 607 Sanson Street, 1866 - Reprinted at Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Company, 1951), pp. 112, 113.
- <sup>81</sup> Austin C. Dobbins, *Grandfather's Journal: Company B, 16<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Infantry, Harris Brigade, Mahone's Division, Hill's Corps, A.N.V. - May 27, 1861-July 15, 1865* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside House, Inc., 1988), p. 159.
- <sup>82</sup> White, *This Most Bloody And Cruel Drama*, p. 104.
- <sup>83</sup> George Wise, *History Of The Seventeenth Virginia Infantry, C.S.A* (Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Company, 1870), p. 164.
- <sup>84</sup> Sheeran, p. 57.
- <sup>85</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>86</sup> Miller, p. 104.
- <sup>87</sup> Caldwell, p. 113.
- <sup>88</sup> Jones, p. 338.
- <sup>89</sup> Sword, p. 294.
- <sup>90</sup> Shattuck Jr., p. 100.
- <sup>91</sup> McPherson, pp. 62-76. See Chapter Five especially, entitled "Religion Is What Makes Brave Soldiers."
- <sup>92</sup> *The History of the Fighting Fourteenth*, p. 4.
- <sup>93</sup> Wiley, p. 184.
- <sup>94</sup> Dobbins, p. 170.
- <sup>95</sup> Wiley, p. 183.
- <sup>96</sup> Bennett, p. 20.
- <sup>97</sup> Shattuck Jr., p. 99.
- <sup>98</sup> Norton, p. 424. "In 1866 a report from the Baptist colleges and seminaries indicated that nearly sixty former [Confederate] soldiers were pursuing theological courses." Norton states that, "the great majority of those who underwent religious experiences...became active and faithful church members." Also, Norton records that the revivals brought in Confederate, "Generals Bragg, Ewell, Hood, and Joseph E. Johnston [who] all entered the church at this time."
- <sup>99</sup> Bennett, p. 16.