

PASTORAL EVANGELISM: A MODEL FOR EFFECTIVE EVANGELISM AS
DEMONSTRATED BY THE MINISTRIES OF JOHN ALBERT BROADUS,
ALFRED ELIJAH DICKINSON, AND JOHN WILLIAM JONES
IN THE REVIVAL OF THE ARMY OF
NORTHERN VIRGINIA IN 1863

A Dissertation

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PREFACE

This dissertation resulted from of a series of academic and personal encounters. As a young boy I visited the battlefield at Gettysburg. My family viewed history as exciting and relevant. The magnitude of the struggle of the Civil War imprinted itself on my mind. In college I encountered Francis Lord, a noted Civil War scholar. I took his class on the Civil War which expanded my understanding of the event. Later, a semester working with his Civil War collection revealed that the Civil War was a war of transitions. Men threw hand grenades, developed trench warfare, and saw the first use of modern weaponry including the Gatling gun and reconnaissance balloons, while generals planned battles of mass formations. As a college history teacher I found the Civil War to be a period which spawned many of the major issues of the twentieth century United States. The nineteenth century was also the time of great revival movements and the beginnings of modern revivalism.

Two Ph.D. seminars focused my interest. A seminar on spiritual awakenings by Alvin Reid prompted my research on the societal issues of the revival in the Army of Northern Virginia. The following semester I presented a paper on John A. Broadus for Wayne McDill's seminar on nineteenth century preaching. The scarcity of research on Broadus's life caught me by surprise.

Over the years I have come to value the role of the pastor in evangelism. The importance of the pastoral relationship in effective evangelism in the local church has not received adequate study. Studying the Confederate revival I perceived a pattern. Revival was not a random occurrence. Revival and spiritual awakening tended to occur in units which were served by men following a pastoral model. Occasionally, the pastors were clergy serving in the ranks as soldiers, much like a bivocational minister may work in a community today. More often, the pastoral evangelism was performed by chaplains, missionaries, or colporters. The three men, John Albert Broadus, Alfred Elijah Dickinson, and John William Jones, epitomized the pastoral ministry which promoted the Confederate revival. The purpose of this study is to analyze the Army of Northern Virginia's revival, the methodologies of Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones, and present applicable principles for contemporary pastors seeking revival in their local churches.

The style and form of the dissertation conform to the sixth edition of Kate L. Turabian's A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertation. On items which Turabian does not clarify the University of Chicago's A Manual of Style is followed. A Macintosh Performa 6115CD with Claris 5.0 was used for publication.

I wish to thank my mentoring professor, Alvin Reid. His interest in the historical study of revivals and evangelism led me to Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. Southeastern professors Wayne McDill and Daniel Forshee have also been helpful and encouraging in my doctoral program and dissertation development. Two other professors must be

acknowledged. Keith Harper's expertise in nineteenth century American history has been of incalculable assistance. Francis Lord, though retired from the University of South Carolina, also has continued to be a source of information and counsel.

I have been aided by numerous archivists: Gregory Wills and the staff of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Library; University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Southern Historical Collection staff; and Olga Tsapina of Huntington Library provided much needed expertise and assistance. I give special thanks to archivist Bill Summers, for the assistance rendered during my research trip to Nashville. A grant from the Southern Baptist Historical Commission Library and Archives made the research trip to their facility possible.

Most of all I want to thank my wife, Kathy, and my sons, Ashley, Adam, and Andrew. Kathy has been my faithful wife and friend for twenty-six years. All were willing to relocate from Alaska to North Carolina, leaving home and friends, because they wanted to be obedient to God's leading. They sacrificed much more than I can ever repay, especially Adam and Andrew. This is their "book."

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ABBREVIATIONS

NCSA	North Carolina State Archives, Civil War Section, Military Collection, Raleigh, NC
SBHLA	Southern Baptist Historical Commission Library and Archives, Nashville, TN
SBTS	Special Collections, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KY
SHC	Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
VMI	Virginia Military Institute Archives, Lexington, VA

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to present the effectiveness of a pastoral evangelism methodology. John Albert Broadus, Alfred Elijah Dickinson, and John William Jones exemplified this methodology while ministering in the camps of the Army of Northern Virginia. The apex of the Army of Northern Virginia revival occurred in the summer and fall of 1863. Therefore, that timeframe is the period examined.

The primary sources used in this research consist of Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's correspondence, writings, and records. Religious papers, denominational minutes, church records, official military records, and soldiers' memoirs also provide valuable insights on the Confederate revival and the subjects' ministries.

Chapter one explains the research parameters and introduces the historical epoch of Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's army camp ministry. The revival occurred at the end of a transitional period in American revivalism. The chapter surveys sociological, theological, and denominational events in the period 1840-1861 which influenced the men's formation in ministry. This covers the period of the childhood of Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones to the outbreak of hostilities.

Chapter two surveys the revival in the Army of Northern Virginia. The chapter discusses the factors present in the army camps that aided and inhibited the revival. These factors were present throughout the war to varying degrees. However, after the battle of Gettysburg and the Army of Northern Virginia's repositioning along the Rapidan River the

the revival intensified with the coordinated efforts of revival supporters. Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones played key roles in denominational and interdenominational efforts beyond their direct evangelistic activities to the Confederate soldiers. This overview presents the revival as a whole allowing the reader to understand the men's role in the revival. Also of importance is the "church in exile." Christian soldiers facing a long separation from their home churches developed a covenant relationship with fellow soldiers. This "church in exile" aided the spiritual consistency of the soldiers and provided a foundation for the evangelistic efforts of the soldiers. This "church in exile" provided a familiar setting to the clergy accustomed to pastoral ministry and evangelism.

Chapter three presents the biographical briefs of Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones. The biographies highlight events that helped form the men's philosophy of pastoral ministry and evangelism. The lives of Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones intertwined throughout their ministries. All three men attended the University of Virginia. Broadus and Dickinson both pastored Charlottesville Baptist Church. Jones was a member during their pastoral tenures. Jones followed Broadus to the new Southern Baptist Theological Seminary where Jones matriculated with the first class. Dickinson directed the Virginia Baptist colporter effort for the duration of the war supervising almost a hundred workers and scores of visiting ministers. Jones began the war as a private. He then served as regimental and finally corps chaplain until Appomattox.

Broadus's role as mentor to the two younger men and their subsequent mentoring ministries will be of special

interest. Their pastoral ministry philosophies evident in their camp ministries were not anomalies. Their actions in the camps followed the patterns set before the war. Following the war the men continued using the methodologies.

Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's activities during the year 1863 is the subject of chapter four. Dickinson and Jones began 1863 expecting the revival to intensify. Due to their philosophies of ministry the procurement of men with pastoral experience was of utmost importance for the revival effort. Foremost on their list of pastors was John A. Broadus. They led an extensive campaign to recruit him for the summer of 1863 and tried to engage him for long term service in the camps. All three men were involved in the camp ministry during the period of July through September 1863. In the camp setting the men followed their pastoral evangelism methodologies which is evident in published reports.

Chapter five will present the conclusions reached from Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's ministries concerning their evangelistic ministries. Attention will be given to the role of the "church in exile." Applications will be offered for contemporary pastoral evangelism.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Dissertation Title

The title of this dissertation is "Pastoral Evangelism: A Model for Effective Evangelism as Demonstrated by the Ministries of John Albert Broadus, Alfred Elijah Dickerson, and John William Jones in the Revival of the Army of Northern Virginia in 1863." The dissertation will suggest the three men remained evangelistically effective with a consistent philosophy of ministry in spite of unusual circumstances by using their pastoral ministry skills in evangelism.

Jesus trained his disciples to evangelize the world. He also established the pattern for pastoral ministry. One scholar noted, "Jesus, the perfect model of the godly pastor, blends care for the faithful with the pursuit of the lost."¹ This blending of evangelism and pastoral ministry results in church growth. Jesus is the "Chief Shepherd" who calls his under-shepherds to serve the flock (I Peter 5:4). He is the shepherd that knows and calls his sheep to salvation (John 10). Jesus also is the shepherd that taught his followers to leave the ninety-nine sheep in search of the lost one (Matthew 10:10-14).

¹Roger Greenway, ed., The Pastor-Evangelist: Preacher, Model, and Mobilizer for Church Growth (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1987), 4.

Over the centuries Protestant pastors understood their evangelistic duties. In the seventeenth century Richard Baxter stated, "The ministerial work must be carried on purely for God and the salvation of souls."² Two hundred years later, John A. Broadus, in his homiletics text which was widely used for over half a century, recognized the power of preaching combined with pastoral ministry. He believed that the relationships that develop between a minister and his community gave power to his sermons. Visitation of the unconverted and sick, catechism of young believers, and counseling of troubled individuals builds a receptivity within the congregation and community. When the pastor who has spoken for God from the pulpit visits "[the visit has] a meaning and a power of which otherwise it must be destitute."³

Alvin Reid stresses the importance of pastoral influence and leadership in building an evangelistic congregation. Reid gives an example of a young pastor conducting weekly visitation. He writes, "The central issue of getting people involved in witnessing is leadership. . . . Soul-winning pastors beget soul-winning churches."⁴

Unfortunately, according to Roger Greenway, "Many churches are ineffective in evangelism, pastors are uncertain

²Richard Baxter, The Reformed Pastor (London: Robert White, 1656; reprint, New York: American Tract Society, 1829), 171 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

³John A. Broadus, A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons, (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1905), 2-3.

⁴Alvin Reid, Introduction to Evangelism (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1998), 222.

of their roles, seminarians worry that they lack evangelistic skill, and churches are sometimes obstacles to, rather than instruments of evangelism."⁵ Greenway contends that an increase in parachurch organizations results as people look for leadership in evangelism.⁶ William Brown, editor of the 1829 reprint of Richard Baxter's book charged, "[Most preachers whom we have known] were essentially defective in the grand and primary object of the Christian ministry--
LABORING FOR THE CONVERSION OF SOULS."⁷

Since the beginning of the Second Great Awakening mass evangelism has become the domain of itinerant evangelists.⁸ Earle Cairns claims, "Until the time of Finney, revival was looked upon as the work of a sovereign God and was led by pastors, some of whom were itinerants."⁹ He added, "Beginning with Finney . . . revival, especially after 1865, was usually professional in that the revivalist devoted all of his time to organized mass meetings in large urban areas."¹⁰ This

⁵Greenway, V.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Baxter, editor's note, 146.

⁸Reid, 265-266. For the purpose of this dissertation the term "mass evangelism" is used as defined by Alvin Reid. He writes, "By mass evangelism I refer specifically to gospel preaching to a group of people, particularly traditional crusades in local churches or areas."

⁹Earle E. Cairns, An Endless Line of Splendor: Revivals and Their Leaders from the Great Awakening to the Present (Wheaton: Tyndale House Publishers, 1986), 26. Itinerant pastors were individuals who served multiple congregations or locales. Itinerant evangelists were individuals who did not present the gospel from a pastoral relationship.

¹⁰Ibid., 234.

dissertation will study an alternative mass evangelism model, mass evangelism grounded in a pastoral relationship.

The combination of the words "pastor" and "evangelism" should not be uncommon. In one of his epistles Paul encouraged Timothy to do the work of an evangelist in order to fulfill his ministry (II Timothy 4:5). Yet, few modern works unite the roles. This writer discovered only eight journal articles and fifteen books linking the pastor and evangelism. The main thrust of the related works address the act of sermon delivery or pastoral visitation.

Robert Coleman cites personal relationships as one of the key elements in Jesus' plan of evangelism.¹¹ Yet, the methodology of contemporary mass evangelism is contrary to nurturing relationships between the evangelist and the audience. A pastoral ministry is rooted in the common activities of ministry in a local church. Preaching, teaching, and visitation all fall into the realm of pastoral ministries.¹² However, many pastors have abrogated their responsibilities of evangelism.

¹¹Robert Coleman, The Master Plan of Evangelism (Grand Rapids: Fleming H. Revell, 1995), 41. Coleman uses "Association" to refer to relationships between Jesus and the people hearing the gospel.

¹²William H. Willimon, and J. M. Pendleton, Baptist Church Manual (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1966), 22-29; Joe H. Cothen, Equipped for Good Work (Pelican Publishing Company, 1981), 15; William H. Willimon, Concise Encyclopedia of Preaching, s.v. "Pastoral Care and Preaching," 362-364; Elmer L. Towns, Evangelism and Church Growth (Ventura: Regal Books, 1995), 316.

An integral part of evangelism is the church. According to John Wesley White of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, "Evangelism is the proclamation of the gospel to unbelievers--the outreach of a renewed church to the world."¹³ Lewis Drummond defines evangelism as:

A concerted effort in the power of the Holy Spirit to confront unbelievers with the truth about Jesus Christ and the claims of our Lord with a view to leading unbelievers into repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and, thus, into the fellowship of the church so they may grow in the Spirit.¹⁴

The relationship between the pastor and his congregation forms the basis of his evangelistic ministry to the community. A pastor's effectiveness depends upon his relationship with his congregation. It is a relationship built on love. Thom Rainer affirms, "[Effective pastors] communicate love, sincere love. . . . Their members know that their pastors love them. And that love is contagious."¹⁵

This dissertation will use the following definition: Pastoral Evangelism is evangelism which is intertwined with the recognized pastoral functions of preaching and teaching the Bible, visiting the sick and unconverted, and ministering to the spiritual, emotional, and physical needs of the church and community. It is evangelism which recognizes the influence and opportunities uniquely available to the

¹³Cairns, 13.

¹⁴Lewis A. Drummond, The Word of the Cross (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992), 9.

¹⁵Thom Rainer, Effective Evangelistic Churches (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1996), 195.

individual performing the duties of a pastor.¹⁶ Pastoral evangelism is evangelism anchored in the knowledge that the ministries of the local church are an integral part of the fulfillment of the Great Commission.

The term "pastor" implies a relationship extant in a local church body. How does a minister pastor a non-Christian who is outside the covenant relationship of the congregation? Does a "pastoral" approach to ministry aid in the evangelism of the unconverted? Can a pastoral evangelism methodology be effective within a large group, mass evangelism, setting? This dissertation will attempt to answer these questions.

Prior to the Civil War theology in the United States demonstrated a Calvinistic orientation. After the Civil War theology tended toward Arminianism.¹⁷ This shift accompanied Finney's promotion of "new measures." Revival could be brought forth by the efforts of a "revivalist." The transition from Jonathan Edwards's theology of revival for the First Great Awakening to Finney's methodological emphasis occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ After the Civil War modern revivalism became part of the societal fabric. This paradigm change blurred the distinction between large group evangelism, "mass evangelism," and "revivalism."

¹⁶Daniel Bryant Forshee, "The Pastoral Evangelism of Charles Grandison Finney With Applications For Contemporary Pastoral Evangelists," diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1995, 1. Forshee defines the "pastor evangelist" as "a pastor who makes that area of evangelism which leads lost people to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ the primary thrust of his ministry. . . . All activities, however, are subjugated to evangelizing lost people."

¹⁷Cairns, 234.

¹⁸Ibid.

Ministry aimed at conversion of large numbers of people became the domain of professional evangelists. Mass evangelism was deemphasized as a pastoral function.

Although beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is worth noting that John A. Broadus, Alfred E. Dickinson, and J. William Jones did not follow the evangelistic shift typified by Finney. All three men remained Calvinistic in theology and pastoral in methodology. The opportunities for mass evangelism presented by the Civil War offered these three men numerous occasions to function in the new revivalist paradigm. However, their methodologies rested upon their philosophies of pastoral ministry.

Their consistency in the midst of cataclysmic events of the Civil War testifies to their philosophy of ministry. The apex of the revival in the Army of Northern Virginia occurred concurrently with Broadus's time of camp ministry, 1863. Dickerson and Jones ministered throughout the conflict.

Defense of the Dissertation's Primary Assumption

One of the major elements of the revival, which occurred in the Army of Northern Virginia, was the role of "the church in exile." Paige Patterson coined the term during an interview with this writer concerning the dissertation topic. According to Patterson the marks of a church in the Free Church tradition are a covenant of discipline entered into by a declaration of conversion and willingness to unite with a local gathering of believers. Records of a local body of believers accepting individuals professing a conversion experience and exercising discipline on the participants

would validate the group as a church. Records of the home communities's churches accepting the individuals' transfer of "membership" from the "church in exile" reflects the "church in exile's" validity.¹⁹

Civil War troops faced an indeterminable absence from their homes and churches. Christians who were accustomed to functioning within the parameters of a local church created similar sociological structures when separated from home. Usually, they did not formally constitute churches, which would necessitate removal of membership from their home churches. However, they did form covenant relationships involving church discipline, baptism, Bible study, and accepting converts for membership.²⁰ This "church in exile" existed while the army was deployed. The polity of the structure is not within contemporary understandings of Baptist practices, yet it clearly met the needs of Christian soldiers interested in maintaining their faith and the conversion of their compatriots.

¹⁹Paige Patterson, interview by author, Wake Forest, NC, 15 April 1998.

²⁰J. William Jones, Christ in the Camps or Religion in the Confederate Army (Richmond: B. F. Johnson and Co., 1887; reprint, Harrisburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1986), 226; W. W. Bennett, A Narrative of The Great Revival in the Southern Army (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger, 1877; reprint, Harrisonburg: Sprinkle Publications, 1989), 252-254, 261. Bennett records the "Constitution and By-Laws of the Christian Association" formed in the Army of Northern Virginia; "Mount Moriah Baptist Church, Minutes 1855-1900, Membership Role, Constitution," Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, TN. See minutes for 22 October 1864 for the acceptance of a soldier for membership based on the letter from his chaplain.

The importance of the "church in exile" can be seen in the ministries of Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones. Broadus was considered a "missionary" and an "evangelist."²¹ However, he was recruited for the camp ministry because of his pastoral relationship with many of the soldiers in the units where he preached.²² There is no record of his baptizing converts while in the camps. There are records of chaplains and missionaries baptizing soldiers where Broadus ministered. These ministers were assigned to the particular units and functioned in a pastoral role. In this sense, Broadus functioned in a supporting capacity that seems to indicate his recognition that he was not the "pastor" of the local "church in exile."²³

Broadus and others did, however, encourage pastors to come to the army camps because of the great need and opportunities for evangelism.²⁴ The fact that many of the members of the civilian churches were serving in the army

²¹Jones, Christ, 265.

²²A. E. Dickinson letter to John A. Broadus, 7 August 1863, Broadus Papers, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. Hereafter noted as SBTS; Archibald T. Robertson, Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901), 202; John A. Broadus, "Among the Soldiers," Religious Herald, 6 August 1863; John A. Broadus to Lottie S. Broadus [wife], 2 September 1863, Broadus Papers, SBTS; A. E. Dickinson, "Elder John A. Broadus, D.D.," Religious Herald, 27 August 1863.

²³J. William Jones, "As Evangelist in Lee's Army," Seminary Magazine, April 1895, 358. Broadus conducted "the preliminary services" when Jones baptized soldiers.

²⁴Hillary E. Hatcher, "Revival in Mahone's Brigade," Religious Herald, 10 September 1863; John A. Broadus, "Come Preach in the Army," Religious Herald, 3 September 1863; A. E. Dickinson, "A Favorable Season," Religious Herald, 30 July 1863.

gave impetus to their pleas for pastors. Also, many unconverted soldiers in the community based units were receptive to the preaching of the pastor from home.²⁵ Broadus believed the civilian pastors had an obligation to minister to their members in the camps. Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones all valued the influence of pastoral relationships.

A. E. Dickinson was a denominational worker and was not assigned to a particular army unit. In that capacity he did not have an official pastoral relationship. However, like Broadus, he had served as pastor to many of the soldiers and was well known from his several pastorates in Virginia. Dickinson used his position as head of the Virginia Baptist colportage efforts to provide pastoral ministries to the soldiers.²⁶ This study will attempt to establish Dickinson's pastoral relationship with the Confederate soldiers.

Dickinson was energetic in establishing Sunday schools in the army. He clearly supported the "church in exile." He had used Sunday schools for evangelistic purposes for over a decade in his pastoral career.²⁷ J. William Jones clearly served as a pastor of a "church in exile." Although he did not employ the term, his work, Christ in the Camp, reports the evangelistic efforts of the "church in exile."

²⁵J. William Jones, "Camp Near Somerville's Ford, Oct. 2nd." Religious Herald, 8 October 1863; W. W. Kay, "An Appeal for Ministerial Aid," Religious Herald, 17 September 1863.

²⁶Colporters were tract distributors, evangelists, Sunday schools organizers, and the Baptist equivalent of Methodist circuit riders.

²⁷A. E. Dickinson to John A. Broadus, 18 November 1853, Broadus Papers, Special Collections, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KY.

All three men staunchly supported Southern Baptist ministries. They were committed to pastoral ministry and evangelism. They desired revival and spiritual awakening for the Confederate troops. This dissertation will attempt to demonstrate their belief that the means of achieving spiritual awakening was through evangelism rooted in pastoral ministry, or "pastoral evangelism."

Several primary sources record John A. Broadus's pastoral activities throughout his life. A. T. Robertson's Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901) consists of edited copies of Broadus's letters interspersed among a biographical sketch. Broadus's ministerial activities for 1857-59 are recorded in his "Day Book." This period covers his last two years as the pastor of Charlottesville Baptist Church. The "Day Book" also covers his preaching activities from 1857 to his death in 1895.

Broadus wrote articles and delivered sermons that stated his views on preaching, ministry, and theological issues. Sermons and Addresses (Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham, 1886), A Treatise of the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons (Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co., 1873), Lectures on the History of Preaching (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1893), A Catechism of Bible Teaching (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1892), and Paramount and Permanent Authority of the Bible (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society) contain pertinent passages concerning Broadus's philosophy of evangelism. Personal correspondence and Broadus's letters to religious papers during his ministry

in the army camps add to an understanding of Broadus's evangelism. Finally several individuals, including Dickinson and Jones, described Broadus's ministry in Southern Baptist Theological Seminary's memorial tribute issue in 1895.

Alfred E. Dickinson, commonly referred to as A. E. Dickinson, and J. William Jones were not as well-known internationally as Broadus. Nevertheless, in Virginia and denominationally they were significant figures. A. E. Dickinson organized the colportage efforts in Virginia prior to and throughout the war. After the war he pastored a series of churches while an owner and editor of the Religious Herald, Virginia's Baptist paper.

Jones became a leader in Confederate veteran activities following the war. He is best known for Christ in the Camp or Religion in the Confederate Army (Richmond: B. F. Johnson and Co., 1887; reprint, Harrisonburg, Virginia: Sprinkle Publications, 1986) and Personal Reminiscences, Anecdotes, and Letters of Gen. Robert E. Lee (New York: Appleton and Company, 1874). He served as secretary of the Southern Historical Society editing its fourteen volume set of Confederate papers.

John A. Broadus, A. E. Dickinson, and J. William Jones ministered together in Charlottesville prior to Broadus's appointment to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary faculty. Dickinson served as Broadus's associate pastor and Jones was a student at the University of Virginia. Jones and Broadus were key figures in the Y.M.C.A. ministry on the university campus. The three men participated in the Confederate revival, one of the great revivals in United States history. They represent the various ministry efforts,

grounded in the pastoral relationship, which promoted the spread of revival in the Army of Northern Virginia.

Dickinson and Jones corresponded with Broadus from the early 1850s until Broadus's death. Broadus's philosophy of ministry, preaching, and evangelism are well documented. Dickinson and Jones respected Broadus and shared his philosophy of ministry. Therefore, this dissertation will reflect a greater role for Broadus in the development of the thesis.

Since the men did not use the term "pastoral evangelism" this dissertation will often rely on Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's ministries activities to demonstrate their commitment to pastoral evangelism. Such examples will present Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones as models worthy of emulation for contemporary pastors desiring revival in the local church and spiritual awakening in America today.

Significance and Relevance of the Research

This dissertation is significant for two reasons; the three men studied, and the subject of pastoral evangelism. Two dissertations have contributed to an understanding of Broadus's ministry. James Roland Barron's "The Contribution of John A. Broadus to Southern Baptists" (Th.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1973) is an overview of Broadus's life. Yet, few pages deal with the Civil War camp ministry. Jerry Paxton Ashby examined Broadus's homiletics in "John Albert Broadus: His Theory and Practice of Preaching" (Th.D. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1968). Four other dissertations include Broadus in

their studies of individuals or theologies: Paul Huber, "A Study of the Rhetorical Theories of John A. Broadus" (Ph.D., diss., University of Michigan, 1956); John Miller Finley, "Edwin Charles Dargan: Baptist Denominationalist in a Changing South," (Ph.D., diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1984); Alan Gordon Bean, "'A Fine Spiritual Imperialism': The Idea of World Christianity in the Thought of William Owen Carver" (Ph.D, diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1994). Neither Dickinson nor Jones have been the subject of dissertations.

This dissertation will increase the scholarly understanding of Broadus's ministry during the Civil War period, in particular his ministry to the Confederate troops. The correlation of his newspaper articles, personal letters, sermons, and "Day Book" entries allow the researcher to develop a record of Broadus's camp ministry. This has not been accomplished by prior researchers.

Charles Reagan Wilson considers J. William Jones to be the "Apostle Paul" of the "Lost Cause" movement.²³ This perception is based on a secular understanding of Jones's intense burden for Confederate veterans. This dissertation will show Jones's pastoral relationship with the Confederate troops which shaped his postwar ministry. It will help clarify Jones's role in the revival. A role which Jones often

²³Charles Reagan Wilson, Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920 (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980), 123. The "Lost Cause" is used by individuals and historians following the Civil War to describe the motif developed after the South's surrender. Though defeated on the battlefield the South could win a cultural victory, if she remained true to the virtues displayed by Confederate notables.

obscures in his writings on the Confederate revival. Indirectly, this dissertation will aid in clarifying some of the motives of ministers connected with the "Lost Cause."

A. E. Dickinson is worthy of research due to his involvement in the Sunday School movement among Southern Baptists and his use of printed media for evangelism. Nathan O. Hatch cited the "explosion of popular print" as an important element in nineteenth century evangelicalism.²⁹ Dickinson's organizational abilities enabled Southern Baptists to evangelize the large numbers of Confederate troops who served in Virginia during the Civil War.

Pastoral evangelism has been a component in three dissertations. R. G. Lee's, Charles G. Finney's, and Thomas Shepard's ministries have each been examined for their pastoral evangelism.³⁰ However, the significance of the three men under consideration, the extreme setting of the military campaign, their partnership in ministry, and the magnitude of the revival presents new elements to consider.

Original Contributions of the Dissertation

Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones were well known Virginians and Southern Baptists. The lack of research on men as prominent in denominational life as they were is surprising.

²⁹Nathan O. Hatch, The Democratization of American Christianity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 143.

³⁰Gregory Stephen Faulks, "The Pastoral Evangelism of Robert Greene Lee," Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997; Richard Albert Hasler, "Thomas Shepard: Pastor-Evangelist (1605-1649) A Study in the New England Puritan Ministry," Ph.D. diss., Hartford Seminary, 1964; Daniel Bryant Forshee, "The Pastoral Evangelism of Charles Grandison Finney."

The ministry relationship formed by the men prior to the Civil War and their model of ministry in the Confederate Army camps provides models of ministry applicable for ministers today.

Contemporary seminarians are often presented conflicting evangelistic models. "Seeker-sensitive," "seeker-driven," "relational," "confrontational," and "intentional" are just a few of the conflicting paradigms. Students also encounter conflicting views of the roles of evangelist and pastor. Though writing at the turn of the century, G. Campbell Morgan reflected many contemporary attitudes when he wrote, "Evangelism apart from the Church is impossible."¹¹ However, he continued, "Pastors and teachers sometimes entertain a feeling almost amounting to contempt for evangelists. [and] The evangelist . . . often manifests a contempt for pastor and teacher."¹²

This dichotomistic view of evangelism and ministry is unfortunate. It has resulted in many pastors who lack the talents for an "evangelistic" ministry to attenuate their evangelistic efforts. Pastors need to realize that being evangelistic goes far beyond the pulpit. Pastoral ministry presents multiple occasions for evangelism and increases the congregation's receptivity for the gospel. Reid discusses the numerous evangelistic methods available to a local church,

¹¹G. Campbell Morgan, Evangelism (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904), 25.

¹²Ibid., 43.

but clearly maintains that pastoral leadership is paramount.³³ Richard Stoll Armstrong notes that it "is highly improbable" that a church will accept its evangelistic ministry without pastoral leadership.³⁴ Samuel Southard observes that pastoral ministry is foundational to sustained revival.³⁵ This dissertation will suggest that pastoral evangelism is an effective evangelism approach.

The Era of Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones

Nineteenth Century American Religion

In his study of American revivals, Earle Cairns dates the Second Great Awakening from 1776 to 1810.³⁶ The residual effects of the Second Great Awakening influenced nineteenth century America. In his definitive study of the 1858 Prayer Revival, Roy Fish states, "If two specific words could be used to describe the American scene at the mid point of the nineteenth century, those words would be expansion and conflict."³⁷ The century began with the the Second Great Awakening. By the Civil War, evangelical Christianity was battling trends toward a cultural paradigm shift expressed by

³³Reid develops the role of the pastor in creating an evangelistic church in his chapter, "Caught More Than Taught: Evangelistic Leadership," Introduction, 325-335.

³⁴Richard Stoll Armstrong, The Pastor As Evangelist (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984), 13.

³⁵Samuel Southard, Pastoral Evangelism (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), 135.

³⁶Cairns, 86-87.

³⁷Roy J. Fish, When Heaven Touched Earth (Azle, Texas: Need of the Times Publishers, 1996), 19.

liberal theologians and socialist philosophers, fueled by Darwinian theories. Rationalism, espoused in the eighteenth century, came to fruition in the nineteenth century. American society became focused on the abilities of humankind. This expressed itself nationally in "Christian Republicanism" and "Manifest Destiny" and individually with the popularity of Arminian theology.³⁸ This effected nineteenth century evangelism and revival methodologies. There were several reasons for this condition of organized religion: denominational fragmentation and rise of alternatives to orthodox Christianity, the increased acceptance of Arminian theology, the grassroots development of American churches, and conflicting philosophies.

Denominational Fragmentation and Rise of Alternatives to Orthodox Christianity

Every major Protestant denomination experienced division prior to the Civil War. The Methodist Episcopal Church divided on the role of laity in the church. Laymen were excluded from the church councils. The lay oriented Methodist formed the Methodist Protestant Church in 1830.³⁹

The Presbyterian Church had united with the Congregational Church in 1790, but the increasing influence

³⁸Arthur Alphonse Ekirch, Jr., The Idea of Progress in America, 1815-1860 (New York: Peter Smith, 1951), 72. These terms were expressions of the transference of the individual blessings of the elect to the nation. America became God's elect. This justified the United States seizure of lands; Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1957), 7.

³⁹Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States, 8th ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985), 162.

of Arminianism contributed to a division in 1837. New School Presbyterians maintained the union with the Congregationalists. They became identified with Union Seminary. New School Presbyterians participated in nonsectarian missionary activities. The Old School Presbyterians held to their traditional Calvinistic doctrines. Princeton Theological Seminary promulgated the Old School theology which was predominately based in the South.⁴⁰

The Protestant Episcopal Church divided over the issue of cooperation among denominations. The High Church branch held to a staunch view of noncooperation. The Low Church was evangelical in its approach to other denominations.⁴¹ By 1863 there was little difference pragmatically between Low Church Episcopal services and other Protestant services.⁴²

Baptists divided in 1845 due to slavery regarding missionary appointments. The separation was one of the more amiable divisions that occurred.⁴³ Many Baptists believed that they were "simply organized separately for the better prosecution of missionary work."⁴⁴ The 1845 Southern Baptist

⁴⁰Smith, Revivalism, 26-27.

⁴¹Ibid., 30.

⁴²Ibid., 33.

⁴³A. H. Newman, American Church History, Volume II, A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States (New York : Christian Literature, 1894), 449; Broadus, Memoirs of James Petigru Boyce (Louisville: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1893), 113.

⁴⁴Smith, Revivalism, 26-27.

Convention proclaimed, "Northern and Southern Baptists are still brethren."⁴⁵

Baptists in the South had a "strong prejudice" against education in ministry associating education with "want of piety."⁴⁶ Major Edmund Broaddus, John Broaddus's father, used his position as the "most influential man in the Shiloh Baptist Association" to promote missions, temperance, and ministerial education.⁴⁷ A. T. Robertson stated, "Virginia Baptists and the whole South owe Dr. Wm. F. Broaddus [John A. Broaddus's uncle] a debt for his bold advocacy of the mission enterprise against the 'Hardshell' or 'Black Rock' element of the denomination."⁴⁸ Broaddus's other uncle, Andrew Broaddus, was also known for his zeal for missions.

The formation of the Southern Baptist Convention promoted missions. Between 1845 and 1860 Southern Baptists funded 750 missionaries, started 200 new churches, built 200 new church buildings, and added 15,000 members.⁴⁹ After the Methodists, Southern Baptists were the "most numerous and

⁴⁵Newman, 451.

⁴⁶Robert Baird, Religion in America (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856), 463; Newman, 433-35.

⁴⁷Robertson, Life, 15.

⁴⁸Ibid., 7. Andrew Broaddus, Jr. A History of the Broaddus Family, From the Time of the Settlement of the Progenitor of the Family in the United States Down to the Year 1888 (St. Louis: Central Baptist Printing, 1888), 160-162. Broaddus identified "Blackrock" Baptists as the Virginia branch of the "Hardshell" Baptist. They were opposed to Sunday schools, missions, altar calls, and other practices that were contrary to their hyper-Calvinist view of salvation.

⁴⁹Newman, 455.

influential body of Christians" in the South.⁵⁰ During the same time Roy Fish and J. Edwin Orr contend American Christianity experienced decline. Fish states, "The year 1856 marked the thirteenth year in which a pronounced decline had characterized religion in the United States."⁵¹ The last year of widespread revivals was 1843.

Even in this period of lessening revivalistic interests, America witnessed the rise of new denominations and alternative groups. Joseph Smith developed Mormonism in the region of New York known as the "burned over district." The area had experienced numerous revival efforts by competing denominations to the point that the populace had become indifferent to Christian revivalism.⁵² Disillusionment also resulted from the failure of the Millerite apocalyptic predictions. William Miller, a Baptist layman, prophesied Jesus' second coming. His followers gained widespread notice by selling their possessions in preparation of the announced date. The "Advent" failure added to a building skepticism in American society.⁵³ The Millerites influenced subsequent Adventist groups.

⁵⁰Baird, 263. Also see Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, "The Upstart Sects Win America, 1776-1850," in The Churching of America 1776-1990 Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 54-108.

⁵¹Roy J. Fish, 29; J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening: An Account of the Second Worldwide Evangelical Revival beginning in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott, 1949), 11.

⁵²David Persuitte, Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon (London: McFarland and Company, 1985), 18.

⁵³Mead, 19-20.

In America, the Unitarian Church developed from the Congregational Church of New England. Liberal Christian churches united as Unitarians in the early part of the nineteenth century. Henry Ware advanced Unitarianism in the academic world beginning with his appointment as professor of theology at Harvard in 1805. William Ellery Channing organized the American Unitarian Association in 1825. Central to Unitarian doctrine was the belief that man was destined for progress. Channing rejected Calvinism as doomed to failure. Man could obtain perfectibility.⁵⁴ Unitarianism's emphasis on the "moral and individual nature of progress" shifted attention from the need of spiritual revival or awakening to the social activities of mankind.⁵⁵

The Unitarians were more influential in American society than their numbers suggested. Ekirch argued, "Uniting the liberalism of the early Unitarian theology with the thought of French and the German philosophers like Cousin and Kant, transcendentalism, by placing its emphasis on moral and individual progress, gave hope to those who were distressed by the materialism of the rising industrial order."⁵⁶ Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Thoreau promulgated Unitarian and transcendental philosophies through their literary

⁵⁴Ekirch, 150.

⁵⁵Ibid., 132.

⁵⁶Ibid., 155.

followings. Their philosophies reflected the increased stress on individualism.⁵⁷

The Rise of Arminianism

Jacobus Arminius lived in the late sixteenth century, dying in 1609. His soteriology received limited acceptance until the ministry of John Wesley. Methodism's success made Arminianism more prevalent. However, it was the ministry of Charles G. Finney in the nineteenth century that helped cause Arminianism to dominate American denominational life. Finney's revival techniques, "new measures," were successful in producing revival results.⁵⁸ Aspects of Arminian theology appealed to Finney and to nineteenth century Americans. Finney's view of man, God, and revival in some ways mirrored his culture. Finney's man-centered theology suited the cultural emphasis on individualism, rationalism, and social action. Richard Carwardine charges the "older Protestant" denominations with succumbing to "the extraordinary success of a precocious Methodism." This in turn led to an acceptance of a "democratic Arminianism" which "seemed to harmonize with

⁵⁷Ekirch, 162.

⁵⁸"New Measures" included use of the "anxious seat" for inquirers, preparatory prayer meetings, use of women in services, and individualized confrontation with audience members.

itself, with the Scriptures, with common sense, and with experience."⁵⁹

Arminian theology gained dominance in American religion. Timothy Smith states, "Arminian views crowded out Calvinism in much of the dogma which remained."⁶⁰ He continues:

The view of natural ability which Nathaniel W. Taylor accepted in the 1820's and Charles G. Finney adopted ten years later was, in fact, more extreme than that which Methodists held. Both Taylor and Finney arrived at it through their experience in revivals. By the 1840's the drift of Calvinists toward Arminianism and of the Orthodox toward the "Taylorism" they once had scorned was noticeable everywhere. The idea of personal predestination could hardly survive amidst the evangelists' earnest entreaties to "come to Jesus."⁶¹

According to Smith, Finney based his theology on his praxis. Experience dictated doctrine. Not everyone accepted the theological changes. Yet, Smith implies that only Hard-Shell Baptists and Old School Presbyterians retained five point Calvinism.⁶²

John A. Broadus and his family opposed Hard-Shell doctrines rejecting evangelism, yet, Broadus was a Calvinist. In A Catechism of Bible Teaching, "Lesson II, Providence of God," Broadus asked, "Is there really any such thing as chance or luck?" He answered, "There is no such thing as chance or luck: everything is controlled by the providence of

⁵⁹Richard Carwardine, "The Second Great Awakening in Comparative Perspective: Revivals and Culture in the United States and Britain," Modern Christian Revivals, Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer, eds. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 85. (emphasis added)

⁶⁰Smith, Revivalism, 80.

⁶¹Ibid, 89.

⁶²Ibid.

God."⁶³ In the section "Advanced Questions," he wrote, "If we cannot explain the relations between divine predestination and human freedom, does that warrant us in rejecting either? Both divine predestination and human freedom must be true from the very nature of God and man, and both are plainly taught in the Bible."⁶⁴ Broadus used Paul's writing as an example of balancing the doctrines of predestination and free will and the necessity of evangelism. He argued, "Concern for the salvation of others is not prevented by a belief in what we call the doctrines of grace; is not prevented by believing in divine sovereignty, and predestination and election. Many persons intensely dislike the ideas which are expressed by these phrases."⁶⁵

A. E. Dickinson agreed with Broadus. He stated, "Soul freedom as surely comes with the adoption of Baptist principles as day comes with the rising sun."⁶⁶ Out of the context of his ministry this could be misconstrued as Arminian. However, during Broadus's two year chaplaincy at the University of Virginia, A. E. Dickinson served as associate pastor in his absence. Dickinson made it clear that

⁶³John A. Broadus, A Catechism of Bible Teaching (Nashville: Sunday School Board of Southern Baptist Convention, 1892), 10.

⁶⁴Ibid., 11.

⁶⁵John A. Broadus, Sermons and Addresses (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1886), 116-117.

⁶⁶Alfred E. Dickinson, What Baptist Principles Are Worth to the World (Chatham, Virginia: Roanoke Association, 1889), 16.

he would submit to Broadus's leadership.⁶⁷ In their forty year friendship there is no extant record of a theological disagreement, especially one involving Arminianism and Calvinism.

J. William Jones did not write any theological works, but he was the first student to matriculate at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary which had adopted the "Abstract of Principles," a Calvinistic statement.⁶⁸ He maintained a life-long friendship with John A. Broadus, whom he greatly admired.⁶⁹ Broadus was his professor and mentor in ministry, and his sounding board for theological issues.

Smith holds that the division of evangelistic Calvinists and evangelistic Arminians was more customs than creeds. According to Smith, "The doctrine of Christian perfection became a leading concern in both camps."⁷⁰ Smith's generalization certainly applied to some Southern Baptists. However, John A. Broadus, A. E. Dickinson, and J. William Jones did not fit the generalization. Broadus stated, "What must we do to be saved through Jesus Christ? We must believe in Christ, must turn from our sins to love and obey him, and

⁶⁷A. E. Dickinson letter to John A. Broadus, 12 September 1855. SBTS.

⁶⁸R. Albert Mohler, "To Train the Minister Whom God Has Called: James Petigru Boyce and Southern Baptist Theological Education," The Founders Journal 19/20 (winter-spring 1995): 47. Also see Ernest Reisinger, "What Should We Think of Evangelism and Calvinism?," The Founders Journal 19/20 (winter-spring 1995): 52.

⁶⁹J. C. Hiden, "J. William Jones: A Tribute of Love," John William Jones Papers, Folder A-4, Religious Herald Archives, Richmond, Virginia.

⁷⁰Smith, Revivalism, 33.

must try to be like him."⁷¹ The ministries of these men do not reflect the use of the "new measures" of evangelism stemming from Arminian thought.

Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones were Evangelicals but not Arminian. They refuted the key Arminian doctrines of human perfection and the Semi-Pelagian emphasis of the role of man in salvation. Carwardine states, "'New measure' revivalists emphasized the sinner's free will and ability actively to seek his or her own salvation, and sought to introduce God's kingdom through the systematic application of the laws of religious psychology."⁷² Broadus's, Dickinson's and Jones's ministries did not use "special effects to secure conversions amidst excited group emotions."⁷³ The lack of manipulative techniques can be understood in light of their Calvinist understanding of God's sovereignty.

Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones participated in a significant revival movement in an age that shaped modern revivalism. Pastors in the nineteenth century faced increasing community antipathy. Conflicting and competing philosophies challenged the validity of the gospel message. Semi-Pelagian theology that elevated the role of man in conversion attacked Calvinistic theology. Revival depended upon proper use of techniques, and Calvinism was viewed as harsh and demeaning. Society was being divided into two camps based on differing views of the worth of a human life and the role of government in society.

⁷¹Broadus, Catechism, 20. (emphasis added)

⁷²Carwardine, 85.

⁷³Smith, Revivalism, 46.

In many ways Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones were typical of their time and culture. They were notable, due to their character and achievements, not because of any idiosyncrasies. Their ministries maintained a relational approach in a setting that encouraged the use of "special efforts to secure conversions amidst excited group emotions." In the midst of the cataclysmic events of nineteenth century America Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's philosophy of pastoral evangelism remained consistent prior to, through, and subsequent to the Civil War. The basis of this consistency was the men's Calvinistic views on God's preeminence in conversion and man's spiritual inability.

The Grassroots Growth of the American Church

The spontaneous organization of soldiers into Christian fellowships dominates the Confederate revival accounts. This legacy of the Second Great Awakening was foundational to the revival in the Army of Northern Virginia. Donald Mathews argues that the traditional view of the Second Great Awakening overlooks one of its most important features. Instead of the emotionalism and piety, or the shift to Arminianism, the Awakening should be most noted as a unifying social movement.⁷⁴ Mathews's work adds to the understanding of American revivalism. He contends, "One cannot have a revival

⁷⁴Donald G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830," in Religion in American History Interpretive Essays, eds. John M. Mulder and John F. Wilson (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1878), 200-201.

without churches."⁷⁵ As the nation expanded and experienced turmoil the Awakening provided people with a relief from the social strains. By 1830, Americans were "accustomed to working through voluntary associations for common goals," including religious ones.⁷⁶

Mathews attributes the Methodist Episcopal Church's phenomenal growth during the awakening to its view of the church. Mathews asserts that the Methodists believed "the ministry's purpose was to organize new societies of Christians."⁷⁷ Baptists, in turn, "used their associations 'to receive petitions and appoint preachers to travel into new places where the Gospel was likely to flourish.'" This ability by the Baptist and Methodist to replicate was, according to Mathews, the chief characteristic of the Second Great Awakening.⁷⁸

The denominations that allowed for spontaneous revivalism and church planting, Baptists and Methodists, experienced explosive growth. Churches with hierarchical structures, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal, experienced rapid decline in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Roger Finke's and Rodney Stark's research support many of Mathews's claims.⁷⁹

Mathews's thesis would explain the Army of Northern Virginia's soldiers persistence in forming "Christian

⁷⁵Ibid., 201.

⁷⁶Ibid., 204.

⁷⁷Ibid., 210.

⁷⁸Ibid., 210-11.

⁷⁹Finke, 54-108.

associations" or army churches. Americans, particularly Methodists and Baptists, were shaped by the unifying societal movement of the Second Great Awakening. Mathews argues, "The experience of participating in a small, local organization was more meaningful for Americans than any identification with a supralocal agency."⁸⁰ This philosophy of local autonomy ultimately benefited Baptists.⁸¹

The establishment of local church bodies in the army encouraged the pastoral ministry. Reproducing the societal pattern from home gave a context for men to fulfill the pastoral role. Churches need pastors. The church's function was to evangelize and organize the converted to further evangelize. Therefore, the "church in exile" functioned evangelistically due to its Second Great Awakening heritage.⁸²

Philosophical Movements

Philosophical ferment permeated the nineteenth century. The period experienced numerous Utopian and Rationalist movements. Whether couched in Christian theological terms or secular philosophies the ideas helped shape nineteenth century attitudes.

Modern communism appeared in the nineteenth century. In 1824 Robert Owen led 2,000 people to New Harmony, Indiana, to establish a communist community only to have it fail within three years. One scholar estimated, "From 1841 to 1853 some thirty-nine socialist communities, associations, or

⁸⁰Mathews, 215.

⁸¹Finke, 148.

⁸²Mathews, 210.

brotherhoods were constituted, but none of them were successful."³³ This social movement exemplified the belief that man was master of his destiny, a view shared by the divergent philosophies of communists and capitalists alike.³⁴

Theologians consider 1835 the "great revolutionary year of modern theology."³⁵ That year David Friedrich Strauss published The Life of Jesus Critically Examined. It presented the gospels as "mythical."³⁶ Then F. C. Baur published a history of the early church that proposed a radical approach to New Testament studies. Baur maintained that the early church experienced internal conflict during the formative years.³⁷ Baur's Tubingen School gained preeminence in nineteenth century theology with its dependence on naturalistic presuppositions.³⁸ Baur's rationalistic presuppositions permeated society far beyond the realm of theology. Human reason was the measure of all knowledge.

In 1859, the first American printing of The Origin of Species sold out in fourteen days. In the eighteenth century Deists envisioned a disinterested and uninvolved god.

³³Frank G. Beardsley, A History of Christianity in America (New York: American Tract Society, 1938), 134.

³⁴Ekirch, 84.

³⁵Stephen Neil and N. T. Wright, The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1986 (London: Oxford University Press, 1988), 17.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., 23.

³⁸New Dictionary of Theology, Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright ed., s.v. "Tubingen School," 697.

Darwin's theories gave rationalists the mechanism to logically discard that god.

Nineteenth century America glorified individualism. Although orthodox Christianity served as a bulwark against the more radical elements of the Enlightenment until the 1800's, the wedding of rationalists' ideas and liberal New Testament scholarship promoted an atmosphere of skepticism and elevation of human potential. This attitude paralleled the theological shift to the Arminian emphasis of human will and the new revivalism's emphasis on the role of the individual audience member.

The 1858 Prayer Revival

One mid-century religious event, the 1858 Prayer Revival, had ramifications for the Confederate revival. By the 1850's Arminianism and modern revivalism were entrenched firmly in American religious life. Charles Finney's model of itinerant evangelism ministries was accepted and adapted by Dwight L. Moody, Sam Jones, Billy Sunday, Gypsy Smith, and others in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the event accepted by Roy Fish as the event of the century, the Prayer Revival, did not support "new measures," professional evangelists, or Arminian theology. Beardsley stated, "There were no efforts to get up a revival or to arouse great public interest upon the subject. None of the elaborate machinery of modern revivals was made use of."⁸⁹

⁸⁹Beardsley, 229; Fish, When Heaven, 13.

Samuel Prime, a revival participant, specifically mentioned the lack of "revivalist[s]" and the "anxious seat."⁹⁰

To understand the elements of prayer and lay involvement in the Confederate revival one must examine the 1858 Prayer Revival.⁹¹ Other common elements of interdenominational cooperation and lack of emotional manipulation are explained within the framework of prayer and lay involvement. According to Finney, "A revival is as naturally a result of the use of the appropriate means as a crop is of the use of its appropriate means."⁹² Finney's appropriate means included prayer, the central feature of the 1858 revival, hence its name.⁹³ Jonathan Edwards wrote concerning Christians joining in concerted prayer for revival one hundred years prior to Finney.⁹⁴

According to Finney a means of bringing revival was to excite the congregation. "There must be excitement sufficient

⁹⁰Samuel I. Prime, The Power of Prayer Illustrated in the Wonderful Displays of Divine Grace at the Fulton Street and Other Meetings in New York and Elsewhere, in 1857-1858 (New York: Charles Scribner, 1859; reprint, Carlisle, Pennsylvania: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1991), 30 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

⁹¹For further study of the 1858 Prayer Revival one should read Prime; J. Edwin Orr, The Event of the Century; idem, The Second Evangelical Awakening; and Roy J. Fish, When Heaven Touched Earth: The Awakening of 1858 and its Effects on Baptists.

⁹²Finney, Lectures, 5.

⁹³Ibid., 25.

⁹⁴Jonathan Edwards, Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England to which is Prefixed a Narrative of the Surprising Work of God (Worcester, 1742; reprint, New York: American Tract Society, 1845), 426-436 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

to wake up the dormant moral powers, and roll back the tide of degradation and sin. . . . Men being so reluctant to obey God, will not act until they are excited," Finney argued.⁹⁵ However, a lack of emotionalism typified the 1858 revival. Mid-day prayer meetings were highly structured. Participants were limited to five minute segments and the meeting started and stopped promptly on the hour.⁹⁶

Participants believed the 1858 Prayer Revival was a sovereign work of God. Jeremiah Lamphier, the man contemporaries recognized as the individual used by God to start the revival, wrote in his journal that "the idea was suggested to my mind that an hour of prayer, from twelve to one o'clock, would be beneficial to business men."⁹⁷ Lamphier did not take credit for the idea. He did not intend to evangelize the lost, or implement "new measures." He simply wanted to minister to business men. Prime emphasized the spontaneous nature of the revival in his account. He subtitled his first chapter, "No extraordinary Means." God responded to prayer by sending the revival.⁹⁸

The Role of Prayer in the 1858 Revival

The 1858 revival centered on prayer. Prime asserted, "Places of prayer multiplied, because men were moved to prayer. They wished to pray. They felt impelled, by some

⁹⁵Finney, 4.

⁹⁶Prime, 2, 8, 41. Prime demonstrates the revival movement began during a time of economic well being, before the financial panic. Also see Orr, The Event, 70.

⁹⁷Ibid., 7-8. Also appears as Lanphier in some studies.

⁹⁸Ibid., v, 3.

unseen power, to pray. They felt the pressure of the call to prayer."⁹⁹ The revival also included preaching. Kathryn Long, in her dissertation, notes the role of John A. Broadus in the revival at Charlottesville and the University of Virginia. She claims Broadus's "preaching gifts and reputation for piety" increased Baptist attendance at the University.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, Fish writes, "Unlike previous awakenings, there were no outstanding preachers, revivalists, or leaders."¹⁰¹ Prayer began and sustained the revival movement.

Role of the Laity

The North Dutch Church charged Jeremiah Lamphier with the task of "caring for the spiritual welfare of the neglected thousands [in the lower wards of New York City.]"¹⁰² He was appointed a missionary in July 1857 without training or ordination.¹⁰³ Within weeks the noon time prayer meetings were rapidly growing. The prayer meeting lay leadership changed daily in an attempt to keep the Prayer Revival from deteriorating into a personality event. Laymen led the prayer meetings in spite of the presence of clergy.¹⁰⁴ Lay leadership

⁹⁹Prime, 11.

¹⁰⁰Kathryn Teresa Long, The Revival of 1857-58: The Power of Interpretation (Ph.D., diss., Duke University, 1993), 104. Also see her footnote.

¹⁰¹Fish, 183. Orr, The Event, 269, 337.

¹⁰²Prime, 6-7. Orr, Second Evangelical, 14.

¹⁰³Prime, 6-7. Orr, Second Evangelical, 14.

¹⁰⁴Prime, 40-41.

clarified that the Prayer Revival could only be credited to God, not professional revivalists.

The popularity of laity led parachurch groups resulted from the 1858 revival. The Young Men's Christian Association, Y.M.C.A., in particular grew in prominence during the revival. Smith describes the organization as having a "fervently religious orientation" and an "intimate bond with the churches."¹⁰⁵ The Y.M.C.A. began in New York City in 1851.¹⁰⁶ The midday prayer meeting format was easy for the Y.M.C.A. units to establish, and the interdenominational structure of the "Y" gave greater freedom to the secular press to report revival activities.¹⁰⁷ Smith notes the Y.M.C.A. embodied the evangelism methods of the 1850's targeting unchurched men and the use of union prayer meetings. Long describes the Y.M.C.A. as a "peer-oriented affinity group" providing "mutual support and religious encouragement." She correctly observes "the tendency for revivalism to flow along the channels of personal relationships."¹⁰⁸ The first campus Y.M.C.A. was at the University of Virginia, and J. William Jones was "one of the organizers."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵Smith, Revivalism, 76.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 51.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 63, 65.

¹⁰⁸Long, 101-102.

¹⁰⁹J. William Jones, "Varied Experiences in Work Among Young Men," The Religious Herald, 1 April 1909; Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Mens Christian Association of the University of Virginia Session 1858-59 (Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1859), 7, 16. Special Collections Department University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va.

The Prayer Revival promoted a limited ecumenicalism. The lay leaders of the interdenominational prayer meetings continued, or increased, in their involvement with their local churches. Participants in the parachurch efforts remained "staunch" churchmen.¹¹⁰ Although he was an active member of Charlottesville Baptist Church, it was as a member of the Y.M.C.A. that Jones and three other Christians prayed for and evangelized four other dorm mates, leading them to conversion.¹¹¹ In Charlottesville the Y.M.C.A. and the Baptist church complemented each other's ministry. Baptist students were a major element in the Y.M.C.A. charter membership.¹¹²

The Prayer Revival's Influence Upon the Confederate Revival

The Prayer Revival of 1858 was noteworthy for its ecumenical character and lack of emotional manipulation. This was not surprising considering the nature of the revival. Prayer meetings did not address doctrinal issues or allow for emotional outbursts. The environment was highly structured. The lay leadership maintained a goal of interdenominational cooperation. However, there were limits. Prime wrote of evangelizing a Catholic family whose conversion came by means of a Protestant Sunday school.¹¹³

Several important characteristics of the 1858 Prayer Revival reoccurred in the Army of Northern Virginia revival.

¹¹⁰Smith, 76.

¹¹¹Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹¹²Long, 104-105; Orr, Second Evangelical, 30.

¹¹³Prime, 110.

The partnership between parachurch organizations and churches, interdenominational ministries, the lack of excessive emotion and manipulative methods, lay leadership, and the role of prayer meetings seen in 1858 reoccurred in the Confederate Army. The laity's continued commitment to their local churches also played a prominent role in both revivals. Fish, Long, and others understood the Civil War revival as a continuation of the 1858 Prayer Revival.¹¹⁴

The Confederate Revival

Evangelistic efforts occurred in the Confederate army from the beginning of hostilities. The two best known accounts of the Confederate revival are Jones's Christ in the Camps and William W. Bennett's A Narrative of The Great Revival. Jones's work focused on the Army of Northern Virginia while Bennett recorded the revival throughout the Confederacy. Both men served as chaplains. Jones was a Southern Baptist and Bennett was a Methodist. Bennett published his work in 1876. Jones's followed eleven years later. Both men express agreement on the major points of the revival.

Revival efforts began with the first muster of troops. The first year of the war saw limited spiritual results. What was referred to as "The Great Revival" in the Army of Northern Virginia began in the winter of 1862-63. The troops wintered around Fredericksburg, Virginia. The revival reached its peak along the Rapidan River after the Confederate return from Gettysburg. Bennett estimated one hundred and fifty

¹¹⁴Fish, 163-166; Long, 106-107; Smith, Revivalism, 76-78; Beardsley, 238-239.

thousand soldiers were converted army wide. The "Great Revival" reflected the wider revival movement. Through the writings of Jones, Dickinson, Broadus, and archival sources the revival has been well documented.

Summary

The events of the nineteenth century shaped John A. Broadus, A. E. Dickinson, and J. William Jones. Yet, Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones defied emerging cultural norms. They were evangelistic and cooperative with other denominations, yet, staunchly Calvinistic Southern Baptists. They were highly educated and aware of the liberal theologies in vogue in Europe and America. However, they remained conservative in their theology, taking strong stands concerning the authority of Scriptures.¹¹⁵ The men served in ministry capacities outside of the local church, but their evangelistic ministries were grounded in a pastoral philosophy of ministry. These three men, friends, and fellow ministers participated in the great awakening and revival that occurred in the Army of Northern Virginia. Their ministries in the army camps demonstrated the value and effectiveness of pastoral evangelism.

¹¹⁵John A. Broadus, Paramount and Permanent Authority of the Bible (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society), 4-5. Broadus refutes Schleiermacher's use of "Christian consciousness" in place of Biblical authority. Also see Dickinson, What Baptist Principles.

CHAPTER 2

THE REVIVAL IN THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA

The South was ill prepared for war at the onset of hostilities. Likewise, the Southern churches were not prepared for the burden of ministering to the hundreds of thousands of Confederate troops. Alan Lefever contends the general expectation for a war of short duration diffused revival efforts in 1861.¹ William Bennett stated the Confederate army experienced revival throughout the war with the greatest intensity in 1863.²

Though not continuous in duration or intensity, the Confederate revival gained momentum during the winter of 1862-63. The revival apparently centered around Fredericksburg while the men were in winter encampment and continued as the spring campaign season began.³ Bennett stated, "The main body of the Confederate army remained in winter quarters, and here began one of the most powerful revivals witnessed during the war."⁴ Jones agreed that the

¹Alan J. Lefever "Finding Heaven while Marching Through Hell," Confederate Veteran, March-April 1993: 25.

²Bennett, 99.

³Jones, Christ, 482-483; Also see 245. Herman A. Norton, Rebel Religion (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1961), 51; Wilson, Baptized, 121.

⁴Bennett, 251.

revival movement focused around Fredericksburg. The spread of religious fervor faced constant obstructions.⁵

The interest remained through the winter of 1862-63. The opportunities for maximizing the revival interest, however, were limited until July 1863 along the Rapidan River. Dickinson [speaking of this period beginning with the return from Gettysburg] wrote for the Religious Herald:

The present is a very favorable season for holding protracted meetings in the army of Virginia. While General Lee's forces were on enemy's soil not much could be done in this respect. Daily marches and heavy skirmishing made it well nigh impossible to keep up religious meetings. The interest, however, in regard to spiritual things suffered but little abatement.⁶

Chaplain Hopkins, Second Virginia Infantry, rejoined his unit after Gettysburg and found it "greatly changed" by the "rigors of that demoralizing and arduous campaign."⁷ The relatively quiet period following Gettysburg allowed the troops to be evangelized along the Rapidan River in northern Virginia.

Some scholars question the motive or mental state of the revival participants. Sidney Romero agrees that the high point of the revival was 1863. However, he questions the motive of the revival movement. Romero poses the question, "Could it be that these revivals were an unconscious effort on the part of the South to secure Divine intervention in its

⁵Jones, Christ, 506; 293.

⁶Dickinson, "A Favorable Season,". Also see John Garibaldi to his wife, Sarah, August, 1863, Manuscript #284, John Garibaldi Letters, VMI.

⁷Jones, Christ, 470.

behalf?"⁶ Romero bases his thesis on the effect of the Confederate loss at Gettysburg in July 1863. Alan Lefever identifies 1862 as "pivotal." He states, "During the early stages of the war, the South was confident of victory. As 1862 unfolded, however, and the South began to experience defeat and heavy casualties, doubts about a quick Southern victory began to arise. Along with the changing fortunes of the Confederate forces came a changing attitude of many Southern soldiers toward religion."⁹ These views are similar to ones espoused concerning the Prayer Revival prior to the war. Accordingly, revival then becomes a psychological event. Contrary to the above views, the revival began while the Confederate troops were rather optimistic. The tone of the letters written prior to July 1863 differ little from letters written in the last half of the war.¹⁰

⁶Sidney Romero, Religion in the Rebel Ranks (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983), 129. "It is the purpose of this inquiry to examine religion from the military standpoint-to consider it as a weapon of warfare. What effect did religion have on the Confederate soldier? What service did the various religious denominations render? Why was there a great revival in the Confederate army?" Romero, 1.

⁹Lefever, "Finding Heaven," 26.

¹⁰William Dorsey Pender, The General to His Lady: The Civil War Letters of William Dorsey Pender to Fanny Pender (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 16. General Pender believed the South needed to "get two or three sound whippings," [Southerners think] "our southern [sic] man equal to ten Yankees." Also see Biblical Recorder, 19 August 1863, W. R. Gaultney wrote, "We were not whipped at Gettysburg, only failed to carry those heights and drew off. . . . The army of Northern Virginia has no notion of being subjugated."

Factors That Aided and Hindered the Revival and Its Influence

To understand why the Great Revival occurred beginning in July 1863 along the Rapidan river one must examine the factors that Bennett called "hindrances and aids."¹¹⁷ The factors that aided the revival effort in the Confederate Army were prayer, influences of Christian officers, psychological influences, the Civil War practice of recruiting units from communities, and the development of Christian associations and army churches.

Aids to Revival

When one examines the religious efforts and organizations in place by the summer of 1863 there are numerous factors evident that aided or promoted the revival and its continuation. Many of the aids existed at the war's onset and were not new in the summer of 1863. However, by 1863 they were well developed and promoted an effective evangelistic movement.

Prayer

Prayer was the foundational element of the Great Revival in the Army of Northern Virginia. Bennett and Jones did not explicitly mention prayer as an aid to the "Great Revival." However, the majority of revival accounts throughout the war do mention the role of prayer-meetings.

The prayer movement had an adaptability which enhanced its use. This was illustrated by a private in a battalion

¹¹Bennett, 31, 85.

without a chaplain. The private wrote, "We have prayer-meetings every night, and God never fails to meet with us. Now, I know that we are not dependent upon instruments of power for carrying on a work of this kind. On the contrary, very often the weakest are chosen."¹² Whether a chaplain was available or not, prayer meetings were held. Chaplain John Paris, ill and unable to perform his duties, recorded in his diary for 13 September 1863, "Lieut. Gray held prayer meeting at night, One Convert."¹³ In Beckham's Artillery Battalion the soldiers conducted prayer-meetings and a Sunday school without a chaplain's assistance.¹⁴ Scarcity of chaplains hindered the Confederate revival, however, lay leadership developed a prayer movement.

Prayer-meetings presented opportunities for evangelism. General John B. Gordon "was accustomed to lead prayer-meetings in his command" and used the meetings to win converts to Christ.¹⁵ This evangelistic impetus encouraged increased attendance. The Religious Herald reported, "In Hay's brigade, in which there is no Protestant chaplain, a little prayer meeting of five persons had grown to some thirty, and five or six had professed conversion and wished to join some church. A neighboring chaplain, on application, went over to assist them. The prayer meeting was now a great

¹²Bennett, 308.

¹³John Paris Papers, Vol. I. SHC.

¹⁴Jones, Christ, 350.

¹⁵Ibid., 104.

congregation, and the interest was growing."¹⁶ J. C. Perkins wrote to A. E. Dickinson from Nelson's battalion, "I wish to give you a short account of a prayer meeting to which I was invited. . . . When I arrived, I found the brethren earnestly engaged in prayer. They were without preachers, but God had given them hearts to pray, and, in answer to their prayers, five of their companions in arms had professed faith in Christ."¹⁷

Bible study was often an integral part of the prayer-meetings. On J. K. Hitner's first Sunday in his unit there was an evening prayer-meeting. He found "some ten or twelve to be real, active Christians. From the first, great watchfulness and care required lest the reading of the word and use of prayer should be slighted or neglected." His second week in camp they "enjoyed two prayer-meetings . . . which continued the general rule ever after in the company."¹⁸ In the winter of 1862-63, the unit did not have preaching, but continued the prayer-meetings.

Soldiers attended prayer-meetings several times a week. The attendance numbers cited reflect a high interest in the meetings. Hitner stated, "The Lord visited us in our prayer-meetings, which we held regularly, generally twice on the Sabbath and twice during the week. . . . These meetings were

¹⁶Religious Herald, 3 September 1863. There are two variations used in sources for Hay's Brigade. It will also appear as "Hays's."

¹⁷J. C. Perkins, "From the Army," Religious Herald, 8 October 1863.

¹⁸Jones, Christ, 481-2. The Rockbridge Artillery, had six seminary students in the ranks.

very well attended."¹⁹ On 10 May 1863 the unit had a Sunday service with 2,500 to 3,000 men in attendance, including General Lee. By August the unit was holding nightly prayer-meetings.²⁰ Prayer-meetings were held through 1864. Hitner reported, "Often did some of our members retire privately into the woods to enjoy a quiet season of prayer, and even while going into retirement we fell in with others engaged in the same interesting employment . . . These numerous seasons of prayer were very precious."²¹ The meetings developed an expectation of spiritual fulfillment.

There appeared to be a common pattern to the spread of the prayer-meetings. A minority of Christians would set aside a time for prayer, interest would increase, the group would grow, and services would begin. J. William Jones reported on the revival in Hays's Brigade for the Religious Herald. The unit did not have a chaplain. Five men began a prayer meeting which resulted in forty-one conversions.²² Jones added information to the above account in Christ in the Camp. Jones stated that one young man found five other soldiers who agreed to pray. Afraid of the "jibes and jeers" of their fellow soldiers, the young men went into nearby fields for their meetings. Their numbers increased nightly. In a week they numbered one hundred. Ultimately, there were over two

¹⁹Ibid., 482.

²⁰Ibid, 484.

²¹Ibid., 486.

²²[J. William Jones] "Letters from Camp," Religious Herald, 3 September 1863. "Occasional" was a pen name Jones used for the Religious Herald.

hundred professions of faith.²³ Jones quoted Dickinson, "A Baptist chaplain told me yesterday, that every day or two he was called on to baptize soldiers, brought to him by the young converts, the fruits of their prayer-meetings."²⁴ The soldiers would invite nonbelievers to join them in prayer and then use the opportunity to present the gospel.

Many of the better known preachers of the South were visiting the camps by the late summer of 1863 including John A. Broadus, Joseph C. Stiles, W. F. Broadus, William J. Hoge, George B. Taylor, and J. B. Jeter.²⁵ The chaplains were organized and experienced. All the contributing elements were in place, and soldiers increasingly turned to prayer. The soldiers' prayers was individual and corporate. They prayed while waiting for battle, during marches, and in camp. Prayer did not require theological training or spiritual maturity. It was available to all.

In a letter to his wife John A. Broadus expressed his view of prayer. He wrote, "My efforts in Mahone's Brigade were not wholly fruitless. . . . And what is more important, they have been holding prayer meetings all the week and had last night five hundred present."²⁶

²³Jones, Christ, 350.

²⁴Ibid., 345.

²⁵Bennett, 51, 257, 283, 311-12, 314, 325. Also see Jones, Christ, 312, 320, 334.

²⁶Robertson, Life, 204.(emphasis added)

Influences of Christian Officers

The influence of Christian army officers aided revival.²⁷ John A. Broadus believed that Christian officers were "placed by Providence" in their positions and, were therefore, responsible for their witness.²⁸ Descriptions of Robert E. Lee's leadership often included his Christian character. Lee issued General Order No. 59 after Chancellorsville. He wrote:

While this glorious victory entitles you to the praise and gratitude of the nation, we are especially called upon to return grateful thanks to the only giver of victory for our signal [sic] deliverance which He has wrought. It is, therefore, earnestly recommended that the troops unite on Sunday next in ascribing to the Lord of Host the glory due His name.²⁹

Lee used his position to promote revival in his army.

Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson was second only to Lee in the minds of the Army of Northern Virginia soldiers. Samuel Fulkerson was a student of Jackson's at Virginia Military Institute and then served under his command in the Army of Northern Virginia. He described Jackson as "an ardent Christian."³⁰ Fulkerson noted, "All this [Jackson's religious

²⁷Bennett, 67, 69, 368; Jones, 42-145.

²⁸"Influence of Officers," Religious Herald, 3 September 1863.

²⁹Biblical Recorder, 13 May 1863; Alexander Betts wrote, "During the winter months when the armies were quiet, the chaplains met every few weeks. General Lee was frequently present. On Feb. 22nd, 1864, I met him on the train going to Richmond. I told him I thought he had about 25 chapels in his army. He modestly said, 'Yes, we had 29 last Sunday.'" "General Lee and His Chapels" Alexander D. Betts Papers, Vol. 5. NCSA.

³⁰Samuel V. Fulkerson to his sister-in-law, 14 June 1862, Fulkerson Family Papers, Manuscript #0363, VMI.

example] has at least a good moral influence over the men."³¹ Jackson held "daily prayers and frequent prayer-meetings" which he would lead if no clergy was present.³² An article in the Biblical Recorder stated, "The army in Virginia has been enjoying a revival of religion for more than twelve months. . . . How far this result is due to the example and influence of that noble praying christian [sic] General Jackson--now no more--will not be known this side of the judgment seat of Christ."³³ Jackson encouraged John A. Broadus to spend the summer of 1863 in the camps.³⁴

Many prominent officers in Lee's command were Christians. William Dorsey Pender was considered a potential replacement for Jackson after his death.³⁵ When Pender died from wounds received at Gettysburg, Lee stated he had lost his "best men--Jackson, Pender, Hood."³⁶ Jones listed officers who were Christians before the war: Lee, Jackson, D. H. Hill, J. E. B. Stuart, A. M. Scales, and "a host of others."³⁷ He

³¹Fulkerson to his sister, 14 June 1862. VMI.

³²Jones, Christ, 299.

³³"Religion in the Army of Tennessee," Biblical Recorder, 19 August 1863.

³⁴Robertson, Life, 197.

³⁵Louis G. Young, "Reminiscences of Maj. Genl. William Dorsey Pender, By Louis G. Young, Late A. A. G. Arm of North Vir." (Typed Mss.) in Pender, Maj. Gen. William Dorsey, NCSA.

³⁶The War of the Rebellion. A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Series I, Volume XXIX, Part II Correspondence (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), 743.

³⁷Jones, Christ, 42.

then named Ewell, Pender, Hood, R. H. Anderson, Rodes, Paxson, and "a number of others of our best officers" as converts in the army revival.³⁸

Pender recorded his spiritual journey in letters to his wife. "When I first commenced thinking seriously on this subject," he wrote, "the idea how it would please you was uppermost, but now it is different. I think of pleasing God and saving my soul."³⁹ General Pender was baptized "in the presence of the Regt. by the Rev. Mr. Loomes Porter of Charleston" on 7 October 1861.⁴⁰ The chaplain "thought it [Pender's public baptism] might be beneficial to the Regt." Pender was "willing to have it done in the sight of all."⁴¹ Pender was known and respected for his bravery and his faith.⁴²

At times the lines between military and religious roles blurred. General William Pendleton was Lee's artillery commander and an Episcopal bishop. In the midst of the Great Revival, Pendleton related to his wife, "I was at the Chaplain's meeting day before yesterday. I gave them a few

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹William Dorsey Pender to his wife, 30 September 1861, SHC.

⁴⁰Pender to his wife, 7 October 1861, SHC.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²S. A. Ashe, in Pender, Maj. Gen., NCSA. After the wounding of A. P. Hill, Pender assumed command carrying the regimental colors over the entrenchments. He had the daily practice of finding a secluded spot and praying morning and evening.

words of counsel [and] exhortation."⁴³ Pendleton took an active interest in the religious efforts of the Army of Northern Virginia. Early in the war Pendleton told his wife he had attended a Sunday service. After the sermon Pendleton "arose [and] asked attention for a moment, adding the severer truth." Pendleton reminded the congregation that God not only promises good to his people, he also chastens "us for our sins."⁴⁴ Pendleton freely functioned within the military and spiritual roles.

Many Confederate officers exemplified evangelistic Christianity. General John Gordon always attended baptism services in his command, Isaac Trimble suspended drill, and in Arkansas a general suspended evening roll-call in his division so as not to interfere with prayer meetings and preaching.⁴⁵ Bennett did note, however, "These men were Generals, and their contact with the soldiers were not so close as that of inferior officers. In the companies and regiments the work of pious officers was most effectively done."⁴⁶ Generals such as Lee, Jackson, Pender, Gordon, and Pendleton were men to be admired and emulated. The junior officers who were Christian complemented the generals' witness by the daily contact with the average soldiers.

⁴³W. N. Pendleton to his wife, 3 September 1863, W. N. Pendleton Papers, SHC.

⁴⁴Pendleton to his wife, 3 December 1861.

⁴⁵Jones, 255, 307; Bennett, 348; "Occasional," Religious Herald, 3 September 1863; Religious Herald, 8 October 1863. "General Gordon manifests the liveliest interest in the work."

⁴⁶Bennett, 69.

Psychological Influences

The Confederate soldiers' resolve and the high casualty rates contributed to an openness to revival. Lt. Thomas Boatwright expressed a feeling common to Confederate soldiers when he wrote, "Our cause looks dark just now and I am sorry to say . . . many of them are saying that let the war end no matter which way it goes this I am sorry to see for we have suffered too much to give up now. [sic]"⁴⁷ The Confederate troops would not surrender, yet, they did not have a hope of returning home in the foreseeable future. Boatwright continued, "I feel as if I have been in the last battle that I ever want to be in but I am a servant so I am bound to go whenever I am in orders. [sic]"⁴⁸

The Civil War's carnage is beyond most twentieth century readers' comprehension. Frank Atkinson told his mother, "Nearly every man that was killed on our side was shot through the head. Men were killed before behind [and] on either side of me. . . . I fought almost ankle deep in the blood [and] remains of our killed [and] wounded. We have been fighting more or less for 14 days. [sic]"⁴⁹ Boatwright recorded:

It is now Sunday and but a few Sundays ago I was with some of my dear friends who are now numbered with the dead who fill a soldier's grave and no marker to represent the spot of their decaying bodies. It jars my heart to think on what my eyes have witnessed in the last few weeks and ought not I feel thankful to God that

⁴⁷Thomas F. Boatwright to his wife, 6 August 1863. SHC.

⁴⁸Boatwright to his wife, 13 April 1863. SHC.

⁴⁹Frank Atkinson to his mother, 17 May 1864, Mrs. E. K. Atkinson Collection Papers, SHC.

I am not with them. I know I ought and do but not enough.⁵⁰

The high casualty rates induced a gratefulness for being alive and at the same time a sense of guilt.

According to Herman Norton's study of Confederate religion, the soldiers could not be scared into religion, and emotional excesses were rare in the Confederate revival.⁵¹ However, an article in the Religious Herald stated, "Many of the soldiers in the hour of danger formed good resolutions, which . . . they have not forgotten."⁵² The negative side of the casualty rates was the difficulty of continuity in ministry. A. C. Hopkins wrote, "This [lay lead prayer-meetings] was found a most delightful service; increasing numbers attended; other regiments followed the example; and these meetings were perpetuated until the casualties of battle literally annihilated the number who composed it!"⁵³

The war's carnage produced a spiritual openness. Broadus regarded the war as tragic, but he understood that "man's extremity is God's opportunity."⁵⁴ General Pender expressed one of the factors that brought men to a point of receptivity to the gospel. He related, "I feel quite reconciled now to the absence, for I believe that I have thought more of the future. If we had been together, my pleasure in being with

⁵⁰Boatwright to his wife, 17 May 1863, SHC.

⁵¹Norton, 49-50.

⁵²"Spiritual Influence of Battle," Religious Herald, 18 June 1863.

⁵³Jones, Christ, 471.

⁵⁴Robertson, Life, 211.

you would have left but little chance of thinking of our Saviour [sic]."⁵⁵ The Confederate troops were aware of the ever increasing size of the Union forces as the South experienced heavy losses which could not be replaced.⁵⁶ Bound by a cultural sense of duty and opposed by a determined foe, the Confederate soldiers turned to God.

The separation from loved ones and the comforts of home, combined with the uncertainty of combat, "produced a softened state of mind, which harmonizes well with . . . efforts to evangelize."⁵⁷ As a result, men had hope, perhaps not for victory, but eternity. Frank Atkinson wrote, "I feel just let the Lord do as seemeth Him best, it will be all right. He has been so good to me that I can praise Him for all that is past, and trust Him for all, all, all thats to come. [sic]"⁵⁸

Military Units Mustered by Communities and Their Facilitating Visiting Pastors

Civil War units often represented a community. Prominent men raised units by towns and counties. This resulted in units, especially on the company level, that were comprised of neighbors and relatives. Bennett wrote, "The irreligious men who were blessed with these godly examples were not strangers to their pious comrades. They were often from the same town, county, or district."⁵⁹ Bennett explained that the

⁵⁵Pender, 72.

⁵⁶Boatwright to his wife, 7 May 1863, SHC.

⁵⁷Bennett, 77.

⁵⁸Frank Atkinson to his wife, 11 June 1864, SHC.

⁵⁹Bennett, 20.

gospel message heard in the camp was not new to the unsaved, and often even the minister from home was the one who preached the message.⁶⁰ J. William Jones's Thirteenth Virginia Infantry Regiment was typical of Civil War units in its origination and composition. A. P. Hill organized the regiment in 1861. Its companies were enlisted from western Virginia to capture the arsenal at Harper's Ferry.⁶¹

The community based approach of recruitment enhanced the sense of unit cohesiveness. This bond included the chaplains. In the first four Georgian companies that arrived in Virginia three of the four captains were "earnest, Christian men." One of the companies had fifty men from the same church.⁶² Chaplain A. D. Betts wrote, "As I had preached in Sampson County in 1857 and 1858, I found friends in Company A. Among my friends in company C was Lorenzo Dow Cain, from Bladen." Concerning one of the wounded troops he visited, Betts wrote, "I was his pastor at Oxford."⁶³ George W. Leyburn, Presbyterian missionary, worked with Wise's Brigade, "Owing to my having a son in this brigade and to the fact of several companies from Bedford, then county of my residence, being in it."⁶⁴

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹J. William Jones to John A. Broadus, 4 January 1863, SBTS.

⁶²Jones, Christ, 21.

⁶³Betts, Rev. A. D. (Chaplain) 30th Regt. "Experience of a Confederate Chaplain, 1861-1865," NCSA; Betts, Religious Herald, 20 May 1861.

⁶⁴Jones, Christ, 486.

The army's recruitment methods helped forge a distinct sense of community within the camps. It was therefore reasonable for the troops to expect their pastors to come to the camps. Units encouraged their pastors from home to visit.⁶⁵ Many churches had a majority of their male membership serving in the army.⁶⁶ Dickinson pleaded to civilian churches, "Your own son, or brother or father, may be converted through the preaching of your minister in camp. . . . Then encourage your pastor to go."⁶⁷

In turn, the religious effort in the Confederate army required more effort than the chaplains and colporters could supply. Pastors on short term visits to the army were critical to the revival movement.⁶⁸ By 1863 the Southern Baptist Convention officially encouraged churches to allow their pastors furloughs to preach in the camps.⁶⁹

⁶⁵James E. Lindal to John A. Broadus, 2 September 1863, SBTS. Also see J. William Jones, "Camp Near Somerville's Ford, Oct. 2nd."; W. W. Kay, "An Appeal for Ministerial Aid."

⁶⁶Ephesus Meeting House, North Carolina, in Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville. Church records entry of April 1862; John Woodard, North Carolina Historical Collection, Smith Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University, Telephone interview, 9 April 1998. There is a lack of records for the Civil War years in most church histories due to the absence of the male membership.

⁶⁷Jones, Christ, 329.

⁶⁸A. E. Dickinson, "Evangelists for the Army," Religious Herald, 23 July 1863; "Occasional" [J. William Jones]; Jones, Christ, 317, 327; W. W. Kay, "An Appeal for Ministerial Aid;" H. M. J. "Camp 30th Regt. N. C. T.," Religious Herald, 16 September 1863; A. E. Dickinson, "A Favorable Season,"

⁶⁹Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Session of the Southern Baptist Convention (Macon: Burke & Boykin, 1863), 53.

Associations and the Army Churches

The Civil War lasted four years. During that time large numbers of Christians, clergy and laity, served in the army with few opportunities for leave. The army camps became home to the soldiers. The optimistic expectation of a quick conflict ended by the winter of 1862-63. The soldiers' response to the need for an "institution similar to the churches at home" while in the army resulted in the creation of army churches and associations.⁷⁰

The two organizations served many of the same purposes, and often it was difficult to differentiate the two. The churches were clergy led, while the associations were, usually, lay led.⁷¹ The army church movement began in the west and spread eastward. The association movement originated throughout the Confederate forces due, in part, to familiarity of the soldiers with the Young Men's Christian Association.⁷²

The Christian Associations

The soldiers created the Christian associations for several reasons. The association in Colonel C. C. Battle's

⁷⁰Bennett, Revival, 252.

⁷¹Frank L. Hieronymus, "For Now and Forever: The Chaplains of the Confederate States Army" (Ph.D., diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1964), 205-6. See for more thorough discussion of the army churches and associations.

⁷²Long, "The Revival," 106-07; Alex King, "Army Christian Associations," Religious Herald, 10 September 1863.

regiment emphasized mutual support and "holy living."⁷³ The Sumter Artillery Christian Association hoped to aid the ongoing revival in the battalion.⁷⁴ Others desired to be "more united in our efforts to do good," One writer described the purpose of this unity:

That we might know and help each other in our Christian course . . . To promote union and fellowship . . . to watch over each other in love and to aid each other when sick or wounded. . . . To circulate . . . tracts and religious newspapers, and introduce the preached gospel among us.⁷⁵

Pre-Civil War revivalism fostered ecumenicalism.⁷⁶ The Christian associations benefited from the interdenominational atmosphere of the army camps.⁷⁷ The associations did not have to deal with the ecclesiological issues of communion, baptism, and discipline.

The Army Churches

The Second Great Awakening legacy of Christians uniting into local churches for benevolent and evangelical efforts surfaced in the army camps. In his dissertation on the

⁷³Bennett, Revival, 261.

⁷⁴Alex King, "Our Virginia Army," Christian Index, 28 August 1863.

⁷⁵Bennett, Revival, 261; King, "Army Christian Associations;" "To Christians at Home and in the Army," Religious Herald, 17 September 1863. Also see "Camp of Kemper's Brigade, Sept. 1, 1863," Religious Herald, 10 September 1863; Bennett, Revival, 273, 322.

⁷⁶Smith, Revivalism, 80.

⁷⁷H. B. Richards, "Camp of 9th Va. Cavalry, Near Raccoon Ford, Va., Sept. 30.," Religious Herald, 8 October 1863.

Confederate chaplains Frank Hieronymus states, "Doctrinal differences were minimized [in the army churches]." ⁷⁸ If true, then Christians of a free church tradition, such as Southern Baptists, would have difficulty participating in a church body which included non-immersed members and open communion.

John A. Broadus, A. E. Dickinson, and J. William Jones practiced a limited ecumenicalism remaining ardent Southern Baptists. Broadus and Dickinson held numerous denominational positions prior to and after the war. Jones was appointed to be a Southern Baptist missionary to China prior to the war. Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones believed in the correctness and uniqueness of the local church's role. Dickinson wrote, "The local church [is] our only ecclesiastical authority." ⁷⁹

Broadus stated, "Every church we consider a government within itself." ⁸⁰ The local church consisted of baptised believers.

These three men based their work in the camps on their own understanding of pastoral duties involving the local church and its denominational support. Given their strong views of Baptist congregationalism, one must ask how they perceived their ministry roles in the camps in relation to the local body of believers, the church. Neither Broadus, Dickinson, nor Jones addressed the specific issue of the army church. This indicated either an ignorance of the issue, or at least a tacit support of the army church. The discussion in the Baptist papers concerning the ordinances and the

⁷⁸Hieronymus, 205.

⁷⁹A. E. Dickinson, What Baptist Principles, 16-17.

⁸⁰Robertson, Life, 113.

church were unavoidable. Men as well informed as Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones could not be unaware of the issue.

The debate concerning army churches

In the summer of 1863 an ecclesiological debate raged in Baptists papers over baptism. Rev. A. D. Betts, Chaplain 30th N.C., Army of Northern Virginia, wrote that as a Methodist he offered assistance "for all to join whatever church they may wish."⁸¹ He gave an account of a conference that he convened of Missionary Baptist men in his unit. At the conference the men examined new converts and voted on receiving new members. Betts referred to the "Soldiers Christian Association" in his closing section of the article. However, he used the term "church" in all his previous statements in the article.⁸²

The Religious Herald did not make any direct statement in support or opposition, but its tone was favorable. The following month the Christian Index, the Georgia Baptist paper, issued a formal position on army churches. The Christian Index editor noted the Religious Herald believed "wherever it is practicable to form and maintain churches, it should be done. . . if it can be done, by all means let it be done."⁸³ The Christian Index, however, opposed the formation of army churches. The Index observed that just because

⁸¹A. D. Betts, "Church Membership," Religious Herald, 18 June 1863.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³"Churches in the Army," Christian Index, 31 July 1863. Also see "Churches in the Army," Religious Herald, 20 August 1863.

something is allowable by Baptist structure does not mean that it is advisable.

To the Index, the only "advantage or privilege of an army church would be the administration of the Lord's Supper."³⁴ This benefit would not be worth the problems incurred. The most problematic issue was church membership. Either the church would be comprised of new converts, or spiritually older members would have to transfer their membership from their home churches. Baptist churches did not permit members to hold multiple church memberships. The Index did see the need for Christians in the army to provide for the watchcare of new converts. According to the Index, Baptist ministers performing baptisms should ensure that the new converts had the appropriate certificates to facilitate their admission "to any home church."³⁵ This was done at least once. In the October business meeting of Mount Moriah Baptist Church the church received John R. Beasley "by certificate from Rev. A. W. Moore Chaplain [sic]."³⁶ One account reported the Baptist men in the army camp working with the chaplain to assist a soldier's restoration of fellowship with his church at home.³⁷

Baptist churches generally observe two ordinances, baptism and the Lord's Supper. Chaplains Gwin and Walters wrote an inquiry to the Confederate Baptist asking advice

³⁴"Churches in the Army," Christian Index.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Mount Moriah Baptist Church, Greenwood County, SC. Minutes 1855-July, 1900 Membership Roll Constitution," SBHLA.

³⁷"The Revival in the Army," Biblical Recorder, 7 October 1863.

concerning baptism of soldiers who wished to join a pedobaptist church.⁸⁸ Their letter sparked a sharp debate. The Christian Index opposed interdenominational baptisms. The Index stated, "That as Baptism is the appointed and indispensable antecedent to church membership" it should not be granted to one not uniting with the Baptist Church.⁸⁹ By the time the Index published its objection, Gwin had already written a clarification. He stated, "We immerse them upon a profession of their faith in Christ, and give them a certificate of baptism, and recommend them to the Baptist Church for membership."⁹⁰

Gwin considered himself as a chaplain performing the role of evangelist since "[we] have not the charge of any particular church."⁹¹ He understood his authority to be based on the Great Commission after the example of Philip. Gwin admitted, "As to the certificate of baptism and recommendation to membership in the Church, we have to act from inference and principles of propriety."⁹² He ended his explanation confessing that it may not be "baptistic to recommend (after immersion) these candidates to the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches for membership, yet,

⁸⁸Confederate Baptist, 24 June 1863.

⁸⁹"A Pass Through the Lines," Christian Index, 21 August 1863. Also see "Unlawful Baptism," Biblical Recorder, 12 August 1863.

⁹⁰T. D. Gwin, "An Explanation," Confederate Baptist, 22 July 1863.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

under all the circumstances, should we not immerse and recommend them to the churches of their choice?"³³

The theological issues were not as sharply defined to the soldiers in the camps. Lt. Thomas Boatwright informed his wife that in his brigade "the administration of the Lord's supper will be held by the Methodist Church." He asked his wife "would it be wrong" to participate or would it violate the "doctrine of the Baptist Church?" Later in his letter he informed her that he had decided not to attend.³⁴ The article "Communion" recognized that various denominations held variant ideas concerning administration of the Lord's Supper, and that Baptists lacked an ecumenical spirit on the matter.³⁵

The Lord's Supper was problematic to Baptists because church discipline could not be separated from communion.³⁶ A soldier had to be a born again, baptized, church member in good standing to participate.³⁷ Even a casual perusal of mid-nineteenth century Baptist church records reveals the disciplining of wayward members as one of the most common actions taken. This baptistic insistence upon church discipline could not be set aside because of the circumstances of war. The war only increased the sphere of church discipline. Civilian churches struggled with the

³³Ibid.

³⁴Boatwright to his wife, 19 April 1863.

³⁵"Communion," Religious Herald, 18 June 1863.

³⁶"Displacing the Church," Religious Herald, 1 October 1863.

³⁷"Church Discipline," Confederate Baptist, 1 October 1863.

feasibility of imposing church discipline on members in the military.⁹⁸ Newlight Baptist Church, Wake Forest, North Carolina, voted to discipline a member who deserted.⁹⁹

Regardless of the debate, Southern Baptists baptized numerous troops. Jones baptized five men in September 1863, and "a number are still waiting to join other denominations."¹⁰⁰ Dickinson recorded, without comment, a colporter's report that, "A short time since a large number here professed conversion and many of them united with the Baptist church."¹⁰¹ In September 1863, Andrew Broaddus, Sr., John A. Broadus's uncle and a prominent Baptist, participated in the baptism of seventeen soldiers within rifle distance of Union pickets.¹⁰² Earlier in September Broaddus "baptized 31 candidates for admission into the Baptist church."¹⁰³ In his letter of 4 September 1863, John A. Broadus wrote, "Yesterday twenty-seven were received for different denominations, making sixty-four in all, of whom twenty-four are Baptist."¹⁰⁴ The baptisms in the army were counted as separate from local

⁹⁸"Discipline of Church Members in the Army," Religious Herald, 3 September 1863.

⁹⁹"Newlight Baptist Church Record Book, 1850-1887, December 1863," SBHLA.

¹⁰⁰Jones, Christ, 344.

¹⁰¹A. E. Dickinson, "Interesting Facts and Incidents from the Chaplains and Colporters," Christian Index, 2 February 1863. Also see Jones, Christ, 302.

¹⁰²Religious Herald, 8 October 1863. Andrew's family spelled Broaddus with two "d's".

¹⁰³Religious Herald, 17 September 1863.

¹⁰⁴Robertson, Life, 206.

civilian churches. The Greenbriar Association recorded, "One hundred and sixty have been added by baptism within the bounds of the Association, not including those baptized by Bro. Bibb, chaplain of the 60th Va. regiment, and those baptized by me [Wm. Fisher] in the 22d Va. regiment, making some seventy more."¹⁰⁵

The concept of an army church caused distress to some people. As long as the soldiers remained unorganized or formed associations, denominational differences could be minimalized.¹⁰⁶ One can only speculate about Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's views. The difficulty of determining the organization, polity, and practices of the army church in relation to Broadus, Dickinson and Jones was the lack of a constituted Baptist Army Church mentioned in their field of ministry.

John A. Broadus added to the ambiguity in that while he was considered a camp evangelist there is no record extant that he baptized anyone in the army camps. It appears that he left the observance of the ordinance to men who were functioning in long-term "pastoral" capacities.¹⁰⁷

Whether labeled "association" or "church," the camp organization appeared to be interdenominational with subdivisions based upon denominational lines. This structure resulted in a Baptist church within an interdenominational

¹⁰⁵William Fisher, "Greenbrier Association," Religious Herald, 8 October 1863.

¹⁰⁶"Displacing the Church,"

¹⁰⁷J. William Jones, "As Evangelist in Lee's Army," Seminary Magazine, April 1895, 358.

church.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, when John A. Broadus, A. E. Dickinson, J. William Jones, and other Baptist leaders wrote that soldiers joined the Baptist church, one must understand that they were referring to a local body of believers who were in a relationship of accountability and discipline.

The organizational structure of the Christians in the Confederate army varied. Kemper's brigade illustrated a common polity. W. W. Barrow, Christian Association secretary, wrote, "At a meeting of the members of the church in Kemper's brigade, it was recommended . . . that the members of the different churches form themselves into an organized Association for the purpose of mutually assisting each other."¹⁰⁹ Notice Barrow recognized the universal church, the denominational bodies, and the local denominational bodies. One unit was noteworthy. Terry's Texas Rangers had a Christian Association and a "Baptist church, recently organized, with a membership of 30."¹¹⁰ This was the only example, found by the researcher, reported by the Religious Herald of an organized army Baptist church in Virginia.

The term "association" appeared to be favored over "church" in the Army of Northern Virginia. This could have been due to the prominent role of Baptists in the religious effort. The chaplains, missionaries, colporters, and soldiers recognized denominational differences, but minimized them, whenever possible, for the advancement of the revival. To

¹⁰⁸Bennett, Revival, 359.

¹⁰⁹W. W. Barrow, "Camp of Kemper's Brigade," Religious Herald, 10 September 1863.

¹¹⁰"A Camp Church," Religious Herald, 1 October 1863.

unite with the Baptist faith required the candidate to publicly present his testimony to the gathered Baptists of his unit. The Baptists would then vote to receive him for admission. The new member was accountable to the men of his denomination in the unit.¹¹¹ The chaplain, regardless of denominational affiliation, maintained a record of each man's spiritual condition and advised the home church as needed.¹¹²

The army church fulfilled the needs of fellowship, accountability, ministry, and evangelism for the Confederate soldiers.¹¹³ Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones clearly focused on the needs of the soldiers and accepted the army church or association. The technicalities of multiple membership were secondary to the need for a "church in exile."¹¹⁴

Hindrances to Revival

The evangelistic campaign began at the onset of the war. As shown, there were factors that promoted the religious efforts. Naturally, there were also hindrances to the Christians' endeavors. The hindrances included the lack of chaplains, the military campaign, and the immorality of army camp life. These challenges had to be resolved or offset to facilitate revival.

¹¹¹Jones, Christ, 511.

¹¹²T. D. Gwin, "An Explanation." Also Betts, Rev. A. D. (Chaplain) 30th Regt.

¹¹³Jones, Christ, 338. "Armstead's Brigade," Religious Herald, 17 September 1863.

¹¹⁴Paige Patterson.

Lack of Chaplains

There was no provision for chaplains when the Confederate army was formed. This appears to have been a philosophical struggle with the separation of church and state. In a letter to the Christian Index, J. G. Johnson gave six objections to the military position of chaplain: 1) There is no biblical model so it must be an evil. 2) It "savors of the union of church and state" leading to persecution. 3) It promotes inactivity in the churches. 4) It causes taxpaying Christians to support men of other denominations. 5) The ministry is dishonored by men who could not find another ministry position. 6) It is contrary to the Baptist principle of liberty.¹¹⁵

A lack of clergy did not cause the shortage of chaplains.¹¹⁶ It was a problem of clergy who were willing to give undivided attention to the duties of the chaplain. Many clergy served in the ranks from the outset of the war.¹¹⁷ J. William Jones enlisted as a private in 1861, and Crawford

¹¹⁵J. G. Johnson, "Chaplains," Christian Index, 18 May 1863; Virginia was more supportive of the chaplains. The chaplain's pay and privileges were comparable to a major of infantry. "An Ordinance providing Army Chaplains," Religious Herald, 2 May 1861.

¹¹⁶Jones, Christ, 21, 106, 252. The Rockbridge Artillery had nineteen theological students on the muster. Rev. Dabney Carr Harrison was captain of K Co. 56th. Virginia Infantry. Rev. Dr. R. L. Dabney was Adjutant General on Jackson's staff. Also see, General William N. Pendleton was an Episcopal bishop. W. N. Pendleton Papers, SHC; Rev. George F. Bagby enlisted as a private in the Fortieth Virginia and preached, held prayer-meetings, and ministered as a soldier until July 1861. Christ, 493; Rev. J. H. McNeill, Major of the 63rd N. C. Cavalry was wounded while leading a charge. "A Clerical Officer Wounded," Religious Herald, 16 July 1863.

¹¹⁷"Southern Troops" Religious Herald, 2 May 1861.

Toy, eventually a Southern Baptist Theological Seminary professor, was a private in an artillery battalion. One chaplain stated, "Rev. A. A. Lomax, who was a private [Twelfth Mississippi], had held prayer-meetings and preached now and then, as he could find time."¹¹⁸

There were numerous reasons for a lack of chaplains once the position was authorized. Many Southern clergy believed that their places were in the ranks experiencing the hardships of the soldiers. Rev. Harrison felt obligated to take his brother's place in the army after his brother's death. He believed that he could be a more effective minister in the ranks.¹¹⁹

Other clergy would not submit to the disadvantages of the chaplaincy. The Biblical Recorder observed, "It would baffle the far-famed ingenuity of a Philadelphia lawyer to determine what is the real relationship of the Confederate chaplain to the army. He is a commissioned officer without rank--a monstrosity which nobody but the Solons of Richmond would ever have conceived."¹²⁰ The article pointed out that commissary and quartermaster officers did not have commands, yet had rank and were given mounts. In contrast, the Confederate Congress denied chaplains horses or forage.¹²¹ Most men having spent several years preparing for, or serving in,

¹¹⁸Jones, Christ, 507; Biblical Recorder, 20 May 1861, 16 September 1863, 7 October 1863. Religious Herald, 6 August 1863, 3 September 1863, 17 September 1863.

¹¹⁹Jones, Christ, 122.

¹²⁰"Chaplains," Biblical Recorder, 5 August 1863. Also see Jones, Christ, 96.

¹²¹"Chaplains." Also see Betts, Rev. A. D.

the ministry were not physically fit for the rigors of campaigning. John Paris's diary for 23 July 1863 showed his regiment marched for seventeen miles and camped without tents. On 25 July 1863 he wrote, "My feet blistered sorely on the march." The brigade "suffered much" on 31 July 1863 due to lack of water and the bad road conditions.¹²² Chaplains' diaries from the period describe long marches, late night bivouacs, and harsh conditions.¹²³

The chaplain's life was hard. J. E. B. Stuart stated, "I do not want a man who is not both able and willing to endure hardness as a good soldier. The [chaplain] who cannot endure the fatigues, hardships and privations of our rough riding and service, and be in place when needed, would be of no earthly use to us, and is not wanted at my head-quarters."¹²⁴ Most of the ministers capable of meeting Stuart's standards were already serving in the ranks.

Health problems were common place among the ministers who served as chaplains, colporters, or visiting evangelists. A certain Rev. Jones caught pneumonia.¹²⁵ Chaplain "Renfroe nearly [broke] down, having been for three weeks preaching daily." R. W. Cridlin missed a year of ministry in the camps due to "typhoid pneumonia." T. M. Niven left his chaplaincy due to an "asthmatic affection." Rev. F. M. Barker died of a

¹²²John Paris Papers, Vol. 1, SHC. Paris was a Methodist minister from Guilford County, North Carolina. He served as the chaplain of the 54th N. C. Regiment in Virginia.

¹²³Paris Papers, SHC; Betts, Rev. A. D.; Jones, Rev. F. H. NCSA.

¹²⁴Jones, Christ, 102.

¹²⁵Jones, Rev. F. H. Papers, NCSA.

cold. The health hazards were not limited to illness. In one unit a minister lost an arm. His replacement, his brother, was mortally wounded. The next chaplain also died of wounds.¹²⁶

The role of ministers and their place in the army was a subject of debate. In July 1863 one lady wrote :

When I hear of a preacher of the gospel laying aside his ministerial dignity and becoming a Colonel, Major, or Captain, or even a Brigadier, I cannot help thinking of Luther and Zuingle [sic]. The former, you know, prayed the latter, fought [sic]. The one lived to a good old age and was a blessing to succeeding generations--the other perished on the battle field.¹²⁷

Stonewall Jackson clearly disagreed. He had no hesitation in using ordained men on his staff.¹²⁸ However, if a man decided to be a chaplain, Jackson expected him to move to the rear during the battle. The chaplain's duty at that time was prayer.¹²⁹ Jackson was concerned that if one of his command's chaplains was killed or wounded the men would be without a minister due to a lack of replacements. Yet, J. William Jones related he was once sent to order a battery to stop firing, a

¹²⁶Jones, Christ, 327, 470, 485, 319, 500.

¹²⁷"Ministers as Military Officers," Religious Herald, 16 July 1863.

¹²⁸Robert G. Tanner, Stonewall in the Valley (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1996), 166.

¹²⁹"Camp Notes," Religious Herald, 10 July 1862; "How Our Soldiers Feel," Confederate Baptist, 8 October 1862. The officers and men "begged that he [the chaplain] would remain behind, and attend to the wounded as they were brought from the field. He maintained [his position] . . . though the bombs burst furiously around the hospital."

duty usually performed by the general's staff.¹³⁰ The role and responsibilities of the Confederate chaplains were ambiguous.

On many occasions chaplains preached sermons while their units were in the line of battle waiting for the order to advance. Such a position exposed the chaplains to sharpshooters and artillery barrages as they preached to the troops. Todd wrote, [with shot and shell flying before the assault on Malvern Hill] "It was just here that the most solemn prayer I ever heard was offered up by the Reverend Mr. P. H. Peterson, the Chaplain of the 12th Virginia. He was an excellent man, and the most efficient Chaplain that I saw in the, War [sic]." ¹³¹

A shortage of chaplains existed throughout the war. This lack of men willing and able to serve in a position that involved a pastoral ministry to the soldiers of their assigned units hindered the spread of revival. The soldiers noticed the lack of ministers from home. One Christian cavalryman wrote:

Unregenerate men here are asking, -"Where are all the preachers? They used to say, they would give anything or do anything, if they could only save us. It could not be disproved then, and the assertion cost nothing but the breath that uttered it. But now, when it calls for sacrifice, we see they love their ease better than they do our souls." ¹³²

¹³⁰Southern Churchman, 18 July 1862. Jackson was reluctant to authorize chaplains leaves. Betts requested a leave due to a family crisis. All of his superiors approved the leave except Jackson. Also see Betts, Rev. A. D. "Camp Notes;" Jones, Christ, 225.

¹³¹Westwood A. Todd, "Reminiscences of the War Between the States April 1, 1861-July 1865," Vol. 1. SHC, 21.

¹³²"Let Ministers go to the Army," Religious Herald, 24 September 1863.

The expectations of the unconverted soldiers accentuated the need for a consistent pastoral evangelism and the importance of pastors ministering in the camps.

The shortage was due to many reasons: the chaplain's lack of clear standing in the command structure, governmental ambivalence, a physically rigorous lifestyle, and hazardous living conditions. There were few, if any, physical rewards for a ministry in the army camps. Many pastors found it more appealing to remain in their pastorates.

Military Inconveniences

The war's prosecution hindered revival in the Confederate army. Rev. George W. Leyburn wrote, "For the first year or so, as a general thing, the transition to camp-life seemed to throw a baleful influence over the morality and the religious character of young men going to the army."¹³³ In combination with the adjustment to camp life was the reality that the war was waged without a calendar. Private Hitner served with Jackson. He recorded, "The first Sabbath in the army is marked in my journal as having been 'horribly spent,' being engaged most of the day in cutting wood, cooking, etc., while rain was pouring down upon us and making us miserable."¹³⁴

Private J. K. Hitner observed that many of Jackson's battles were fought on Sundays making "it extremely difficult for professing Christians to improve the ordinary means of

¹³³Jones, Christ, 490.

¹³⁴Ibid., 481.

grace which otherwise they might have enjoyed."¹³⁵ Hitner cited several periods of activity that precluded even informal prayer-meetings, much less preaching services. He said, "It seemed that we were to have no Sabbath-day services, for we were either marching or fighting, or wet weather prevented us from holding any religious meetings. Then, during the day we were continually on the march from early to late, so that when we got to camp we were tired, hungry, worn-out, besides having rations to cook."¹³⁶

Immorality of Army Camp Life

The final major hindrance to revival often cited was the moral condition of the army. "Spiritual Difficulties in the Army," cited four obstacles to preaching in the army:

1, The fact that soldiers, being marshaled by companies, lose, in a manner, the sense of their individuality and personal responsibility; 2, the desecration of the Sabbath which prevails in the army; 3, the practice of profane swearing, in which so many of the soldiers indulge; and 4, the state of mind induced by the absence of the tender and sacred influences of home.¹³⁷

Bennett attributed the "reckless spirit" common among soldiers and the general demoralization as one of the "hindrances."¹³⁸ He used "demoralization" for the moral

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷"Spiritual Difficulties in the Army," Religious Herald, 1 October 63. General Richard S. Ewell, mentioned frequently in the Great Revival period, was known at the beginning of the war for his profanity. When he spoke "it was with an explosion of soldier's profanity." Tanner, 211.

¹³⁸Bennett, 33.

conditions of the army instead of the morale of the troops after the setbacks of Jackson's death at Chancellorsville and the battle of Gettysburg. Bennett stated, "Among the soldiers the great overshadowing evils were lewdness, profanity, and drunkenness; among the people at home, the 'greed of gain' was the 'accursed thing.'" ¹³⁹ He then spent three pages dealing with the amount of alcohol produced and consumed in the South and examples of drunkenness in the ranks. ¹⁴⁰ A soldier wrote:

During the first year of the war, the difficulties and discouragements encountered were neither few or small. The increase and prevalence of drunkenness, especially among the officers, were absolutely frightful. The very floodgates of iniquity seemed to have been raised, and the tide was bearing everything before it. Comparatively few professors of religion had strength to withstand the current. ¹⁴¹

To many it was apparent that the South and the Confederate army experienced a decline of morality. ¹⁴²

¹³⁹Ibid., 34; Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, ed. The Journals of Josiah Gorgas 1857-1878 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 75. "It is apparent that we are not yet sufficiently tried. The sins of the people of Charleston may cause the city to fall. It is full of rottenness, every one being engaged in speculations. When the fates of Lee's army was as we tho't trembling in the balance at Gettysburg, the interest was less vivid in it than in a steamer which was expected in."

¹⁴⁰Bennett, 36-37.

¹⁴¹J. H. Campbell, "Letter from Georgia," Religious Herald, 16 October 1863.

¹⁴²Basil Manly, Jr. was quoted as stating that during the "revolutionary war, the churches connected with the Charleston Baptist Association doubled in five years." The article then asked, "Why may not this be our experience now?" "Growth in Time of War," Religious Herald, 18 June 1863. The effects of war on religious movements is beyond the scope of this study, but Manly's view does present the opinion that war itself does not preclude revival.

It was unlikely that immoral conditions hindered the revival. They remained present in the army, even at the height of the revival. Drunkenness occurred during the Gettysburg campaign as the troops encountered a liquor supply in Pennsylvania.¹⁴³ Earle Cairns contends that these social conditions are harbingers of revival.¹⁴⁴

Evidence of Revival

Jonathan Edwards gave the following measures for a work of God: people attending public worship more frequently, a more solemn and decent manner, an increasing concern for the lost, forsaking previous sinful lifestyles and habits, and increasing esteem and use of the Scriptures.¹⁴⁵ One may judge the merit of the revival in the Army of Northern Virginia by Edwards's standard. According to one soldier:

The Lord is at work among us. His stately stepplings are often heard and his presence felt to the comfort of our souls. We have had for the past week very interesting prayer-meetings. They were well attended and the very highest interest manifested. Souls are hungry for the 'bread of life.' Often in these prayer meetings there are from twelve to twenty mourners. . . Sinners are being awakened, mourners comforted, and the Christian established in faith.¹⁴⁶

That observation was written several months before Gettysburg.

¹⁴³J. A. Stradley, Biblical Recorder, 22 July 1863.

¹⁴⁴Cairns, 22.

¹⁴⁵Edwards, 150-159.

¹⁴⁶Bennett, 268; For revival accounts that occurred prior to Gettysburg see "Prayer Meeting in Camp," Confederate Baptist, 8 April 1863; "News From our Army Colporteurs," Biblical Recorder 20 May 1863; "The Antietam," Religious Herald, 30 July 1863.

In April 1863, Second Lieutenant Thomas F. Boatwright, Company C, 44th VA. Regular Infantry, wrote:

My heart is filled to overflowing this night for I have just returned from prayer meeting and a glorious time we had and here I will say that we have a gracious revival going in our brigade. . . . Capt. Buckman is even among them [professions of faith] I thank God for it for he has been the burden of my prayers for months and tonight when he went up my feelings gave way. I feel grateful to God that he has heard my prayers.¹⁴⁷

Boatwright was in the same unit as his cousin, Reuben, a private. Reuben spoke of the "sweet influence of the Holy Spirit."¹⁴⁸

These two men's letters dealt with their hunger, deprivation, homesickness, and the constant danger. Yet, Reuben wrote to Thomas's wife, Ann:

I wish you could see us sitting down on the ground all around the preacher he in the midst of us . . . My health is very good at this time except for a sore throat from singing so much but in the open air most of the singing is thrown upon me, it is very hard to sing outdoors as you know. But I am willing to do all I can for the cause of my blessed Redeemer.¹⁴⁹

Thomas's and Reuben's letters display the strength of their faith.

The conditions in camp had changed drastically from what Thomas described in his letter of 4 February 1863. "Here I am thrown among men in my tent that seem to care but little about spiritual things always talking of something that is trifling. . . . Oh I feel the need of instructions . . . I

¹⁴⁷Boatwright to his wife, April 8, 1863, SHC.

¹⁴⁸Reuben Hodgins to Ann E. Boatwright, 10 February 1863, SHC.

¹⁴⁹Hodgins to Ann E. Boatwright, [spring 1863], SHC.

miss those instructions so much."¹⁵⁰ Thomas told his wife how morning drill had been suspended by General Jackson to allow morning preaching services. There was also evening services with large attentive crowds. Thomas declared, " We are having a glorious time."¹⁵¹

Camp services featured biblical preaching whenever possible.¹⁵² The soldiers appreciated the sermons. In a letter dated 17 February 1863 Boatwright told of a sermon dealing with the duties of a Christian and what constitutes Christianity.¹⁵³ He confessed that he did not pray as he should, and he told his wife of his being convicted to become a consistent witness.¹⁵⁴

Reuben also spoke of the Sunday services (two sermons) and the nightly prayer meetings in a February letter.¹⁵⁵ In April, Thomas wrote, "I can see a great change in camp what I saw but a few weeks ago I see not now . . . for the outpouring of the Spirit." Thomas interrupted his letter

¹⁵⁰Boatwright to his wife, 4 February 1863, SHC.

¹⁵¹Boatwright to his wife, 18 April 1863, SHC.

¹⁵²J. C. Granberry, "Introduction," in Jones, Christ, 14; Broadus, "Among the Soldiers;" Jones, Christ, 248; "Letters from Camp No. 9," Religious Herald, 20 August 1863.

¹⁵³Sunday schools were a popular feature of the camp revival. Jones, Christ, 261; Dickinson to John A. Broadus, 11 October 1863, SBTS; Jones, Christ, 471, 485, 506.

¹⁵⁴Boatwright to his wife, 17 February 1863, SHC. Also see "Rev. J. A. Broadus, D.D.;" "Among the Soldiers;" "Letters from Camp No. 9;" "Elder John A. Broadus, D.D.;" Robertson, Life, 207; Religious Herald, 3 September 1863; "Letter from Brig. Gen. Gordon," Religious Herald, 17 September 1863.

¹⁵⁵Reuben Hodgins to Ann E. Boatwright, 4 February 1863, SHC.

writing long enough to attend services then continued with, "We had a sermon from these words, God forbid that I should glory only in the cross of Christ."¹⁵⁶ The same week Thomas wrote, "I am glad to say Capt. Buckman has professed religion . . . he is in earnest . . . he is a changed man." Thomas ended his letter with news that eleven men in his regiment had accepted Christ along with "many in other regiments."¹⁵⁷

The spiritual activities in the Army of Northern Virginia not only involved an increased interest in worship, Bible study, prayer, and spiritual maturity, there was also an increased concern for the unconverted. Thomas wrote his wife telling how the chaplain challenged the troops to advance the cause of Christ. Thomas responded by visiting a fellow soldier. Thomas related, "He has found peace in believing in the blessed Jesus . . . My heart leaped for joy. . . . I don't intend to stop here . . . The Lord will hear the prayers of his people."¹⁵⁸

Boatwright's 44th Regiment was just a single unit in the Army of Northern Virginia, however, the stories of revival appear throughout the Confederate Army. Romero cites estimates ranging from 50,000 to 150,000 for conversions army wide.¹⁵⁹ The total number of Confederate troops was estimated

¹⁵⁶Boatwright to his wife, 19 April 1863, SHC.

¹⁵⁷Boatwright to his wife, 13 April 1863, SHC.

¹⁵⁸Boatwright to his wife, 31 March 1863, SHC.

¹⁵⁹Romero, 122. Bennett estimated nearly 150,000 converts army wide. Bennett, 413. Jones stated, "At least 15,000 soldiers of Lee's army [were converted]." Jones, Christ, 390.

at 600,000.¹⁶⁰ Thomas wrote, "We are very much in want of something to eat at this time we have not had anything but tough bread . . . my present life is a very hard one. I enjoy myself very much at prayer meetings every night."¹⁶¹ Reuben declared, "We are having a glorious time about now. I never enjoyed myself more than I do now since I have been a soldier. . . . Surely the Lord is in our midst."¹⁶²

The Boatwright letters gave evidence of revival in the lives of Thomas Boatwright and his cousin Reuben Hodgins. The religious papers were full of revival reports which indicate a wide spread spiritual awakening.¹⁶³ The Confederate soldiers experienced brokenness, conviction, comfort, and power.

The influence of the revival did not end at Appomattox Court House. Jones and Bennett maintained contact with many of the revival participants. The soldiers who were converted or revived in the Confederate army camps continued their witness after the war. Jones stated that of the four hundred and ten soldiers he personally baptized only three were not maintaining a Christian witness. He claimed that according to a 1867 survey, nine-tenths of the ministerial candidates were called into the ministry while in the army camps.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰Randall, 529.

¹⁶¹Thomas Boatwright to his wife, 31 March 1863, SHC.

¹⁶²Reuben Hodgins to his uncle, 18 April 1863, SHC.

¹⁶³Andrew Broaddus, "Army Revivals," Religious Herald, 30 July 1863. Also see Jones, Christ, 351; Bennett, 413; A. E. Dickinson, "Revival in Wilcox's Brigade," Religious Herald, 10 September 1863.

¹⁶⁴Bennett, 351, 426; Jones, Christ, 463.

CHAPTER 3

JOHN ALBERT BROADUS, ALFRED ELIJAH DICKINSON, AND JOHN WILLIAM JONES: THEIR LIVES AND MINISTRIES

John A. Broadus, A. E. Dickinson, and J. William Jones displayed the traits common to many Virginians of their period. Prior to the Civil War, Virginia was a leader in national politics, education, and culture. A. T. Robertson claimed, "Virginia was in the full tide of power and glory in the thirties. She was dominant in national politics, and her civilization was setting the standard for all the South. . . . Pride of prestige ran in the Virginia blood . . . Virginia life before the Civil War had a raciness and richness not to be repeated in American experience."¹ Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones possessed a loyalty to, and pride in, their state.

They were born within a span of nine years in adjoining counties in the Piedmont region of Virginia. Their lives and ministries remained intertwined until their deaths at the turn of the century. John A. Broadus was the eldest. The extant records of the friendship between Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones revealed Broadus as the mentor and "sponsor" of the trio. The relationships spanned the profession and personal arenas. Broadus was a member of a leading Virginian family in politics and Baptist life.² He bridged sectional differences

¹Robertson, Life, 11.

²Ibid., 12.

that existed in the United States after the Civil War. John A. Broadus helped shape the Southern Baptist Convention in the areas of theological education and preaching in the nineteenth century.³ Broadus possessed an international reputation as a preacher, scholar, and teacher at his death in 1895.⁴ Alfred Elijah Dickinson and John William Jones were prominent in their respective fields, however, they never equaled Broadus's reputation. Due to their different statures in denominational and academic life, the biographical information for Dickinson and Jones is limited.

Alfred Elijah Dickinson

A. E. Dickinson was born 3 December 1830, in Orange County, Virginia.⁵ During infancy his family moved to Louisa County. His father, Ralph, was a "prosperous" farmer.⁶ Described as a "successful farmer and a quiet, devoted Christian," Ralph Dickinson owned a "large plantation in

³Ibid.

⁴Thomas R. McKibbens, John A. Broadus: Shaper of Preaching (Nashville: The Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1897).

⁵"Facts Desired Concerning Former Students of the University of Virginia Who Have Been Ministers of the Gospel." University of Virginia Archives, Charlottesville, Va. The information sheet was filled out by Dickinson's third wife, Bessie Bagby Dickinson. She listed his place of birth as Spotsylvania County

⁶"Alfred E. Dickinson," A. E. Dickinson File, Religious Herald Archives; Religious Herald, 22 July 1965, 10. Also see 1850 Census, State of Virginia, Louisa County, Handwritten Page Number 787, line 11, Dwelling 501: Copy on File at National Archives.

sight of the lower Blue Ridge Mountains."⁷ A. E. Dickinson was the second of six children. The 1850 census listed him as a student. It also suggests that his parents married late in life. In 1850 Dickinson's father was sixty-one and his mother, Ann, was fifty-seven. The oldest child, Ralph, was thirty-eight years younger than his father.⁸

Rev. E. G. Shipp, pastor of Foster Creek Baptist Church, baptized Dickinson at the age of seventeen. In response to his sense of ministerial calling, Dickinson was urged to transfer his membership to Forest Hill Baptist Church. As a new church, Forest Hill lacked leadership. The church licensed Dickinson to preach after several months, and later ordained him to the gospel ministry. Dickinson supported himself by teaching school near his father's home.⁹

Dickinson continued to minister near home while he pursued a college degree. Robert Ryland, president of Richmond College, visited the Dickinson home in 1849. Ryland recruited him to attend Richmond College. Dickinson matriculated in 1849 and graduated in 1852. He spent his summers as a missionary colporter in the Goshen Baptist Association, which included Louisa and Orange counties.¹⁰ The

⁷James Taylor Dickinson, "Alfred Elijah Dickinson," Virginia Baptist Ministers, Fifth Series, ed. George Braxton Taylor (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell, 1915), 166.

⁸1850 Census.

⁹James Taylor Dickinson, 167; Religious Herald, 22 July 1965, 10. The article gives the place of Dickinson's baptism as Berea Baptist Church.

¹⁰Minutes of the Goshen Baptist Association held at Zion Meeting-House Orange County, Va. September 9-11, 1851 (Richmond: H. K. Ellyson's Power Press, 1851), 6.

1851 Goshen associational minutes listed Dickinson under the heading "Licentiates." His address was given as "Trevillian's Depot."¹²

Colporters faced a challenging schedule. A Goshen Association colporter submitted a report in 1856. Though Dickinson no longer served as a colporter by 1856, the report reflected the expectations of the association. The colporter submitted:

Within the past twelve months, I have traveled 3224 miles, visited 775 families, for religious instruction and prayer, preached 147 sermons, principally to colored persons, delivered a great many exhortations, both public and private, organized one Sunday school, delivered three addresses on the subject of Sunday schools, attended seven protracted meetings, during the progress of which, between thirty and forty souls were converted in connection with my labors.¹³

The report continued with the colporter's sales of tracts and publications. Colporters were not just tract distributors. Dickinson's early ministry experience combined pastoral ministries, itinerant evangelism, denominational representation, and tract distribution.

Dickinson was an impressive figure, "of massive form, towering like Saul" above a gathering. Accounts described him as possessing a great sense of humor and irrepressible spirit. Dickinson faced formidable tasks with a restlessness, resourcefulness, and "thoroughly optimistic" attitude.¹³

¹²Goshen Minutes, 1851, 12.

¹³Minutes of the Goshen Baptist Association Held with the Church at Little River, Louisa, Va., September 9-11, 1854 (Richmond, 1856), 13.

¹³"A. E. Dickinson," Richmond Times Dispatch, 21 November 1906, 8.

After graduation from Richmond College Dickinson continued to develop relationships with individuals whom he would encounter in his Civil War ministry. He returned to Louisa County as a school teacher and pastor. One of his students was Herbert H. Harris. Harris later served as a chaplain in the Army of Northern Virginia. Dickinson pastored Upper and Lower Gold Mine Baptist Churches.¹⁴

Dickinson's pastoral work produced mixed results. In 1854 Upper Gold Mine Baptist Church reported no baptisms, three additions by letters, ten members "dismissed," and one "excluded." There is no record of total membership, but forty-five students, listed as "scholars" were enrolled in Sunday school with eight teachers. At Lower Gold Mine there were 369 total members. Prior to the Civil War, churches listed members by race. Lower Gold Mine's membership consisted of 133 "Whites," and 236 "Colored." Dickinson had thirteen Sunday school teachers for the sixty "scholars." He reported the largest Sunday school enrollment in the association. Lower Gold Mine Baptist Church recorded eighteen persons baptized in 1854.¹⁵

Well respected in the Goshen Association, Dickinson was involved in the associational business. The 1854 minutes recorded Dickinson reading participating churches' reports and serving as a member on a Sunday school committee. The committee presented a recommendation for the formation of a Sunday school union in connection with the Goshen Association. The recommendation passed unanimously. In twelve

¹⁴James Taylor Dickinson, 168. Also see Goshen Minutes, 1854, 6,7.

¹⁵Goshen Minutes, 1854, 6,7.

months Sunday school enrollment increased "from a few hundred to about 2,000."¹⁶ The association selected Dickinson to preach the 1855 annual meeting's introductory sermon.¹⁷

Dickinson's 1854 address was in Charlottesville as a University of Virginia student. By 1855 he had been called to fill the pulpit for John A. Broadus at Charlottesville Baptist Church. The church was in the Albemarle Association. Though no longer involved in the Goshen Association, Dickinson returned for the 1855 annual meeting representing a "sister association," and the state General Association.¹⁸

Dickinson's Years in Relationship with
the University of Virginia
and Charlottesville

Dickinson entered the master of arts program at the University of Virginia in 1852.¹⁹ Students at the University of Virginia enrolled in departments, known as "schools." Each school awarded a diploma for successful completion of its course work. A student had to complete a specific number of schools to receive a degree. During the 1852-53 school year Dickinson attended the schools of Ancient Languages, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Moral Philosophy. In the

¹⁶Dickinson to J. A. Broadus, 29 July 1855, SBTS.

¹⁷Goshen Minutes, 1854, 1, 4, 5.

¹⁸Minutes of the Goshen Baptist Association (Richmond, 1856), 2,3. The church later became First Baptist Church.

¹⁹"Alfred E. Dickinson," in "Dickinson, Alfred Elijah," File, Religious Herald Archives.

1854-1855 session Dickinson attended the schools for Ancient Languages, Modern Languages, and Moral Philosophy.²⁰

The first extant communication between Dickinson and Broadus is a letter dated 18 November 1853. Writing from Ellisville, Louisa County, he invited Broadus to come for a "meeting of several days." Dickinson urged, "I very much desire that you will be with us in our anticipated meeting. . . . If you can visit the church at the court house I think much good would be the result." Dickinson ended his letter stating that it was not feasible for him to return to the university for the session. He hoped to ultimately return or attend a two year theological school.²¹

In the three men's interactions, Dickinson maintained more equitable relationships with the older Broadus and the younger Jones. Dickinson was three years younger than Broadus. They both completed the Master of Arts program at the University of Virginia. Broadus returned to the campus as a professor in 1852, the same year Dickinson matriculated as a student. He graduated in 1854.²² There was a mutual respect displayed in the records of Broadus's and Dickinson's relationship. However, Dickinson did defer to Broadus in most situations. Jones respected Dickinson but reserved his adulation for Broadus.

²⁰University Catalogue of Students, Thirty-first Session-1854-'55, 9. University of Virginia Archives, Charlottesville, Va. Also see Catalogue of Students, Twenty-ninth Session-1852-'53, 11. University of Virginia Archives, Charlottesville, Va.

²¹Dickinson to J. A. Broadus, 18 November 1853, SBTS.

²²"Facts Desired." University of Virginia Archives, Charlottesville, Va.

Broadus and Dickinson also shared a deep interest in the development of "sabbath schools," the term then used for Sunday school. In June 1854, Dickinson again invited Broadus to come to his churches. Dickinson declared:

We are exceedingly anxious for you to be with us on that occasion [sabbath school celebration] and deliver the address. . . . I have a thousand reasons to offer why you should accept our invitation; but will only refer to one. For six months I have been struggling on here trying to awaken an interest in behalf of sabbath school. . . . Now if you will come and follow my feeble efforts by one of yours, you may do much, very much for a cause which I know to be near your heart.²³

Dickinson added that "great good" was done during Broadus's last visit due to Broadus's preaching.²⁴ The following summer Dickinson and Broadus traveled together to the 1855 Southern Baptist Convention.²⁵

Dickinson had honed his organizational and evangelistic skills while in Louisa County. Therefore, Broadus encouraged him to promote Sunday schools in the Albemarle Association, to which Charlottesville Baptist Church belonged. Dickinson happily complied and recommended an organization plan for developing Sunday schools in the Albemarle Association.²⁶

²³Dickinson to J. A. Broadus, 26 June 1854, SBTS.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Robertson, Life, 127.

²⁶Dickinson to J. A. Broadus, 29 July 1855, SBTS.

Dickinson and Broadus valued extemporaneous preaching.²⁷ Dickinson echoed Broadus's opposition to reading a sermon manuscript. In his letter to Broadus dated 29 July 1855 Dickinson told how he had been assisting in a protracted meeting. After his Sunday sermon, twelve "united with the church." In contrast Dr. Burrows, of Richmond, preached the following five days. Dickinson asserted, "[Burrows] has been with us 5 days and read as many sermons. His style is very much objected to and his labors seemed not to be blessed."²⁸

The presence of the university promoted Charlottesville Baptist Church's influence in the state. John A. Broadus's name appeared throughout state convention and associational reports after his call to the church. When Broadus accepted the two year appointment as the university chaplain it created turmoil in the congregation. Two influential Baptist leaders, James B. Taylor and Jeremiah B. Jeter, encouraged Broadus to retain his pastorate by securing an associate to preach on Sundays. Broadus rejected the idea as harmful to the church. However, he left it to the church to determine his status.²⁹

The church released Broadus from "all obligation to perform pulpit or pastoral duty for two years." A church committee first approached George B. Taylor, a well-known Virginian Baptist, but he declined. Dickinson was then selected. Broadus originally favored Dickinson, but remained

²⁷Broadus, Treatise, 425. Broadus used the term "extemporaneous preaching" for preaching without notes after through preparation.

²⁸Dickinson to J. A. Broadus, 29 July 1855, SBTS.

²⁹Robertson, Life, 126.

quiet on the issue.³⁰ He still retained his position as pastor of the church, but for all practical purposes Dickinson was the pastor from 1855-1857. Dickinson received Broadus's support in the church and denomination.

When Dickinson assumed the pastoral duties at Charlottesville Baptist Church he benefited from Broadus's full support. Dickinson's relationship with Broadus aided him in his difficult position at Charlottesville Baptist Church during Broadus's absence as university chaplain. His theological, methodological, and philosophical commonality with Broadus aided in the transition.

The records are ambiguous concerning Dickinson's status at Charlottesville Baptist Church. The church history explained, "During this time [while Broadus was chaplain] Alfred E. Dickinson served as Associate Minister of the church."³¹ Yet, Virginia Baptist Ministers referred to Dickinson's "two years' pastorate."³² Several other works list Charlottesville among Dickinson's pastorates.³³ The Religious Herald wrote, "An indication of the high esteem in which the graduate [Dickinson] was held by those who knew him, is shown

³⁰Ibid., 129.

³¹Lucille Carr, "Historical Sketch, 150th Anniversary First Baptist Church Charlottesville, Va." First Baptist Church, Charlottesville, Records.

³²Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, Fifth Series, 168.

³³"Sketch of Dr. Dickinson's Life and Labors," Religious Herald, 29 November 1906, p. 4; Carrington Paulette, "Dickinson, Alfred Elijah," Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, Vol. 1 (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958), 361.

by his being called to the pastorate of First Baptist Church, Charlottesville, succeeding Dr. John A. Broadus."³⁴

Regardless of how others perceived his position, Dickinson understood his role for the two years at the Charlottesville Baptist Church. Prior to his arrival at Charlottesville, Dickinson wrote to John A. Broadus. He had heard that Broadus was concerned about his preaching on controversial topics. Dickinson reassured Broadus vowing, "If such were not my views, even then it would be my duty to be guided by what you think best, since I will be preaching to your church."³⁵ He ended by asking Broadus to make suggestions as he "thinks best" concerning Dickinson's time at Charlottesville.³⁶

Broadus left a clear record of his opinion of Dickinson's pastoral skills at Charlottesville. He wrote of Dickinson's "very active and zealous labors."³⁷ A. T. Robertson, Broadus's son-in-law, evaluated Dickinson's work as "greatly successful, and he is beloved there to this day. He occupied a delicate position, but he made things go."³⁸ Robertson noted that "much of the addition" to the church occurred while "Dickinson was associate pastor."³⁹

³⁴"Alfred Elijah Dickinson," Religious Herald, 22 July 1965, 10.

³⁵Dickinson to J. A. Broadus, 12 September 1855, SBTS.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Robertson, Life, 134.

³⁸Ibid., 143-144.

³⁹Ibid., 167.

A. E. Dickinson "occupied a delicate position." He assumed the pastorate for two years knowing that Broadus would return to the church. Broadus was considered one of the best pulpiteers in the state as well as a scholar and a beloved pastor. The records show that Dickinson performed well. His ability to fill the position speaks highly of his pastoral talents. Dickinson's talents, Broadus's sponsorship, and the pulpit of Charlottesville Baptist Church promoted Dickinson's advancement in denominational life.

The Increased Influence of Dickinson As
Associate Minister to John A. Broadus

A pattern emerged in Broadus's and Dickinson's relationship during Dickinson's tenure at Charlottesville. Dickinson's selection for committee service closely followed Broadus's election or appointment to the chairmanship of said committees. Prior to 1855, Dickinson's name only appeared in state convention records under the list of ministers. The 1855 state convention met in Charlottesville in June. The previous month Dickinson and Broadus had traveled together to the Southern Baptist Convention. Although Dickinson had not yet accepted the associate minister position, his involvement in denominational leadership increased. John A. Broadus was elected president of the state Foreign Mission Board.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia Held in the Town of Charlottesville, June, 1855 (Richmond: H. K. Ellyson's Steam Press, 1855), 46, 2.

Dickinson was appointed to be a manager of the state Foreign Mission Board before the next convention.

In the August, 1855, Albemarle Association meeting Dickinson was appointed to the standing committee "On Sunday Schools."⁴¹ He was also elected to the Board of Colportage which was chaired by John A. Broadus. Dickinson was appointed as a delegate to represent Albemarle Association at two associational meetings in the state.⁴²

In the 1856 state convention Dickinson offered the closing prayer for one of the afternoon sessions. An issue of importance was the study concerning creation of a Southern Baptist theological seminary. Dickinson was named as a delegate from Virginia to the Theological Convention which addressed the seminary question. He also served as a messenger to the Southern Baptist Convention.⁴³

Dickinson and Broadus played key roles in the 1857 Baptist General Association meeting. The two were messengers from Charlottesville Baptist Church.⁴⁴ They retained their state Foreign Mission Board positions.⁴⁵ The convention

⁴¹Minutes of the Albemarle Baptist Association Held with the Mt. Shiloh Baptist Church, Nelson County, Va. (Charlottesville: James Alexander, 1855), 22.

⁴²Ibid., 27.

⁴³Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia Held in the City of Lynchburg, June, 1856 (Richmond: H. K. Ellyson's Steam Press, 1856), 38, 44.

⁴⁴Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia Held in the City of Richmond, June, 1857 (Richmond: H. K. Ellyson, 1857), 10.

⁴⁵Ibid., 6.

appointed Dickinson to the Committee on Boards, and Broadus to a committee concerning colportage.⁴⁶ Dickinson presented the reports for the Foreign Mission Board and for the Committee on Boards.⁴⁷ The two years at Charlottesville had elevated Dickinson to state convention prominence.

The focus of Dickinson's ministry changed because of the 1857 state convention, and Broadus played a leading role. Broadus chaired the committee which had been formed the previous year to study colportage. The committee recommended to the body, "That the Sunday School and Publication Board be authorized, so soon as they deem it expedient, to employ a general superintendent of their colportage and Sunday School operations." The convention accepted the recommendation.⁴⁸ By the following convention Dickinson assumed the new position. The year 1857 brought other changes to A. E. Dickinson's life, as he married Frances E. Taylor. She was the daughter of James B. Taylor, who had recommended the hiring of an associate pastor during Broadus's chaplaincy.⁴⁹ The minutes of the 1858 Baptist General Association of Virginia reflected Dickinson's increased status. The minutes listed Dickinson as

⁴⁶Ibid., 13, 15.

⁴⁷Ibid., 16.

⁴⁸Ibid., 17.

⁴⁹Personal Information Card in "Dickinson, Alfred Elijah," File, Religious Herald Archives, Virginia Baptist Historical Society, Richmond. Dickinson had four children by his first marriage, one son and three daughters. After Frances's death he remarried. He fathered a daughter by his second wife, Mary Lou Craddock, whom he married in 1879. His second wife also died. His last marriage in 1899 to Bessie Bagby was childless. Paulette, 361-362.

a "Life Member" of the state convention and as Superintendent of Colportage and Sunday School.⁵⁰

Dickinson's Years in Affiliation with
Virginian Baptist Colportage

The Sunday School and Publication Board acted on the 1857 convention's directions to hire a Superintendent of Colportage and Sunday School. The written report submitted to the 1858 convention stated, "They were fortunate in securing Rev. A. E. Dickinson for the place . . . [the Board's] high expectations as to his adaptation to the work, and his usefulness in it, have been fully realized." The report commented on Dickinson's talents. He excelled in fund raising and recruiting workers. In fact, the report stated that the Board had more volunteers than they could appoint at that time.⁵¹ The colporters' tasks demanded commitment. Their ministry involved tract distribution, church planting, visitation, and prayer, while fulfilling the tasks accomplished by circuit riding preachers of other denominations.⁵²

The Sunday School and Publication Board announced the goal of increasing the number of year-round Sunday Schools. The board commended Dickinson's efforts concerning the task. They reported, "[Dickinson] has labored faithfully, and with success, to stir up the minds of brethren on this subject

⁵⁰Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia Held in the Town of Hampton, June, 1858 (Richmond: H. K. Ellyson, 1858), 10.

⁵¹Minutes of the Baptist General Association, 1858, 27.

⁵²Ibid., 27.

[year around Sunday schools]."⁵³ The Sunday School and Publication Board reported statistics from 195 of the 295 Sunday Schools. The schools that reported had 2,619 teachers and officers on roll. They taught 13,059 scholars, with an average attendance of 8,779. The schools recorded 679 professions of conversion. Dickinson reported fifty colporters in the 1858 book of reports.⁵⁴

Even after his departure from Charlottesville, Dickinson sought Broadus's counsel. He wrote Broadus concerning one of his colporters. The man's lack of tract sales indicated slothfulness. Dickinson wrote, "I sent him a n[umber] of books today; all of them very cheap publications and wrote to him that unless he sells these little books we cannot retain him. . . . We do not intend having men who fail to follow our instructions."⁵⁵ Though publicly known as an able and decisive administrator, Dickinson valued Broadus's advice.

The Civil War increased the importance of Dickinson's colportage ministry. Virginia was a major battle zone in the war's eastern theater. Thousands of troops lived in Virginia throughout the war. In the 1861 state convention, Dickinson urged Virginia Baptists to study the implementation of a colporter ministry among the soldiers.⁵⁶ Dickinson also foresaw the need of increasing the South's publishing abilities. He voiced concern that southern churches would be

⁵³Ibid., 29.

⁵⁴Ibid., 30, 29.

⁵⁵Dickinson to J. A. Broadus, 10 November 1857, SBTS.

⁵⁶Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia Held in the City of Petersburg, June, 1861 (Richmond: MacFarlane & Furgusson, 1863), 14.

unable to seize the increased opportunities for tract distribution afforded by the large numbers of troops in the state.⁵⁷ Dickinson's concern was understandable. He had suspended colportage efforts for three months due to finances in November 1860. His fund raising skills were challenged to resume operations.⁵⁸ The war would only increase costs.

Dickinson's 1861 report revealed why he was attracted to the colportage ministry. He reported twenty-seven "young ministers" had enrolled as colporters. He contended, "Sunday School is the nursery of the church . . . colportage is the nursery of the pulpit and the pastorate."⁵⁹ Dickinson believed men hesitant to enter the pastoral ministry would be less intimidated by colportage. Involvement in colportage allowed God to later draw those men into pastoral ministry.⁶⁰ Dickinson enjoyed mentoring young ministers. His recruiting and mentoring abilities resulted in an effective colportage force. The Virginia colportage effort led by Dickinson fielded two-thirds of all colporters in the South at the beginning of the war.⁶¹

Dickinson's title was shortened to "Superintendent of Colportage" by the 1862 state convention. His report was impressive. He and his colporters had raised \$24,000 in the

⁵⁷Ibid., 24.

⁵⁸A. E. Dickinson to John Pollard, 15 November 1860, Pollard Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

⁵⁹Minutes of the Baptist General Association, 1861, 23.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Minutes of the Baptist General Association Thirty-ninth Session, Held in the City of Richmond, June, 1862 (Richmond: MacFarlane & Fergusson, 1863), 46.

midst of the war. The organization had printed forty different tracts, "six millions one hundred and eighty-seven thousand pages of which have been distributed." The colporters distribution included 6,095 New Testaments and 13,845 "Camp Hymnals."⁶² Dickinson reported eighty colporters and evangelists the following year.⁶³ The vast expenditure of resources for religious purposes is all the more impressive when one considers the South's limited resources. Southerners took their religious faith seriously. Therefore, they implemented their religious materials, institutions, and practices in the army camps.

Dickinson left the colportage ministry at the end of the war. He became pastor of Leigh Street Baptist Church, Richmond, in April, 1865. Dickinson and James Bell Jeter purchased the Religious Herald that fall. Dickinson continued to pastor Leigh Street until 1870.⁶⁴ Leigh Street was one of the largest Baptist churches in the state. Several notable revivals occurred during Dickinson's tenure.⁶⁵

Dickinson's Post-War Ministry

Dickinson was the junior editor of the Religious Herald from 1865 until the death of Jeter in 1880. He then served as the senior editor until his death in 1906.⁶⁶ Jeter managed the

⁶²Ibid., 45-46.

⁶³"Dickinson, Alfred Elijah," File.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Taylor, Virginia Baptist, 169.

⁶⁶"Dickinson, Alfred Elijah," File.

paper's publication. Dickinson spent little time in the office, instead he traveled throughout Virginia "securing subscriptions and promoting Richmond College, which was always dear to his heart."⁶⁷ The Times Dispatch stated there was no politician or preacher, "to whom Virginians were so familiar or had in the State so many acquaintances and friends [as Dickinson]."⁶⁸

Dickinson spent much of his post-war energy on raising money for southern institutions. Dickinson aided many destitute churches.⁶⁹ He raised over \$100,000 in the post-war years to rebuild and expand his alma mater, Richmond College. He was an effective fund raiser in the North. His contributors included John D. Rockefeller.⁷⁰ Dickinson served as a trustee of Richmond College for thirty-five years. However, it was Furman University which bestowed upon Dickinson a Doctor of Divinity degree.⁷¹

The Virginia Baptist Historical Society asserts, "At his prime Dickinson was called the most influential man in the Southern Baptist Convention."⁷² Beyond his editorial duties Dickinson rarely published. His denominational influence resulted from his public relations skills and his best known

⁶⁷"Alfred Elijah Dickinson," Religious Herald.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰F. W. Boatwright, "Blow to College," Richmond Times Dispatch, 21 November 1906, 8.

⁷¹Religious Herald, 22 July 1965, 11.

⁷²"Alfred Elijah Dickinson," Baptist Distinctives (Richmond: Virginia Baptist Historical Society, 1995).

publication, What Baptist Principles Are Worth To The World. Originally delivered as an address to the Roanoke Association in 1889, due to popular demand, it was published in tract form and "sold into millions." It was even printed in several foreign languages.⁷³

Unlike Broadus and Jones, Dickinson spent his entire life ministering within the borders of his beloved Virginia. Dickinson died 20 November 1906. His funeral was held in Richmond College chapel. He was buried in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, among the Confederate soldiers he had served as a colporter.⁷⁴

John William Jones

Charles Reagan Wilson, history professor at the University of Mississippi, states, "As one of the most popular Southerners in the late nineteenth-century Dixie, Jones is a man worth examining."⁷⁵ J. William Jones's origins did not augur such notoriety. He lacked Dickinson's impressive figure. As a adult Jones was five feet tall with light complexion, blue eyes, and brown hair.⁷⁶ However, what Jones lacked in size he possessed in spirit. A friend once noted, "[Jones was] hearty and brave and genuine, and

⁷³Ibid.; Dickinson, What Baptist.

⁷⁴Boatwright, "Blow," 8.

⁷⁵Wilson, 118.

⁷⁶David F. Riggs, 13th Virginia Infantry: The Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1988), 122.

faithful, and laborious . . . He was a Welshman. He possessed the Welsh fire and devoutness and sincerity."⁷⁷

Jones was the youngest of the three men. He was born 25 September 1836 at Louisa Court House, Virginia, one of the state's poorer areas.⁷⁸ The 1850 census listed Jones's father, Francis William, as a merchant.⁷⁹ His mother was Ann Pendleton Ashby Jones.⁸⁰ Jones had two sisters, and three brothers. Francis Pendleton, whom the family called "Pen," was four years Jones's junior. Philip was six years younger than Jones.⁸¹ Both died in the Civil War. Robert was the youngest child. The census also recorded two other males in the Jones's household. It listed Josephus W. Anderson as a "Merchants Clerk," age forty, and Alphonse A. Gray, a fifteen year old boy. His place on the census list may suggest Alphonse's status as a family slave.⁸² Jones attended academies in Orange and Louisa counties.⁸³

Jones called Broadus "the friend of my boyhood, my chaplain and pastor when I was at the university, my teacher

⁷⁷William H. Whitsitt, "John William Jones," Religious Herald, 24 June 1909, 4.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹1850 Census, State of Virginia, Louisa County, Handwritten Page Number 845, line 10, Dwelling 947: Copy on File at National Archives.

⁸⁰J. L. Rosser, Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, 1958 ed., s.v. "Jones, John William," 710-11.

⁸¹1850 Census.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Dictionary of American Biography, Dumas Malone ed., 1933 ed., s.v. "Jones, John William," 100-101.

at the seminary, the teacher of my boys."⁸⁴ The records do not reveal the beginning of Jones's and Dickinson's friendship. They grew up in the same county, were six years apart in age, graduated from the University of Virginia, and Jones attended Charlottesville Baptist Church during Dickinson's tenure.

Jones at the University of Virginia

Jones enrolled in the University of Virginia in 1855. Shortly before his matriculation Jones converted to Christianity and was baptized during a revival at Mechanicsville Baptist Church in rural Louisa County. The well known Virginian pastor George B. Taylor preached the services.⁸⁵ The church had a "large and flourishing" Sunday school.⁸⁶

Jones attended the University of Virginia because of John A. Broadus. William Whitsitt, a Southern Seminary professor, claimed, "Some of the men who were attracted [to the University of Virginia] by his [Broadus] influence were John Hart, Thomas Hume, Herbert H. Harris, James C. Hiden, John L. Johnson, Crawford H. Toy, and John William Jones."⁸⁷ Five of these men later served as chaplains in the Army of Northern Virginia. James C. Hiden, one of J. William's college room mates, claimed, "[Jones] admired John A. Broadus

⁸⁴John W. Jones, "As Evangelist in Lee's Army," Seminary Magazine, April 1895, 358.

⁸⁵Whitsitt, "Jones," 4.

⁸⁶Goshen Minutes, 1854, 6,7.

⁸⁷Whitsitt, "Jones," 4.

only 'this side of idolatry.'"⁸⁸ Professor Edward Joynes agreed with Whitsitt that John A. Broadus exercised a "warm and intimate interest in the students."⁸⁹ Jones became a student of particular interest to Broadus during the time both were at the University of Virginia. Broadus later said of Jones, "He has great zeal, an unusual turn for practical working, and I am sure he will make a very useful man."⁹⁰

John William Jones entered the university as "an uncouth country boy . . . quite unprepared for entrance."⁹¹ He taught school to pay for his education at the university.⁹² Joynes observed that though Jones was "never distinguished for intellectual attainment, he soon became a potent factor in the moral and religious life of the institution."⁹³

Jones's campus ministry displayed his unusual turn for practical working. He served both as a charter member and treasurer of the first Y.M.C.A. chapter on an American college campus. The Y. M. C. A. chapter was founded in October 1858. The first annual report recorded 112 members. The "average aggregate attendance" was two hundred. The

⁸⁸J. C. Hiden, "J. William Jones."

⁸⁹Edward S. Joynes, "In Memoriam--John William Jones, D.D.," Religious Herald, 1 April 1909, 12.

⁹⁰Robertson, Life, 173.

⁹¹Edward S. Joynes, "In Memoriam," 12. George B. Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers (Lynchburg: J. B. Bell, 1915), 218.

⁹²Dictionary of American Biography, 101.

⁹³Joynes, "In Memoriam," 12.

chapter recorded 175 active members by 1860.³⁴ Other students involved in the Y.M.C.A. included Thomas Hume, Jr., H. H. Harris, J. C. Hiden, J. B. Taylor, Jr., son of the revival preacher at Jones's conversion, and Crawford H. Toy. All these men later served as chaplains in the Army of Northern Virginia. Two other names on the membership roles were John A. Broadus, honorary member, and A. S. Pendleton.³⁵ He was a fellow student who later served on General Lee's staff.

The Y. M. C. A. was organized for evangelistic work. The chapter members were organized by dorms for outreach, Bible study, and prayer.³⁶ The membership did not limited their evangelistic concern to the campus. The annual report stated "some fifty" students went out on Sundays to preach and teach.³⁷ Jones involved himself in the on and off campus ministries. J. C. Hiden wrote, "[Jones] would leave Broadus's preaching, Sunday after Sunday, and walk on the railroad ties five miles to teach a Sunday-school class in an obscure little plank church among the mountains."³⁸

Jones related how the campus prayer meetings were organized "in every boarding house and every section of the

³⁴Constitution and By-laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Virginia 1859-60 (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1860), 1, 5, 23.

³⁵Constitution and By-laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Virginia Session 1858-59 (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1859), 7, 15, 16.

³⁶Constitution 1859-60, 8; Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, 219.

³⁷Constitution 1859-60, 5.

³⁸J. C. Hiden, "J. William Jones."

University" which led to "deeply interesting revivals."⁹⁹ The ministry lessons learned as a student were not lost on Jones. He stated, "The work of that session at the University thoroughly convinced me that young men are easy to reach when properly approached."¹⁰⁰

John A. Broadus was the university's chaplain from 1855 to 1857, Jones first two years on campus. Dickinson was Jones's pastor. Broadus was Jones's pastor the last two years of his stay in Charlottesville. At the time of the formation of the Y. M. C. A. chapter Broadus had resumed his duties as the pastor of Charlottesville Baptist Church. His associate minister, A. E. Dickinson, left the church to assume denominational duties. Broadus maintained his support of the "Y" activities. Charlottesville Baptist Church members who attended the university were instrumental in the "Y" work. Jones and Thomas Hume "were prominent in its organization."¹⁰¹

Broadus exerted a powerful influence on the young men who attended the University of Virginia. As pastor and chaplain he involved himself in the lives of the students. He consistently visited them, in turn, the students regarded Broadus with awe. They emulated him. Edward Joynes claimed that Broadus's ministry influenced Jones, among others, "with the inspiration of their future life. [sic]"¹⁰²

When Broadus was first offered the professorship at the new Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1858, a number

⁹⁹Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Carr, Historical Sketch.

¹⁰²Broadus, "Day Book, Visitation;" Joynes, 12.

of church members objected to his departure. A voluntary committee argued against the change. They wrote, "His relations in past time and now to the University, give him an access to the great mass of mind there, sanctified and unsanctified, which no other man in our denomination can have."¹⁰³ The paper contended that Broadus was "scarcely at all aware of how much influence he is now exerting over the young men of our own church, in leading them in the way of Christian duty, and preparing them for future usefulness."¹⁰⁴ J. William Jones and Crawford H. Toy signed the letter of protest.¹⁰⁵ Eleven months later Broadus accepted the appointment to the seminary.

Jones at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

J. William Jones was the first student on the rolls of the new Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Greenville, South Carolina. Crawford H. Toy, fellow University of Virginia alumnus and seminary roommate, was the second.¹⁰⁶ The fact that eight of the twenty-four students in the first class of the seminary were from Virginia indicated Broadus's influence.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³Robertson, Life, 149.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 149, 159.

¹⁰⁶Whitsitt; Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹⁰⁷A General Historical Catalogue of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Greenville, S.C. and Louisville, Ky. 1859-1884, SBTS Special Collections. "John William Jones," Virginia Baptist Ministers, 219. Lists twenty-six students, ten of which were Virginians.

Jones continued his ministry activities at Greenville. The seminary students organized evangelism and ministry efforts around the city of Greenville and at Furman University.¹⁰⁸ Jones graduated with a certificate in the first class, May 1860. His transcript listed Introductory New Testament (English), Systematic Theology, Homiletics, and Church Government and Pastoral Duties.¹⁰⁹

Jones and Toy began boarding with the Broadus family prior to graduation. Later, Jones wrote, "I shall never forget their kindness to me, and the very pleasant home I had at [Broadus's] house."¹¹⁰ Two years later Jones remembered, "I look back to my session at the seminary, and especially that part of it during wh[ich] I was an inmate of your house as the happiest part of my school life."¹¹¹

Broadus continued his involvement in his students' lives. He returned to Charlottesville Baptist Church in June 1860 to participate in the ordination of J. William Jones, Crawford H. Toy, John L. Johnson, and James B. Taylor, Jr. All the men had attended the University of Virginia, and Jones, Toy, and Taylor attended Southern Seminary.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹⁰⁹Catalogue of Students, SBTS.

¹¹⁰Jones to Broadus, 7 February 1861, SBTS.

¹¹¹Jones to Broadus, 4 January 1863, SBTS.

¹¹²Ibid., 174. Also see "John William Jones," Virginia Baptist Ministers, 219-20; A General Historical Catalogue; Lucille Carr, Historical Sketch.

Jones After Seminary to Appomattox

The Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board appointed Jones and Toy as missionaries to the Far East. Jones was appointed to Canton, China.¹¹³ Jones remained in Virginia while preparing for mission work in China. He married Judith Page Helm on 20 December 1860. She was "descended from distinguished Colonial and Revolutionary Virginia families," and a direct descendant of Carter Braxton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.¹¹⁴

If Dickinson saw Broadus as his mentor and friend, Jones saw him, perhaps, in an even greater role. His February 1861 letter to Broadus disclosed information concerning Jones's activities during the interim period from seminary to the onset of war. Showing his retention of a wide spectrum of Broadus's comments, Jones agreed with him that "a good wife is certainly the best critic that a young preacher can have." As of February 1861 Jones still planned on a ministry in China which would "make [his] happiness complete." However, he expected that he would not be able to sail for China for at least another year. Jones related he had preached about sixty sermons, made "a large number of missionary addresses," enlisted subscribers to several Christian papers, and "labored in several very interesting protracted meetings."¹¹⁵

One of the churches in which Jones spoke was Charlottesville Baptist. The church was experiencing a

¹¹³Robertson, Life, 173.

¹¹⁴J. L. Rosser, Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, 1958 ed., s.v. "Jones, Carter Helm," 710. Also see "Judith Page Jones," Obituary, Religious Herald 22 January 1925.

¹¹⁵Jones to Broadus, 7 February 1861, SBTS.

notable revival. Jones preached to the black members on "four or five" occasions. Prayer meetings played a key role in the revival effort. Jones addressed current political issues in the letter. Concerning secession Jones commented, "I have heard it reported several times that the Professors of the Seminary h[a]d been stumping it for secession. I flatly denied the report and shall do so whenever I hear it."¹¹⁶

Though opposed to secession Jones did not hesitate to defend his state when Virginia left the union. Jones stated he "was waiting, with my trunks packed, to sail for Canton" when President Lincoln "issued his proclamation to subdue the sovereign States of the South." Although a "strong Union man", Jones was foremost a Virginian, and he knew his duty.¹¹⁷

Jones enlisted in the "Louisa Blues" on 8 June 1861. The unit later became "D" company, Thirteenth Virginia Infantry Regiment under Colonel A. P. Hill.¹¹⁸ The regiment was formed with 550 men at Harper's Ferry in May 1861. Upon taking command of the Virginian troops at Harper's Ferry, General Joseph Johnston observed, "They were of course, undisciplined, several regiments without accouterments, and with entirely inadequate supply of ammunition."¹¹⁹ Originally known as the "Army of the Shenandoah," the Virginian troops

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹¹⁸Riggs, 13th Virginia Infantry: The Virginia Regimental Histories Series (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, Inc., 1988), 122.

¹¹⁹The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I Volume II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), 471.

soon became seasoned veterans.¹²⁰ Two of Jones's brothers also enlisted in the company as privates.¹²¹

There is some question as to Jones's time in the ranks before becoming a chaplain. The Virginia Baptist Ministers entry for Jones stated that he joined the Louisa Blues on 17 April 1861. The unit muster rolls showed his enlistment almost two months later. The fact that record keeping received little attention the first year of the war might explain the discrepancy.¹²² The unit was still at Harper's Ferry whenever Jones enlisted.¹²³ Jones later claimed, "When the war was thus forced upon us, I did not hesitate to enlist as a private soldier . . . I served in the ranks for twelve months, and then was appointed chaplain of the regiment." Later in the article Jones stated, "That winter I became chaplain."¹²⁴ The regimental history recorded Jones serving in the ranks for four months, until 9 October 1861.¹²⁵ The Dictionary of American Biography maintained Jones served "in the ranks for a year" earning the "sobriquet of 'the fighting parson.'"¹²⁶ Whatever the timeframe of Jones's service as a soldier, he enjoyed the respect of the soldiers in his unit.

¹²⁰Ibid., 470.

¹²¹Riggs, 122; Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹²²Riggs, 74.

¹²³"John William Jones," Virginia Baptist Ministers, 218; Riggs, 122.

¹²⁴Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹²⁵Riggs, 122.

¹²⁶Dictionary of American Biography, 101.

Jones displayed the stereotypical Virginian trait of self-effacement. Jones gave many anecdotes of army life in Christ in the Camp. However, he rarely identified his personal involvement. For example, Jones related a story about a drunken officer stating, "Another correspondent writes of the conditions [of the army]." ¹²⁷ Jones identified himself as the "correspondent" after his book was published. ¹²⁸ In another story he told how an artillery shell landed "a few feet from where the preacher was standing." ¹²⁹ A letter to John Broadus clarified that Jones was that preacher. ¹³⁰ Jones's story of the young boy leaving home to defend Virginia and later falling mortally wounded at Cold Harbor fits many of the details of Jones's two younger brothers' deaths. ¹³¹ It was clear that Jones empathized with the family of the young man and the mother's concern for her son's spiritual condition.

Jones's brother, Philip, was the first family member to enlist in company "D," on 17 April 1861. He was also the first to die. Wounded in the lungs at Gaines's Mill on 27 June 1862, Philip died at home eight months later at age nineteen. ¹³² "Pen," died two months after being wounded at Gettysburg. The Thirteenth was left behind on garrison duty at Winchester missing the battle. Pen, however, was detached

¹²⁷Jones, Christ, 269.

¹²⁸Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹²⁹Jones, Christ, 253.

¹³⁰Jones to Broadus, 4 January 1863, SBTS.

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²Riggs, 122.

to General John M. Jones's staff for the campaign. He died at age twenty-two.¹³³

Jones held a great pride in his regiment the remainder of his life. The Thirteenth was a front line unit. According to General Johnston, several regiments, including the Thirteenth Virginia, were responsible for securing the victory at First Manassas. Regimental casualties were twenty percent.¹³⁴ They suffered forty-four percent casualties at Gaines's Mill, 27 June 1862. The regiment never numbered over 314 men for the remainder of the war. Sixty-three men comprised the regiment at Appomattox.¹³⁵ Jones reflected his regimental pride in a letter to John Broadus. Jones wrote, "Joining Jackson on the eve of his dash on Banks the Regt. has been actively engaged since then in sixteen pitched battles besides numerous skirmishes. . . . Gen[era]l Early [said] 'This is the Regt. that never was whipped.'" ¹³⁶

Jones experienced the personal cost of war. He experienced the loss of many family members, neighbors, and friends. This made him painfully aware of the brevity of life and heightened his concern for the spiritual condition of the troops. His combat experience earned his fellow soldiers' respect and taught him the soldiers' perspectives. Jones, the seasoned veteran, remained a pastor at heart. He was the only minister in the regiment.¹³⁷ Therefore, he held prayer meetings

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Ibid., 476-477.

¹³⁵Riggs, 86.

¹³⁶Jones to Broadus, 4 January 1863, SBTS.

¹³⁷Riggs, 86.

every day and preached "as often as [he] could" while a private.¹³⁸ His efforts resulted in his being appointed regimental chaplain 9 October 1861.¹³⁹

Jones's view of the ministry required a chaplain to experience the hardships of his congregation, the troops. He commented, "[I have] been enabled to be with my Regt. on every march, and in every fight except the one at Sharpsburg where I was sick in bed five miles off." Jones continued with a description of being "very much exposed" while taking care of the wounded. However, he did "not profess to be a 'fighting parson.'" ¹⁴⁰ George B. Taylor claimed, "First as chaplain, and then as army evangelist, [Jones] sought in every way the physical and spiritual welfare of the soldiers."¹⁴¹

In early September 1863, A. E. Dickinson suggested Jones consider appointment as army evangelist assigned to General A. P. Hill's corps. Jones, in turn, asked John Broadus to accept the position. When Broadus declined, Jones accepted.¹⁴² The regiment experienced its lowest muster count, ninety, except for Appomattox, in the months following Gettysburg.¹⁴³ Therefore, Jones served a number of other regiments in Hill's

¹³⁸Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹³⁹Riggs, 122.

¹⁴⁰Jones to Broadus, 4 January 1863, SBTS. Also see Richard E. Beringer and others, Why the South Lost the Civil War (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 99-100. Beringer presents numerous examples of "fighting parsons."

¹⁴¹Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, 221.

¹⁴²Jones to Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS.

¹⁴³Riggs, 86.

corps. The position of "Army Evangelist" simply sanctioned the ministry Jones was already performing. Jones remained in the position until Lee's surrender. Jones personally baptized 410 soldiers out of the "several thousand" who were converted due to his efforts during his army ministry.¹⁴⁴

Jones After the Civil War

J. William Jones experienced great personal loss because of the Civil War. Two of his three brothers were killed, and his desire to minister in China went unfulfilled. Yet, Jones did not exhibit bitterness. J. C. Granberry, Methodist Bishop and Confederate chaplain, declared, "[Jones will not bury] himself in the grave of the Confederacy . . . he went back to the Union with his whole heart."¹⁴⁵ The Civil War did change Jones's ministry. His regiment suffered horrendous casualties and few of the men who enlisted with him survived. The carnage of the war could not be easily shed. Jones resumed civilian life, but never forgot his spiritual obligations to his comrades in arms. Jones served in various pastorates and continued to minister to the Confederate veterans the rest of his life.

The Pastoral Ministry of Jones

Jones was paroled at Appomattox, 9 April 1865. He became the pastor of two churches in Rockbridge County, Virginia, Goshen Bridge and Lexington. The following year he assumed full time duties at Lexington. His church was the "humblest

¹⁴⁴Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹⁴⁵J. C. Granberry, "Introduction," in Jones, Christ in the Camp, 13.

church in town," leaving Jones "at a serious disadvantage."¹⁴⁶ Robert E. Lee became president of Washington College in Lexington about the same time.¹⁴⁷ In 1867 Jones submitted his application for the position of Keeper of the New College Boarding at Washington College for Lee's consideration. Records do not reflect Lee's decision. Jones mentioned Washington professors White, Joynes, and Nelson in the correspondence.¹⁴⁸

Jones also wrote Lee requesting a deferred payment of matriculation fees. Jones's youngest and only surviving brother, Robert M., was unable to pay his tuition as was his father. Therefore, Jones agreed to pay "the note for him as soon as it is in my power." Robert's work had not been satisfactory in the past session, but Robert "promises very faithfully to do better this session." Lee wrote on the margin of the letter, "Mr. J. W. Jones, Note taken if he wishes it."¹⁴⁹

Edward Joynes, professor at University of Virginia and later Washington College, stated Jones and Lee were acquaintances from the war. Quickly they became "intimate and affectionate" friends. Lee "loved and trusted Jones."¹⁵⁰ Lee

¹⁴⁶Whitsitt, 5.

¹⁴⁷Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, 225.

¹⁴⁸J. William Jones to Robert E. Lee, 12 October 1867, Robert E. Lee Papers, Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University. Hereafter WLU.

¹⁴⁹Jones to Lee, 30 September 1867, WLU.

¹⁵⁰Joynes, "In Memoriam."

"solicited" Jones to write Christ in the Camp.¹⁵¹ Lee's family asked Jones to write Lee's biography.¹⁵²

Lee and Jones shared a deep concern for the students at Washington College and neighboring Virginia Military Institute. At Lee's request Jones started a Y.M.C.A. at Washington College.¹⁵³ Lee also requested all the clergy in Lexington to participate in college chapel services.¹⁵⁴

Jones's pastoral evangelism methodology, shaped at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville Baptist Church, Southern Seminary, and the chaplaincy, served him well in Lexington. Jones spent his time visiting students in their dorms and barracks, attending Y.M.C.A. meetings, and participating in nightly prayer meetings. Washington College and Virginia Military Institute experienced revival. One hundred ten students and forty cadets were converted. Jones claimed thirty-five of the students entered the ministry.¹⁵⁵ By his own estimation Jones gave "a good deal" of time and effort to the students in Lexington. He also taught New Testament Greek at Virginia Military Institute.¹⁵⁶ Jones involved himself in his church's ministry field.

¹⁵¹Jones, Christ, 6.

¹⁵²"Obituary, Judith Page Jones," Religious Herald, 22 January 1925.

¹⁵³Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹⁵⁴Lee to Jones, 12 September 1870, WLU. Copies were sent to William Pendleton, J. W. Pratt, J. William Jones, and J. Randolph Finley.

¹⁵⁵Jones, "Varied Experiences."

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

After Lexington Baptist Church Jones served in two other churches, Ashland Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, and First Baptist Church at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.¹⁵⁷ Jones served as chaplain to the University of North Carolina while at Chapel Hill. Fellow University of Virginia alumnus, Y.M.C.A. member, and Confederate chaplain, Thomas Hume was a professor at Chapel Hill.¹⁵⁸

Denominational and Institutional Ministries of Jones

Jones had an intense love for the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Jones left Washington College shortly after Lee's death in 1871. He became an agent for Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.¹⁵⁹ Jones had originally mentioned working for Southern Seminary during the war. He wrote, "If I fail to get off to China or sh[oul]d be detained after the war I think I must get bro[ther] Boyce to give me an agency for the seminary." Jones remarked he had received "such real benefit from it" that he wished to promote the seminary.¹⁶⁰ Jones spent two years raising funds for the school. Four of his five sons attended the seminary. Broadus's Memoirs of Boyce brought tears to Jones's eyes due to its awakening

¹⁵⁷Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, 226; Dictionary of American Biography, 101.

¹⁵⁸Wilson, 133; Thomas Hume, (n.d.), in "Jones, John William" File, Religious Herald Archives, Richmond.

¹⁵⁹Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, 226.

¹⁶⁰Jones to Broadus, 4 January 1863, SBTS.

"hallowed memories."¹⁶¹ The University of Virginia, the Southern Baptist Convention, and the Confederate veterans also held Jones's loyalties.

Jones accepted the post of General Superintendent of the Sunday School and Bible Board of the Baptist General Association of Virginia in 1874.¹⁶² He traveled extensively promoting the Sunday school movement. From 1887 to 1893 Jones served as Assistant Corresponding Secretary of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention after which he returned to the University of Virginia as chaplain.¹⁶³

John A. Broadus mentored Jones throughout his adult life. When Jones was offered the chaplaincy at University of Virginia he wrote Broadus for advice. Jones expressed, "I want your candid advice on a matter that is perplexing me not a little."¹⁶⁴ Jones confessed his interest in the offer, but admitted enjoyment in his post at the Home Mission Board. Jones believed that the final issue was one of personal duty. Since Broadus was well versed with his abilities and the nature of both tasks, Jones sought his opinion.¹⁶⁵

The following month Jones notified Broadus that he was accepting the chaplaincy. Jones explained, "Indeed I did so the day after I saw you in Richmond, taking your advice and running to the university." Jones desired Broadus to be

¹⁶¹Jones to Broadus, 15 August 1893, SBTS.

¹⁶²Taylor, Virginia Baptist Ministers, 226.

¹⁶³Ibid. The position was equivalent to a present day vice presidency of the North American Mission Board.

¹⁶⁴Jones to Broadus, 7 March 1893, SBTS.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

informed so that Broadus would be able to advise him when they next met.¹⁶⁶ Jones invited Broadus to preach at the university. In each of his ministry roles Jones extended the same invitation to Broadus.¹⁶⁷

In his last letter before Broadus's death, Jones wrote about the printing of Broadus's sermons at the university and Jones's son Ashby. Ashby failed to graduate from Southern Seminary. Jones wrote, "It was a bitter mortification and disappointment to him and to us." The letter reflected an extensive dialogue between Broadus and Jones. Jones made it clear he had no doubt "that Dr. Sampey had fixed the record so carefully that there should be no chance for Ashby to graduate." Jones declared, "I cannot trust myself to speak on the subject . . . [I] think [it] was a grievous wrong, a great injustice to my boy." Jones told Broadus that neither he nor his sons would speak on the matter to protect the "dear old seminary which I have loved and served with almost idolatrous devotion."¹⁶⁸

The Lost Cause and Jones

Charles Reagan Wilson, a noted scholar, considers Jones "the most influential and well-known clergyman in the cult of the Lost Cause."¹⁶⁹ In his study of religion in the post-war South, Wilson accepts the contention that the Confederacy

¹⁶⁶Jones to Broadus, 29 April 1893, SBTS.

¹⁶⁷Whitsitt, 4; Jones, Christ, 59-60.

¹⁶⁸Jones to Broadus, 14 July 1894, SBTS.

¹⁶⁹Wilson, 118.

failed because the South lacked the will to win.¹⁷⁰ He does say, however, that Southern religious leaders did possess that will.¹⁷¹ This resistance to defeat of the Southern culture and morals was the basis of the Lost Cause movement. Wilson stated, "Civil War chaplains had the experiences and made the acquaintances that became the basis for the postwar emergence of an organized movement to remember the past. These chaplains logically became the main celebrants of the Lost Cause rituals after the war."¹⁷²

Wilson assigned motives and roles to individuals with an uneven hand. He assigned Lee the role of high priest of the Lost Cause. Accordingly, Lee "laid his hands on the parson [Jones] in order that the tradition might be continued." Wilson argues, "If Lee was the Christ figure, Jones was his Apostle Paul."¹⁷³ This view countered all the actions of Lee after his surrender. Lee sought reconciliation.¹⁷⁴ Southern religion was for individual redemption, not societal change. The strong emphasis on the individual prior to the war did not change with capitulation.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰Beringer, 5, 13.

¹⁷¹Wilson, 5.

¹⁷²Ibid., 6.

¹⁷³Ibid., 122-3.

¹⁷⁴Gary W. Gallagher, ed. Lee the Soldier (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 553-4. In a letter dated May 1865 Lee wrote of his desire for true peace and unity of "the country."

¹⁷⁵Paul Harvey, Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities Among Southern Baptists 1865-1925 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 4-5.

Wilson understood part of Jones's post-war activities. Wilson describes Jones as "a Baptist revivalist in a great age of widespread Southern, as well as national, revivalism, and he grasped the utility of the Lost Cause for his religious concerns."¹⁷⁶ Jones was burdened for the unconverted of China prior to the war. After the war Jones's attention returned to the spiritual needs of his country. Jones used "the leaders of the old South" as examples in his speaking and writing to contextualize his gospel message.¹⁷⁷ Wilson contends, "[Jones] represented those preachers who used the Lost Cause to teach Southerners about the importance of conversion to Christianity, as well as about virtue. The Confederate religious experience was for him a paradigm of the old-time religion."¹⁷⁸ Undoubtedly, the Confederate Revival was the high point of many men's ministry. At no other time in the nineteenth century did ministers have the opportunity to preach to thousands of men night after night. The numbers of conversions that resulted from the pastoral ministry in the camps would not be equaled again in their ministries. Naturally, Jones retained that period of effectiveness as his goal.

Contrary to Wilson's view, it was not Jones's objective to glorify the Civil War. However, the Civil War was a means

¹⁷⁶Wilson, 134.

¹⁷⁷Thomas Hume, "Jones, John William."

¹⁷⁸Wilson, 120.

to glorify Christ.¹⁷⁹ The attraction of the gospel was its applicability to life's challenges. The blame for defeat was not the people's lack of resolve. Historians should ask how the Confederacy lasted so long, given its disadvantages in population and resources. In Christ in the Camp Jones tried to demonstrate God's ability to give fulfillment in the midst of difficulties.

Perhaps, above all else, Jones was loyal. Whether it involved his state, regiment, or friends once given he would not break the bond. He commonly signed his correspondence with "Yours to Count on." He remained theologically conservative all his life. Yet, he maintained a close friendship with Crawford H. Toy, in spite of Toy's acceptance of theological liberalism.¹⁸⁰ In like manner, Jones stood by Jefferson Davis when Davis was unpopular.¹⁸¹ Jones was not ashamed of his service to Virginia and the Confederacy. As anyone experiencing the camaraderie of combat, he would not forget the Civil War years. Whitsitt called Jones "a faithful friend" and an "uncalculating friend."¹⁸²

As Lee's friend, and in honor of his own brothers and the men with whom he served, Jones became the historian of the Army of Northern Virginia. He also served as chaplain-

¹⁷⁹Jones, Christ, 14, 15. Introduction by J. C. Granberry; Also see Christ, 464: "And surely Christian men of every section and of every creed will unite in thanking God that Christ was in the camps of Lee's army with such wonderful power to save, and that out of that terrible war God brought such rich blessings."

¹⁸⁰Whitsitt, 5.

¹⁸¹Ibid.; Wilson, 129.

¹⁸²Whitsitt, 5.

general of the United Confederate Veterans for nineteen years. Jones was the first secretary of the Southern Historical Society, serving from 1876 to 1887. He also served as the Superintendent of the Confederate Memorial Association. He edited the fourteen volume collection of Southern and Confederate papers for the Society.¹⁸³

Jones displayed an uncompromising conviction in the necessity of conversion in all his ministry activities. His activities that have been identified with the Lost Cause were extensions of his Civil War ministry to the Confederate troops. Those he had been unable to win to Christ in the camps still burdened his heart.

John Albert Broadus

John Albert Broadus was born in 1827. He responded publicly to God's call to the ministry at nineteen years of age, the year following the creation of the Southern Baptist Convention. His ministry developed alongside the fledging convention.¹⁸⁴

Broadus once told his students, "A man must both believe in himself and believe in God, if he is to make a powerful impression on his fellow-men, and do great good in the world."¹⁸⁵ John A. Broadus's family environment prepared him to

¹⁸³Dictionary of American Biography, 101.

¹⁸⁴Andrew Broaddus, Jr. A History, 23-24; Robertson, Life, 3. The family name has two variations, Broadus and Broaddus. "All the descendants of the first Virginia Broaddus, Edward, spell the name with two d's save the families of Major Edmund Broadus and Major William Broadus."

¹⁸⁵John A. Broadus, Lectures on the History of Preaching (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1893), 120.

"do great good in the world." He was born in Culpeper County, Virginia which was "a nursery for Baptist preachers" possessing a rich tradition of them.¹⁸⁶

Broadus's father, Major Edmund Broadus, was a school teacher, militiaman, farmer, and for eighteen years, a state legislator. He was never defeated in an election.¹⁸⁷ Broadus described his father as "exerting influence [in the state house] not by oratory--though he was a clear and forcible speaker and hard to answer in argument--but by thorough acquaintance with the subjects of legislation, whether political or practical, by sound judgment, irreproachable integrity, and some personal magnetism."¹⁸⁸

The Broadus family had an extensive involvement with education. "Nearly every male descendant of Thomas Broadus and of his brother James [John A. Broadus's great-grandfather and great-granduncle] has spent a part of his life as a teacher."¹⁸⁹ Robertson noted, "Broadus had real educational advantages in his childhood. There were numerous books and periodicals . . . the family were all keen critics of language. He had a remarkably good teacher in the old field school . . . and in his teens he had one of the best high school teachers in the land."¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶Ibid.

¹⁸⁷A. Broaddus, History, 127.

¹⁸⁸Robertson, Life, 13-14.

¹⁸⁹A. Broaddus, History, 126, 127

¹⁹⁰Robertson, Life, 25.

Broadus's letters clearly indicate that his father, Major Broadus, exerted a great influence on John.¹⁹¹ His father's influence was not limited to oratory. Major Broadus was an advocate of temperance and ministerial education.¹⁹² Whether it was vocational plans or apologizing to a fellow student, Broadus usually followed his father's advice.¹⁹³

John A. Broadus's Formation in Ministry

Broadus's family environment nurtured interests in education and the teaching profession. It also exposed him to the ministry. The region possessed a strong Baptist tradition. John A. Broadus's family included several notable ministers, of whom Dr. W. F. Broaddus and Dr. Andrew Broaddus were the best known. Henry Clay called Dr. Andrew Broaddus "the past-master of eloquence."¹⁹⁴ Broadus also had several cousins of note in the ministry. Robertson wrote, "For over a hundred years the Broadduses have been active in Baptist affairs, especially in the South and West."¹⁹⁵ When one considered John A. Broadus's lineage, his vocational course was not surprising.¹⁹⁶ Broadus attended his father's and

¹⁹¹Ibid., 19.

¹⁹²Ibid., 15-16.

¹⁹³Ibid., 69.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., 6.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 4.

¹⁹⁶A. T. Robertson, The Minister and His Greek New Testament (New York: George H. Doran, 1923), 125.

uncle's secondary schools from 1837 until 1843 excelling in mathematics and languages.¹⁹⁷

John A. Broadus was converted in a protracted meeting in 1843. He joined the New Salem church where his family were members. Three years later his father was offered the position of steward for state students at the University of Virginia. He accepted the position to be in Charlottesville with his son.¹⁹⁸ John planned on being a physician.¹⁹⁹

Broadus's first convert from personal soul-winning was a "dull-witted" man named Sandy. Just prior to his matriculation in 1846, John attended a meeting of the Potomac Baptist Association. Upon hearing Dr. A. M. Poindexter's message, "Glorying in the Cross," Broadus immediately informed his pastor "I must try to be a preacher."²⁰⁰ Broadus was ordained in August, 1850.

John A. Broadus's Years Affiliated
With the University of Virginia

The University of Virginia's setting propelled Broadus onto the denominational stage. A. T. Robertson asserted, "[The university] exerted an overmastering power on John A. Broadus's whole nature."²⁰¹ Broadus believed, "To a little man

¹⁹⁷Barron, "The Contributions," 16.

¹⁹⁸A. Broadus, History, 129.

¹⁹⁹Robertson, Life, 52.

²⁰⁰Ibid., 34-5, 52-3.

²⁰¹Ibid., 56.

a little learning is a dangerous thing."²⁰² The University of Virginia gave Broadus the opportunity to test his mental abilities. Concerning the University of Virginia, Broadus observed, "The noblest legacy they have left us is this--that the very genius of the place is work. . . . this spirit of work, a noble rage for knowing and for teaching."²⁰³ The university reinforced Broadus's familial quest for excellence.

According to Robertson, the University of Virginia was the leading school in the United States during Broadus's tenure. Its Master of Arts was the nation's highest degree, and John A. Broadus was its premier student.²⁰⁴ He studied under some of the foremost educators of the time who influenced his classroom methods. Professor H. H. Harris (an Army of Northern Virginia chaplain) later wrote:

As a teacher Doctor Broadus combined the excellencies of three men by whom he had been strongly influenced: Gessner Harrison, the patient, careful seeker after principles; William H. McGuffey, the quickener of sluggish intellects into activity; and E. H. Courtenay, lover of exact statement.²⁰⁵

Professor Smith stated, "If genius is the ability and willingness to do hard work, [Broadus] was a genius."²⁰⁶ John A. Broadus was regarded by at least one fellow student as "perhaps the greatest man Virginia has produced in the

²⁰²Robertson, The Minister, 85.

²⁰³Robertson, Life, 61.

²⁰⁴Ibid., 55.

²⁰⁵Ibid., 63; Religious Herald, 21 March 1895.

²⁰⁶Robertson, Life, 65.

present century."²⁰⁷ University of Virginia professor F. H. Smith called Broadus "the University of Virginia's 'greatest alumnus.'"²⁰⁸

Torn between the desires to pastor and to teach the University of Virginia provided a solution. The university's "greatest alumnus" was asked to return as an assistant instructor of ancient languages after a year as a private tutor.²⁰⁹ He returned to Charlottesville in 1850 with a new bride, Maria Harrison, daughter of Professor Gessner Harrison.²¹⁰ He also returned as the pastor of Charlottesville Baptist Church. Broadus had refused a professorship at Georgetown College, Kentucky.²¹¹ After his appointment, Broadus continued to receive offers. Six churches extended pastoral calls concurrently with Charlottesville.²¹² This pattern continued throughout his life.²¹³ Broadus was respected for his academic accomplishments and pastoral abilities. In 1858 his uncle, Andrew, wrote to him, "[You are] just now the standard

²⁰⁷Ibid., 69.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 74.

²⁰⁹Ibid., 94.

²¹⁰A. Broaddus, History, 130.

²¹¹Robertson, Life, 85.

²¹²Ibid., 93.

²¹³Ibid., 99. Broadus declined calls to Grace Street Church, Richmond; Lynchburg Baptist; Petersburg Church; Scottsville Church; Huntington Church; Rockdale Baptist; and Fork Union.

of excellence by which intellect, scholarship, and preaching talents are measured in this region."²¹⁴

Broadus served as instructor for one year then resigned to concentrate on his pastorate. Broadus was known for his "keen" interest in the college students. Robertson stated Broadus "had intimate personal relationships with many of them."²¹⁵ The Charlottesville pulpit provided Broadus an opportunity to preach to all levels of society. The congregational mixture of philosophers and farmers necessitated Broadus's delivery to be cogent²¹⁶ Broadus was also involved in the university's Young Men's Christian Association as an honorary member.²¹⁷

Broadus's Service to the Southern Baptist Convention
Prior to Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

In 1856 the Baptist General Association of Virginia appointed John A. Broadus to preach on the topic of ministerial education at the 1857 convention.²¹⁸ Following Broadus's message the convention voted to "endow a General Theological School at Greenville, S.C."²¹⁹ Broadus also wrote an article for the Religious Herald which promoted discussion

²¹⁴Ibid., 154.

²¹⁵Ibid., 111.

²¹⁶McKibbens, Broadus.

²¹⁷Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Virginia, Session 1858-59, 15.

²¹⁸Minutes of the Baptist General Association, 1856, 46.

²¹⁹Ibid., 19, 21.

and final acceptance of the seminary concept.²²⁰ Shortly after publication of the Religious Herald article, Broadus was appointed to serve on the Committee on Plan of Organization. The other committee members were Basil Manly, Jr., J. P. Boyce, E. T. Winkler, and William Williams. They were appointed because "comparatively young men . . . were more likely to be successful in devising new plans."²²¹

The Committee on Plan of Organization allowed Broadus to outline a plan of instruction which he based on the University of Virginia plan.²²² Suggestions were made and implemented by Boyce and Manly based on their experiences as students at Newton and Princeton.²²³ The plan made "entrance easy but graduation difficult."²²⁴

Broadus's Ministry Affiliated with Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

No nineteenth century Southern Baptist can compare to the influence of John A. Broadus on theological education. Broadus's ministry was pivotal in the success of Southern

²²⁰Barron, 48.

²²¹Broadus, Boyce, 148; H. Talbird to Basil Manly, Sr., 25 April 1858, Basil Manly, Sr., Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Basil Manly, Sr., was credited with the selection of the men on the committee. However, Talbird recommended Manly, Sr., Manly, Jr., Boyce, and Broadus prior to the May meeting. Talbird also recommended the English based format for the program.

²²²Broadus, Memoir, 150.

²²³Ibid., 150-151.

²²⁴John R. Sampey, Memoirs of John R. Sampey (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1947), 23.

Baptist Theological Seminary, the credibility of Southern Baptist scholarship, and the development of modern preaching. James P. Boyce was the first president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. However, William Mueller argued, "Others prepared the way, and great men labored with him, but his [Broadus's] was the leadership that called the institution into being and gave it permanence."²²⁵

Like Jones, Broadus exhibited the Virginian gentleman's trait of self-effacement. Broadus praised others rather than drawing attention to himself. Fortunately, one does have Broadus's letters to study. In a letter of 28 July 1857, Broadus expressed his desire to model the seminary after the German educational model and the University of Virginia. He also stressed the need to educate ministers regardless of college training.²²⁶ It was generally accepted that Broadus was the guiding force behind Southern's curriculum organization.

Basil Manly, Jr. stressed Broadus's importance when he asserted that Broadus's decision concerning appointment to the faculty would have a domino effect among the other appointees. Manly declared, "So far as I can see, the real decision rests with you."²²⁷ When Broadus initially declined, Manly wrote, "As to your Seminary at Greenville. I think your declination, under the circumstances, is the death-blow to it. . . . As I now view the matter, it is already de facto a

²²⁵William A. Mueller, A History of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959), 16.

²²⁶Robertson, Life, 145.

²²⁷Ibid., 150.

failure so soon as your decision and its results are known.²²⁸ E. T. Winkler, another faculty appointee, wrote, "From all I have learned and know of you, I am sure you would be an efficient officer; while your influence in Virginia would also be of great advantage to the institution. We need the patronage of your State now more than any other, both in regard to men and money."²²⁹ James Boyce added his opinion, "We are assured that we cannot make any other nominations that would be acceptable, and we beg you to take this into consideration." Two weeks later Boyce wrote Broadus again, "If you cannot fully consent to a lifetime work, try it for a while in order to inaugurate the matter. Your simple name will be a tower of strength to us . . . If you fail me and Winkler fail me, I must give up."²³⁰

Boyce knew that to establish Southern Baptist Theological Seminary as a credible institution, it was paramount that the denomination's rising scholar, Broadus, be on the faculty. The top graduate of the leading university in the South ensured the long term reputation of the seminary. Broadus began his tenure at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1859, at the age of thirty-two. In recognition of his academic achievements Richmond College and William and Mary College honored Broadus with the Doctor of Divinity degree.²³¹

²²⁸Ibid., 152-153.

²²⁹Ibid., 153.

²³⁰Ibid., 158.

²³¹Ibid., 164.

Maria Broadus died 21 October 1857 leaving John with three young daughters.²³² He married his second wife, Charlotte Sinclair on 4 January 1859, prior to the move to Greenville.²³³ He was well known among Southern Baptist pastors and the people of his home state when he left the University of Virginia for Greenville. His stature grew in the setting of the seminary. Southern Seminary opened in the fall of 1859 with a faculty of four: Broadus, J. P. Boyce, Basil Manly, Jr., and William Williams, who replaced E. T. Winkler when Winkler declined the appointment.²³⁴ In William Mueller's opinion, "If James P. Boyce was the head of the Seminary, John A. Broadus was its heart."²³⁵ Mueller also stated Broadus "achieved more recognition beyond his own denomination than any of his brethren."²³⁶ Broadus was appointed as the professor of New Testament Interpretation (English and Greek) and Homiletics.²³⁷ The seminary was forced to close in 1862 until the end of the Civil War.

The Civil War Years

Seminary life radically changed at the outbreak of hostilities. While Dr. Boyce became a chaplain in the Confederate Army, the other professors tried to keep the

²³²Ibid., 147.

²³³Ibid., 170.

²³⁴Mueller, 14.

²³⁵Ibid., 61.

²³⁶Ibid., 63.

²³⁷Robertson, Life, 168.

seminary open. Broadus visited Virginia and preached to the troops prior to the first Battle of Manassas.²³⁸ Broadus's ministry to the troops was not surprising. He had been life long friends with General A. P. Hill.²³⁹ Southern Seminary had opened with twenty-six students. Five of those students, including J. William Jones, later served as Confederate chaplains and one was a colporter.²⁴⁰

Broadus's, "We Pray For You at Home," was one of the most popular tracts distributed by the Confederate Tract Society. Broadus was a scholar, but was able to communicate with the uneducated parishioner or soldier.²⁴¹ Broadus spent several months preaching to the troops while the Confederate revival reached its apex. Alan Lefever described Broadus as "One of the greatest preachers of this revival."²⁴² J. William Jones identified Broadus in his list of preachers stating, "He rose to the very forefront of biblical scholars, writers, and preachers and has a reputation second to none on this Continent. But 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

²³⁸Broadus, "Day Book." Kershaw's Regiment and the Albemarle Regiment; Robertson, Life, 186.

²³⁹Robertson, Life, 14; Jones, "As Evangelist," 357.

²⁴⁰Broadus, Memoir, 169-71.

²⁴¹Charles Estell Baker, "Chaplain's Comments," Confederate Veteran, May-June 1993: 44.

²⁴²Lefever, 8.

preaching in the camps of Lee's army."²⁴³ Jones mentioned Broadus at least seventeen times in text.

Post-Civil War Years At Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

The seminary reopened on 1 November 1865, with seven students. Broadus's only student in homiletics was blind. Broadus's preparation of the lectures "led to the writing of 'Preparation and Delivery of Sermons.'"²⁴⁴ Broadus's intellect became apparent during his tenure at Southern. He was proficient in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew upon his appointment. Broadus added German, French, Spanish, Italian, Gothic, Coptic, and modern Greek to his language skills during a health induced sabbatical in Europe in 1870.²⁴⁵

In recognition of his stature Broadus delivered the 1889 Yale Lectures on Preaching. He is the only Southern Baptist to have been thus honored. Broadus succeeded Boyce as president of Southern Seminary in 1888. At the time of his death he had served Southern Seminary for thirty-six years.²⁴⁶

The Contributions of Broadus to the Southern Baptist Convention and Homiletics

After the Civil War the faculty met to consider the seminary's fate. Challenging the other faculty members Broadus said, "Suppose we quietly agree that the Seminary may

²⁴³Jones, Christ, 263.

²⁴⁴Robertson, Life, 214.

²⁴⁵McKibbens, Broadus.

²⁴⁶V. L. Stanfield, "Broadus."

die, but we'll die first."²⁴⁷ Boyce was highly successful raising funds in the South before the war. However, after the war much of the financial support had to be raised in the North. It speaks of Broadus's status that he was the individual sent north for the task. Broadus "was well known in and around New York City." New York Hall was one of the seminary projects that benefited from Broadus's efforts in the North.²⁴⁸

Boyce and Broadus complemented each other. Together they developed Southern Baptist Theological Seminary into a viable institution. However, W. O. Carver, former student and seminary colleague, stated, "No Baptist of his generation surpassed Broadus in his influence among Southern Baptists."²⁴⁹

Broadus's Influence on Scholarship

Related to the success of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was the credibility of Southern Baptist scholarship and the effectiveness of seminary trained pastors. In 1845 the Southern Baptist Convention was formed. By nature and experience, Baptists were suspicious of an educated elite. They were farmers and businessmen shaped by a history of nonconformist religion. Fifty years later, John A. Broadus was widely recognized as the authority in homiletics and an authority in New Testament studies. Until the time of his

²⁴⁷Robertson, Life, 214; Broadus, Memoirs of Boyce, 200. Broadus stated that "someone" made the statement. Broadus tended to cover his involvement in his accounts as evidenced by the fund raising story found in Mueller's History of Southern, 48.

²⁴⁸Mueller, 48.

²⁴⁹Ibid.

death in 1895, Broadus continued to be offered professorships and presidencies at numerous institutions including the University of Chicago and Brown University.²⁵⁰

Broadus presented a conservative response to the liberalism popular among some academicians. A. T. Robertson stated, " [Broadus's] 'Jesus of Nazareth' is an able defense of the deity of Jesus Christ in the light of modern criticism. . . . But it is Broadus' [sic] Preparation and Delivery of Sermons that has given him his chief fame and most far-reaching influence (next to his work in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary)." Robertson claimed, "It is not only the most widely used book on homiletics in the world, but it is still used in this country more than all other textbooks on the subject put together."²⁵¹

Broadus's gift to Southern Baptists and conservative Christianity was his ability to bridge the chasm between faith and intellect. At Broadus's death, B. H. Carroll, founder of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, wrote, "For the last ten years Doctor Broadus has exercised a greater influence over my own life than all other men put together. . . . Other men have been great scholars, at least a few, but he was the wisest man I ever knew."²⁵² Broadus was able to speak to both theological camps at a time when this dichotomy was becoming more evident. His simplicity and sincerity built trust in the average Christian who was feeling repelled by the liberal scholars of the late

²⁵⁰Robertson, Life, 281, 306.

²⁵¹Ibid.

²⁵²Ibid., 444.

nineteenth century. His academic excellence earned the respect of those same scholars.

John A. Broadus's Influence on Homiletics

Broadus's On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons has already been discussed and evaluated in previous sections. It is hard to overstate its influence on the craft of homiletics. Though an excellent work able to stand on its own merit, it was first successful because of the author's reputation. A. T. Robertson called Broadus "the equal of any man that I have ever heard."²⁵³ Considering Robertson listed Beecher, Brooks, Maclaren, Parker, Spurgeon, Moody, and others in his statement, one could place Broadus among the great preachers. Unlike the others listed, however, Broadus did not have a pulpit of a great church or evangelistic organization to display his talents. He was welcome in pulpits, North and South, but much of his preaching was done in the small country churches prevalent in his denomination.

Broadus was a master of taking complex doctrines and communicating those truths on the level of a child.²⁵⁴ He opposed manipulation of emotions and theatrics yet, "He caught the vast crowd with his first sentence, and held, and thrilled, and moved them to the close of the sermon. . . . men who never quailed in battle, trembling and not ashamed to weep under the power of the simple preaching of the glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus."²⁵⁵

²⁵³Robertson, Minister, 118.

²⁵⁴Ibid., 131.

²⁵⁵Robertson, Life, 209.

John A. Broadus was heard by thousands of Confederate soldiers gathered in Virginia from throughout the South. He preached the truths of his faith with a burden for his audience. He was the consummate pulpiteer. The overwhelming acceptance of his homiletic textbook of 1870 confirmed his standing. University of Chicago's President William Harper said, "No man ever heard him preach but understood every sentence . . . He was one of the best known preachers, not only in the South, but in the North as well."²⁵⁶

Broadus had the benefits of a Christian home which emphasized education and hard work. His father modeled effective public speaking and the teaching profession. This upbringing, coupled with a passion for Christ, shaped the ministry of John A. Broadus. He was the "most potent leader of the Convention in his generation."²⁵⁷ Broadus began his ministry almost simultaneously with the denomination he served. Fifty years later the Southern Baptist Convention wore his unmistakable imprint.

The Pastoral Ministry of Broadus

John A. Broadus was well known for his academic contributions to New Testament studies and homiletics. However, Broadus was first and foremost a pastor. He had been torn between the classroom and pulpit until his call to Charlottesville Baptist Church and the University of Virginia permitted him to pursue both, but within two years he

²⁵⁶Mueller, 83.

²⁵⁷Raymond H. Bailey, "John A. Broadus: Man of Letters and Preacher Extraordinaire," Preaching, November-December, 1993: 60.

resigned his university position to focus on the pastorate.²⁵⁸ His love for the pastoral ministry resulted in his initial refusal of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary professorship. Only after an eleven month correspondence with Boyce, Manly, and others did Broadus accept.²⁵⁹

Broadus's "Day Book" detailed his activities for the period from 1 October 1857 to 1 September 1859, when he left for Greenville. His earlier records are no longer extant, but his philosophy of pastoral ministry as developed prior to the military camp ministry is evident. In Lectures on the History of Preaching, Broadus makes it clear that the preacher must be known, respected, and personally appealing to be an effective pulpiter. He did not subscribe to the euphemism of "hiding behind the cross."²⁶⁰ That is, Broadus believed ministers modeled the gospel message and presented it most effectively when combined with the preacher's lifestyle.²⁶¹ His congregations witnessed the Christian message in his life.

The Pastor Known: Broadus's Visitation

In the period covered by his record book, October 1857 to September 1859, Broadus made 1,013 pastoral visits in the homes of church and community members. He also received 258 visits in his home or office.²⁶² The first two weeks listed in

²⁵⁸Robertson, Life, 112.

²⁵⁹Ibid., 148-159.

²⁶⁰Broadus, Lectures, 125.

²⁶¹Ibid.

²⁶²Broadus, "Day Book" The actual number was higher because he counted a family as one visit.

his "Day Book" are typical of the visitation schedule Broadus followed as pastor. Monday, 28 September, he visited three people. On Tuesday, four were visited, including the Trice family; on Wednesday three, Thursday two, Friday two, Saturday one family, and on Sunday he visited two families and an individual. The first week of October, 1857, Broadus visited forty-six individuals, three families, and the Female Institute four times.²⁶³ H. H. Hatcher, Crawford Toy, and J. William Jones were among the members visited.

Another notable name in his visitation record appears as an entry for 24 June 1859, "Miss Lottie Moon."²⁶⁴ Miss Moon was a student at The Albemarle Female College which Broadus listed as "Institute" in his visitation record. In his last year at Charlottesville, he preached a series of services at the Institute. Lottie Moon was converted during one of the services.²⁶⁵ Broadus clearly presented his view of pastoral visitation. He claimed, "Visiting, not only in the resident families, but among the students, might be pursued without limit, and is here, not less than in ordinary congregations, an important means of usefulness."²⁶⁶

Broadus used visitation effectively. Dickinson explained that Broadus reinforced his pulpit efforts by in-home visitation. He stated, "Dr. Broadus did not waste time in

²⁶³Ibid.

²⁶⁴Ibid. Charlotte "Lottie" Moon became a famous Southern Baptist Missionary to China. The annual international missions offering is named in her honor.

²⁶⁵John A. Broadus Biographical File, Religious Herald Archives, (n.d.).

²⁶⁶Robertson, Life, 134.

general and promiscuous visiting. He went among his people-- he knew them and loved them, and he never neglected an opportunity to get them by the hand, and speak some appropriate word to them."²⁶⁷

Broadus would stay overnight with the families of Cedar Grove Church, Laurens County, South Carolina, according to H. P. Griffith, who was member of the church as a boy. It was a little county church comprised of small farmers living twenty miles from the nearest town or railroad. Most families were assigned on a rotating basis. No home was too poor for Broadus to stay the night. Broadus had the habit of compiling a community shopping list for his parishioners. The following month he would return with their requested items.²⁶⁸ Broadus knew and was known by the congregations and communities he served.

The Pastor Respected: Broadus's
Respect for His Congregation

A. E. Dickinson contributed "As Pastor at Charlottesville, Va." for Seminary Magazine's issue following Broadus's death. Dickinson stated, "[Broadus] had the warm personal regard of the whole community." Dickinson contended that Broadus influenced numerous students who later became "governors and senators and professors." Dickinson declared, "[Whatever else] they may of forgotten of their university

²⁶⁷Ibid.

²⁶⁸H. P. Griffith, "As a Country Pastor," Seminary Magazine, April, 1895: 351. The article's by-line reads, "Prof. H.P. Griffith.

course, they have not forgotten the pastor of the Charlottesville Baptist Church."²⁶⁹

Dickinson gave several reasons for Broadus's influence. Broadus related to all classes of people in the church. No one was too menial for Broadus's pastoral touch. Broadus did not "rely much upon 'special efforts' for the in gathering of converts. With him every sermon was a special effort."²⁷⁰ Yet, his preaching record reflected the use of favorite sermons which would not be considered "evangelistic" by many people. He used his favorite sermons in his own pulpit, while pulpit supply, and in the mass evangelism setting of the army camps.²⁷¹ H. P. Griffith concurred that Broadus approached every sermon as a special effort. He wrote, "His sermons were always his very best."²⁷² Griffith had heard Broadus preach to large audiences of well educated people, but Broadus's sermons to the farmers of Cedar Grove also reflected his through preparation.

Dickinson noted that Broadus sought decisions, not just large congregations. Broadus's preaching resulted in a constant flow of additions to the church. Dickinson added that the people who made public decisions under Broadus's

²⁶⁹A. E. Dickinson, "As Pastor at Charlottesville, Va.," Seminary Magazine, April 1895: 347.

²⁷⁰Ibid.

²⁷¹Broadus, "Day Book."

²⁷²H. P. Griffith, "As A Country Pastor," Seminary Magazine, April, 1895: 352.

pastorate were aware of the commitment that membership entailed because of Broadus's pastoral ministry.²⁷³

Dickinson believed that Broadus's ability to communicate his love for each individual and the congregation's responding trust allowed Broadus to accomplish great things as a pastor.²⁷⁴ In his tribute Dickinson gave an example from his own pastoral experience in which he followed Broadus's visitation model.²⁷⁵

Broadus's tenure in Charlottesville, as pastor and as the University of Virginia's Chaplain, was marked by a rapport with the students and young people. Robertson agreed with Dickinson's view. Robertson observed that Broadus "took a keen interest in the life of the students and had intimate personal relations with many of them."²⁷⁶ "There were many Baptist students at the University during these years mainly because of Broadus's influence and reputation. . . . Broadus made a lasting impression upon the men while chaplain."²⁷⁷ H. P. Griffith stated, "There has hardly been a day or an hour the [I have] not felt the inspiration of the life and character of John A. Broadus."²⁷⁸

When Broadus was considering the seminary appointment, a voluntary committee of church members presented a paper that outlined the arguments against Broadus's acceptance of the

²⁷³Dickinson, "As Pastor," 347.

²⁷⁴Ibid., 348.

²⁷⁵Ibid.

²⁷⁶Robertson, Life, 111.

²⁷⁷Ibid., 142-143.

²⁷⁸Griffith, 353.

professorship. The paper stated that because Broadus was well known in the community and the university he was irreplaceable as the Charlottesville pastor. J. William Jones and C. H. Toy were among the people who signed the protest.²⁷⁹ His popularity extended beyond the Charlottesville area. The Bible Society of Cadets "unanimously" invited Broadus to deliver the annual address at Virginia Military Institute.²⁸⁰ The date conflicted with the Sunday School Convention in Richmond, so Broadus was unable to attend.²⁸¹ Broadus treated each person he encountered with respect, in turn, Broadus was respected. This researcher was unable to find an extant criticism of Broadus.

The Pastor's Appeal: Broadus's Charisma

The chaplain's personal appeal largely determined his effectiveness.²⁸² An unidentified reporter published "A Comparison" in which he contrasted well known Virginians John A. Broadus and Tiberius G. Jones. He considered Broadus as simple with "realizing power." If the two men had exchanged pastorates, "Broadus at Norfolk would by his simplicity and his faithful pastoral labors, have won the affection of every man, woman, and child in the community."²⁸³ R. H. Hudnall, a former University of Virginia student, remembered Broadus's

²⁷⁹Robertson, Life, 149.

²⁸⁰John F. Zeff to J. A. Broadus, 11 May 1858, Broadus Papers, SBTS.

²⁸¹Broadus, "Day Book."

²⁸²Hieronimus, 269.

²⁸³"A Comparison," Religious Herald, 1 October 1863.

chapel sermon on Philippians 4:8, "Whatsoever things are true." Hudnall wrote, "What impressed me above everything else was Dr. Broadus's deep earnestness, convincing speech and his eloquent simplicity."²⁸⁴

Professor J. H. Farmer, a former student of Broadus, in his comparison of Broadus and Maclaren stated, "[Broadus] came quickly into sympathy with his audience, won their attention and talked freely. . . . There was a warmth and fervor . . . combined with . . . directness and sturdy vigor . . . He was always interesting, instructing, persuasive."²⁸⁵ Broadus wrote, "Let the preacher, like Paul, adapt, conciliate, please; but let him, also like Paul, bring everything in relation to our Lord and Saviour, for otherwise he is not preaching the gospel at all."²⁸⁶ An unidentified friend of Broadus wrote, "There was a magical influence in his sympathy with the young people of the community [Charlottesville] . . . they sought his advice with a love and confidence little short of adoration."²⁸⁷

The people of Charlottesville were not the only ones who loved John A. Broadus. Once a month for seven years (1860-1867), with few exceptions, Broadus preached to the people of Cedar Grove Church. Griffith related, "I am sure there was not a single man, woman, boy, or girl, however ignorant or

²⁸⁴R. H. Hudnall, "John A. Broadus," Religious Herald Archives.

²⁸⁵Robertson, Life, 356.

²⁸⁶John A. Broadus, The Apostle Paul as a Preacher: A Sermon Preached at the University of Virginia (Richmond: C. H. Wynne, 1857), 12-13.

²⁸⁷Robertson, Life, 122.

humble, that did not consider Dr. Broadus as a personal friend and love him as such."²⁸⁸ Broadus's respect for each individual caused people to be drawn to him.

Summary

John A. Broadus, A. E. Dickinson, and J. William Jones had similar formative experiences in ministry. They were from neighboring counties and exposed to similar influences. The three served as teachers when young men. All three men evidenced strong commitments to preaching, Sunday schools, student ministries, and evangelism. The men were active in denominational life. They exhibited a high work ethic. Dickinson and Jones held John A. Broadus in great esteem. Although his ministry at Southern Seminary was just beginning in 1860, his two friends knew that Broadus was the epitome of pastoral ministry. They deferred to his wisdom and sought his services in the army evangelism efforts. Jones, in particular, consulted Broadus in every major decision throughout his ministry. Dickinson's ministry benefited from Broadus's sponsorship. Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones were familiar with each other's talents and methods. They were able to enter the evangelistic efforts of 1863 confident of their ability to work as a team in the pastoral evangelism methods utilized in the army camps.

²⁸⁸Griffith, 351.

CHAPTER 4

THE CAMP MINISTRIES OF JOHN A. BROADUS, A. E. DICKINSON, AND J. WILLIAM JONES IN 1863

During the winter of 1862, Jones and others believed that a general revival was developing in the ranks of the Army of Northern Virginia. "There was every reason to hope that we were on the eve of a general revival throughout Jackson's Corps at this time," He noted, "The chaplains were aroused to their duty, and Christian soldiers were working and praying as I had not seen them before."¹ However, Jones stated that weather and campaigning interfered with the revival effort.²

Recruitment of Broadus for the Revival Effort of 1863

In a letter to Broadus dated 4 January 1863, Jones explained his evangelistic plans for the coming summer. He wrote, "I wish you w[oul]d come on and act as 'army missionary' during your vacation."³ Jones offered to pay Broadus's expenses and provide housing and miscellaneous needs while Broadus was preaching in Jones's regiment. He ended by stating, "I am sure that you c[oul]d do a good work

¹Jones, Christ, 293.

²Ibid.

³Jones to Broadus, 4 January 1863, SBTS.

among the soldiers. Please think about it."⁴ Beyond Broadus's homiletical skills, Jones knew the pastoral abilities of Broadus. Broadus's familiarity would bring comfort and encouragement to the troops.

Broadus was in South Carolina for two years prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. He was still well known by the men of the Army of Northern Virginia. After his arrival in the camps, Broadus wrote from Corse's brigade that there were "many Baptist, from Fredericksburg and Caroline, from Richmond and Henrico, etc., including several Broaduses from Caroline."⁵ In "Among the Soldiers," Broadus wrote about Corse's brigade, "I was heartily welcomed by some old friends."⁶

A. E. Dickinson reported Broadus's effectiveness among his "old friends." Dickinson observed, "In a brigade, in which there are five Virginian regiments and no chaplain, Brother John A. Broadus and H. G. Hatcher commenced a meeting in which scores of souls have professed conversion."⁷ Broadus's arrival in the army camps had been anticipated by the soldiers.⁸

⁴Jones to Broadus, 4 January 1863; C. J. Elford to Broadus, 18 January 1863, SBTS. Broadus was also invited to preach at Camp Goldsmith, S.C.

⁵Robertson, Life, 202.

⁶John A. Broadus, "Among the Soldiers."

⁷A. E. Dickinson, "It Pays Well," Religious Herald, 25 September 1863.

⁸Boatwright to his wife, 26 May 1863, SHC.

Like Jones, Dickinson was well aware of Broadus's name recognition among the Virginian troops. He asserted:

[Broadus's] former position at the University as student, instructor, chaplain and pastor, gave him an influence over hundreds of the young men who attended that institution, from every State [sic] in the South. Many of these now hold honorable positions in the army, and to a large extent, direct and control public sentiment. Many of them attend the preaching of Elder B., when, probably, they would not be reached by the labors of other ministers.⁹

Dickinson wanted Broadus to preach in the camps because of this ability to draw crowds.

Broadus not only possessed the pastoral connections to aid him in the camp, he had numerous relatives, friends, and former students in the army and camp ministry. His uncle, W. F. Broaddus, was Post Chaplain, Charlottesville, and was frequently mentioned in the Religious Herald for his camp evangelism.¹⁰ Uncle Andrew Broaddus served as a missionary to the Army of Northern Virginia.¹¹ Jones stated that Andrew acted as an agent for army missions.¹² A. E. Dickinson wrote to John A. Broadus, "Your uncle Andrew has been laboring with remarkable success in behalf of our Board combining the labors of an evangelist to the hospitals with those of an

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⁹A. E. Dickinson, "Elder John A. Broadus, D.D," Religious Herald, 27 August 1863.

¹⁰Jones, Christ, 375. For an interesting article dealing with W. F. Broaddus's incarceration by Federal troops see "The Prison Opened," Confederate Baptist, 8 October 1862.

¹¹Andrew Broaddus, History, 133-134.

¹²Jones, Christ, 247.

agent."¹³ Andrew's son and namesake was a cavalry lieutenant assigned to Lee's body guard.¹⁴ The third Andrew Broaddus, John A. Broaddus's uncle, also served as a camp missionary.¹⁵

Broadus had an extensive network of personal relationships due to his years in Virginia, the university, and seminary. He knew many of the clergy serving in the camps. His former student, Crawford Toy, served as a chaplain in an Alabama regiment of the Army of Northern Virginia. In his correspondence Toy mentioned other former students. John Johnson was Post Chaplain at Lynchburg and Tom Hume was the Post Chaplain at Petersburg.¹⁶ Former student, H. H. Harris mentioned William Curry, Haley, and R. W. Lewis as serving in chaplaincies.¹⁷ Richard Davis was a chaplain to a Virginian Cavalry regiment.¹⁸

Broadus also knew many of the men serving in the ranks of the Army of Northern Virginia. His brother-in-law, Charley Sinclair, served in Carrington's Artillery. Broadus wrote his wife, Lottie, "Mr. Coffman is in that company, Herman Fife, & many other excellent fellows." Charley's friend, Jesse, was also in the battery.¹⁹ Broadus's cousins, W. F. Broaddus's

¹³Dickinson to Broadus, 5 February 1863, SBTS.

¹⁴Andrew Broaddus, History, 137.

¹⁵Jones, Christ, 246.

¹⁶Crawford H. Toy to Broadus, 10 February 1863, SBTS.

¹⁷H. H. Harris to Broadus, 28 January 1863, SBTS.

¹⁸Broadus to Lottie Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS.

¹⁹Broadus to Lottie Broadus, 2 September 1863, SBTS.

three sons, served with A. P. Hill in the Army of Northern Virginia.²⁰

In turn, the men in the Army of Northern Virginia knew John A. Broadus. He was a Virginian, a recognized Baptist leader, pastor, and preacher. Jones and Dickinson knew that Broadus would be a familiar face to many of the men in the military. A. E. Dickinson was well aware of Broadus's reputation and the respect he received. On 7 August 1863, Dickinson wrote:

I told you in Augusta, that you would be good enough to go anywhere, do and say anything and to draw on me for any amount you might choose for salary, expenses, etc. . . . I beg that you will not think of working on any less pay than \$125.00 per month and all expenses. That's what we pay W. Huff A. Broaddus [*sic*] and you must have as much or more.²¹

Clearly, Dickinson placed a high value on Broadus's presence in the camps.

Dickinson and Jones lobbied extensively to retain Broadus's services after Broadus arrived in the camps. Dickinson wrote in his letter of 7 August 1863, that the reasons are "many and weighty" for Broadus to remain as an army missionary.²² Jones stated, "The other denominations are sending their best men, and it does seem to me that Baptists ought to do the same. You are beyond all question the man for the place."²³ Jones continued by stating that General A. P.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Dickinson to Broadus, 7 August 1863, SBTS.

²²Ibid.

²³Jones to Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS.

Hill would secure a chaplaincy for Broadus in his corps, after all Broadus was Hill's boyhood friend.²⁴

Besides Dickinson and Jones, others added to the clamor for Broadus to remain in the camps. James E. Lindal, a "very dear friend," invited Broadus to preach in his artillery battalion. He recognized that Broadus might be of better use in a position of "influence over a larger circle." However, if Broadus decided to come as "guest and counsellor [sic]" he would "nowhere be more heartily welcomed than here." Lindal did state that though he was only in an artillery battalion the closeness of Hood's whole division would possibly present the opportunity for a larger congregation.²⁵

Broadus's admirers did not restrict the lobbying effort to private correspondence. Dickinson published "Elder John A. Broadus, D.D." in the Religious Herald to present the argument that Broadus was uniquely qualified to serve in the camps. His argument had three points. First, he recognized Broadus's popularity. Dickinson quoted a Methodist chaplain who observed, "Officers as well as privates, in large numbers, flock to hear brother Broadus." Dickinson attributed this to Broadus's reputation from his years at Charlottesville. Second, "A large proportion of chaplains and colporters," according to Dickinson, were "young preachers." They were in need of guidance from "a wise, judicious minister" whom they could "ask counsel as to many points of doctrine and practice." Dickinson posed the question, "Now, where, among all our ministers, is there a brother who can

²⁴Jones to Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS; Jones, "As Evangelist," 357-8.

²⁵James E. Lindal to Broadus, 2 September 1863, SBTS.

better supply this lack of service than Prof. Broadus?" Third, Dickinson stated that "the very best men from all the secular vocations of life are pressing into the army . . . then why should not multitudes of our very best ministers go into the camps and hospitals (and stay there)?" He ended the article, "Do we ask too much of Greenville, when we ask that one of her four professors may be permitted to remain with the soldiers?"²⁶

A writer identified by the initials C. H. W. added his own request to the appeals by Dickinson and Jones. He wrote:

Will not Bro. J. A. B. publish, or allow the Colportage Board to publish, for our army, those very readable and delightful sketches, 'The Soldiers of the New Testament?' . . . We know no one who can so smoothly and attractively mingle easy simplicity of style and method with . . . the noblest results of varied and extensive learning. . . we wish to urge to further duty and more work, one whose fitness for work has so amply shown itself by results.²⁷

Christians wanted Broadus as a ministry resource to whatever extent he would permit.

There were many pleas for additional ministers in the camps. In an attempt to entice fellow ministers Chaplain Hatcher wrote to the Religious Herald, "I cannot fully describe the work and its peculiar joys; you must come and see."²⁸ Dickinson wrote a general appeal for ministers the week prior to his effort aimed specifically at Broadus. He

²⁶Dickinson, "Elder John A. Broadus, D.D."

²⁷C. H. W., "Queries," Religious Herald, 17 September 1863.

²⁸Hillary E. Hatcher, "Revival in Mahone's Brigade," Religious Herald, 10 September 1863.

wrote, "Thus our number of laborers is increasing. We have in this field some of our very best ministers. . . . [Broadus's name among others was listed] But there is yet a great lack of men."²⁹ A concerned pastor, Dr. Rosser, wrote, "A nobler work cannot engage the heart of the preacher, or the attention of the Church and nation. . . . We want our best men here--men of courage, faith, experience--holy men--hard working men--sympathizing men--self-denying men--men baptized afresh every day by the Holy Ghost for the work."³⁰ John A. Broadus, in the midst of his preaching in the camps, wrote "Come and Preach in the Army." He stated, "Not half of the regiments [in Army of Northern Virginia] are supplied with chaplains. There is an urgent need of at least 50 visiting preachers." Broadus believed that the additional ministers were needed to maintain the revival that was occurring in "at least three-fourths of the brigades." Broadus agreed with Dickinson's assessment of the youth and inexperience of the men ministering in the camps.³¹

Meanwhile, in a letter to his wife Broadus stated if his health was better and his Matthew commentary was not already started he would "have no hesitation in thinking it my duty to labor in the army permanently." In weighing competing duties he believed that his commentary was "of more importance."³² Lottie Broadus made her desires clear in a

²⁹A. E. Dickinson, "Who Else will Go?" Religious Herald, 20 August 1863.

³⁰W. W. Bennett, The Great Revival, 333-334.

³¹John A. Broadus, "Come Preach in the Army."

³²Robertson, Life, 206.

letter the following week. She did not appreciate "Mr. Dickinson's (presumptuous?) advice" in the Religious Herald. Instead of her own advice she passed along her brother-in-law's. James Broadus claimed, "Bro. D[ickinson] is crazy on the subject of army colportage."³³ Because he was "crazy" about colportage and the camp ministry, Dickinson joined Jones both in recruiting and attempting to retain John A. Broadus's services for the Confederate military ministry.

Unfortunately for Dickinson and Jones the recruitment of Broadus for long term service in the Army of Northern Virginia failed. The effort, however, reflected the level of respect, bordering on reverence, that Broadus held in the minds of the troops and ministers alike. He did not take that respect lightly. He understood the army's need for preachers. After his departure from the camps, Broadus continued to use his considerable influence in raising support for the army revival effort.

John A. Broadus enjoyed considerable personal appeal. He displayed an interest in people and preached sermons that addressed their needs. Throughout his ministry he displayed great talent for attracting large crowds.³⁴ Dickinson and Jones counted on this popularity to fuel the revival taking place in the Army of Northern Virginia. His strength in pastoral ministry, combined with his pulpit skills and name recognition, made Broadus a valuable addition to the camp ministry of Dickinson and Jones.

³³Lottie Broadus to Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS.

³⁴Robertson, Life, 208.

**The Civil War Ministry Activities of
Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones**

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary tried to remain open during the Civil War but finally closed in the fall of 1863. The unemployed professors preached in surrounding churches for financial support. Broadus preached every Sunday.³⁵

Winter 1862-3

Between 2 June 1861 and 5 July 1863, Broadus preached in thirty different Baptist churches and to several Presbyterian and Methodist congregations. He preached to many of the churches on multiple occasions. According to his personal journal Broadus also preached at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a mission school, the South Carolina State Convention, and the Southern Baptist Convention annual meeting. Prior to the battle of Manassas, in June 1861, Broadus preached to the Albemarle and Kershaw regiments.³⁶ The Albemarle regiment was comprised of men from the county which encompassed Charlottesville. In 1862, Broadus wrote the tract, "We Pray for You at Home," for distribution to the troops.³⁷

A. E. Dickinson left the pastorate of Charlottesville for the position of Superintendent of Colportage and Sunday-schools for the State in 1857.³⁸ His devotion to the

³⁵Robertson, Life, 189-196.

³⁶Broadus, "Day Book."

³⁷Robertson, Life, 19.

³⁸Ibid., 144.

colportage ministry enabled the agency to field one hundred trained colporters at the outbreak of the war.³⁹ Bennett stated the Baptist church mobilized the "earliest in the important work of colportage." He cited Dickinson as the key individual in the success of the Baptist colportage effort.⁴⁰

Dickinson provided strong leadership for the revival work. Dr. Andrew Broadus referred to him as "General Dickinson" indicating his influence in the camp ministry.⁴¹ James Broadus's comment that, "Bro. D. is crazy on the subject of army colportage" reflected Dickinson's devotion to his tract ministry.⁴² That utter devotion to the ministry of his colportage agency caused him to promote the work whenever and wherever possible. Jones referred to Dickinson's "zeal and consecrated tact." He wrote, "A. E. Dickinson, however, kept his work constantly and so prominently before the public, through both the religious and secular press, that our newspaper files abound with most interesting details of the labors of his colporters."⁴³ A Civil War reader of the Religious Herald, The Confederate Baptist, Christian Index,

³⁹Jones, Christ, 167. "Army Colportage," Confederate Baptist, 4 November 1862, gave a report from Dickinson that stated he had fifty colporters in his organization. The reason for the difference of fifty workers was not given by Dickinson in any extant record. Written sources do show a fluidity in the personnel ministering in the Confederate camps.

⁴⁰Bennett, Revival, 72-73.

⁴¹Jones, Christ, 247.

⁴²Lottie Broadus to Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS.

⁴³Jones, Christ, 167.

or Biblical Recorder encountered numerous articles by, or about, Dickinson.

In May 1861, Dickinson wrote an article on colportage in the Crimean War. He claimed, "The Colporters' labors at the Crimea were a glorious success. Through his instrumentality many who died on the field of battle fell only to rise to the heights of glory." Dickinson wanted to repeat that "glorious success." It did not take long for his plan to succeed. Colportage was seen as a popular cause which "strongly appeals to the benevolence of all Christians."⁴⁴

Dickinson's leadership helped create the popularity of the colportage ministry.⁴⁵ His 14 October 1862 letter to the editor of the Confederate Baptist typified Dickinson's efforts. He wrote to readers in South Carolina so that they might "see something of what is being done for the sick and wounded in the hospitals of [Richmond]." He closed by asking for funds to distribute five hundred copies of the Confederate Baptist to men in convalescent.⁴⁶

Dickinson served on the Bible and Colportage Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention along with his Virginian colportage position.⁴⁷ From the outset troops from throughout the South gathered in Virginia to repel the Union invasion.

⁴⁴A. E. Dickinson, "A Colporter's Work among the Soldiers in the Crimea," Religious Herald, 23 May 1861.

⁴⁵Robertson, Life, 189.

⁴⁶A. E. Dickinson, "Hospital Colportage," Confederate Baptist, 22 October 1862.

⁴⁷Proceedings of the Sixth Biennial Session of the Southern Baptist Convention Held in Louisville, Ky. May 1857 (Richmond: H. K. Ellyson, 1857), 8, 12.

This increased ministry burden, combined with Dickinson's national and state roles in colportage, caused him to solicit support beyond the borders of Virginia. He encouraged the other states to help support the ministries to their troops.

The magnitude of the colportage work required a broad base of support. Dickinson's agents worked in several other southern states with the approval of the applicable state's colportage board.⁴⁸ In the 4 November 1862 issue of the Confederate Baptist Dickinson reported that his agency had published and circulated "over fourteen millions of pages of tracts, and twenty-five thousand Testaments."⁴⁹

The advantage of the colportage work was its flexibility of ministry. J. K. Hitner, Rockbridge Artillery, stated that, "During the marches of the fall of 1862 had no [sic] regular opportunities for holding prayer-meetings . . . Yet the active Christians of the company . . . employed themselves distributing tracts and Testaments and religious papers, which were always eagerly received and carefully read by the men."⁵⁰ The Post Chaplain at Lynchburg, John L. Johnson, stated, "I am fully persuaded that the distribution of tracts is the very best means of reaching the soldiers."⁵¹

The colportage work was not without critics. In response to one challenge to the effectiveness of the colportage ministry Dickinson proposed another advantage of the use of

⁴⁸Dickinson to Broadus, 5 February 1863, SBTS.

⁴⁹Dickinson, "Army Colportage."

⁵⁰Jones, Christ, 482.

⁵¹A. E. Dickinson, "Interesting Facts and Incidents from the Chaplains and Colporters," Christian Index, 2 February 1863.

publications. He wrote:

It ought to be remembered, that the hospitals are the best field for colportage effort. A large proportion of the army, at some period of the service, are inmates of the hospital . . .over ninety-nine thousand sick and wounded soldiers had been inmates of the hospitals in Richmond alone . . .not less than two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers have been in the various hospitals.⁵²

Colporters did not simply distribute printed materials. Dickinson preached in the hospitals, visited the patients, and, in general, served as a chaplain.⁵³

Dickinson, perhaps more so than any other Southern Baptist, understood the religious climate in the Confederate army. John A. Broadus was a resource that Dickinson would not miss. In his letter dated 19 January 1863, Dickinson expressed his appreciation of Broadus's writing a tract for the troops and his desire for Broadus to "write again for us."⁵⁴

In the same letter Dickinson also asked Broadus for assistance in convincing Andrew Broaddus, Sr. to transfer to South Carolina as a colporter for the Virginian troops stationed there. He suggested that Andrew also be appointed as an agent of the seminary while in the state. Dickinson ended his letter with the statement, "I would write bro. Boyce on this matter but do not know his whereabouts and besides, he never answers my letters."⁵⁵ Dickinson's aggressive promotion of colportage may have prompted Lt.

⁵²A. E. Dickinson, "Results of Colportage among Soldiers," Confederate Baptist, 4 November 1862.

⁵³Ibid. Also see Dickinson, "Interesting Facts."

⁵⁴Dickinson to Broadus, 19 January 1863, SBTS.

⁵⁵Dickinson to Broadus, 5 February 1863, SBTS.

Thomas Boatwright to write his wife that "John A. Broadus is coming to our Corps as a colporter."⁵⁶ Dickinson wanted to assign Andrew Broaddus to South Carolina, but he did not propose that John A. Broadus remain in South Carolina. Dickinson wanted Broadus in Virginia for whatever period of time he was available.

J. William Jones became chaplain of the 13th Virginia Infantry Regiment after serving in its ranks for approximately a year.⁵⁷ Jones was active in the organization of the Association of Chaplains and Missionaries, a group dedicated to coordinating "the work of grace among the war-torn veterans."⁵⁸ Jones spent the winter of 1862-1863 ministering among the troops performing the tasks common to the chaplaincy; preaching, personal evangelism, visiting the sick, distributing tracts, and leading worship and prayer meetings.

Jones described many of his activities in Christ in the Camp. In his letter of 4 January 1863 Jones described the sermon he had preached that morning, "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." He stated that it was one that he had prepared at the seminary. In the evening service he "tried to make an earnest talk on the duty of observing the sabbath." The mentoring role that Broadus fulfilled in Jones's life was evident in the letter. Jones wrote:

⁵⁶Boatwright to his wife, 26 May 1863, SBTS.

⁵⁷Betts, Alexander D. Papers, Vol.5., NCSA. Betts's Chaplain log has the entry of "J Wm Jones 13th Va. Reg." in Jones's own handwriting.

⁵⁸Bennett, Revival, 413.

I know that if I c[oul]d happen in your cozy little parlor tonight you w[ould]d be sure to ask me what I preached about today--unfortunately, however, I cannot get the benefit of your kind, just criticism. I have thus far realized in my work the truth of a remark wh[ich] I remember y[ou]r making to me in Ch[arlotte]ville during the meeting of the Gen[era]l. association "the gospel ministry is a work of greatest joy and greatest sorrow."⁵⁹

Jones described his regiment as comprised of "an unusually large element of intelligence & respectability, and the religious status of the Regt. is probably better than in most Reg[imen]ts."⁶⁰ Jones stated that he was well treated by the officers and men and he had experienced some success. But, he expressed feelings of inadequacy and discouragement. He admitted, "Camp life is certainly very unfavorable to the cultivation of personal piety."⁶¹

Jones first approached Broadus concerning his availability for the summer in this letter. Jones mentioned the newspaper coverage of the "extensive" revivals and the interruption of the army's revival meetings caused by the military campaigns and the move from the Shenandoah valley.

Spring 1863 to the Return from Gettysburg

John A. Broadus continued to pastor and preach in small churches of South Carolina in the first months of 1863. He also continued as mentor to his former students. Broadus received a letter from Crawford Toy in 1861 expressing doubts concerning his calling. It "troubled [him] a good deal" that

⁵⁹Jones to Broadus, 4 January 1863, SBTS.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

Toy found himself acting out of "good habits."⁶² He became a chaplain in January 1863 and continued his correspondence with Broadus.⁶³ Toy enjoyed the work of "visiting the sick, gen[era]l. conversation, & instruction on the Scriptures." He was able to preach infrequently, but taught weekly Bible classes. The Bible studies drew on "much of what we used to talk over in our lessons at the Sem[inar]y."⁶⁴ Toy sought Broadus's opinion concerning the meaning of the words "reconcile" and "all things" as used in Colossians 1:20.⁶⁵

Jones sent a letter to Broadus in March and another in April encouraging Broadus to work in the camps for the summer of 1863. Jones suggested Broadus work as an "army missionary" or receive an appointment as a chaplain in A. P. Hill's division.⁶⁶

Broadus attended the Southern Baptist Convention in Augusta, Georgia, 8 through 12 May. He was listed as a delegate representing the State Convention of South Carolina. Broadus was extensively involved in the 1863 Convention as he had been in earlier ones. Broadus's name appears nine times in the twenty-one pages of the Convention annual.⁶⁷ He served on the Credentials Committee, the Committee on the War, On the State of the Country Committee, and the Sunday School

⁶²Toy to Broadus, 31 January 1861, SBTS.

⁶³Toy to Broadus, 10 February 1863, SBTS.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Robertson, Life, 196-197.

⁶⁷Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Session, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18. Count does not include Appendixes.

Board of Managers. He offered one resolution and addressed the convention twice. In one of his talks he addressed the subject of "Army Evangelism" along with George B. Taylor and M. T. Sumner. The book of reports stated, "After which about \$3,000 was raised to purchase Bibles and Testaments for the army."⁶⁸ Bennett, a Methodist, called the actions of the 1863 Baptist Board of Domestic Missions at the Augusta convention "prompt," "efficient," and "a noble example" for its placing twenty-six missionaries into the army camps.⁶⁹

In June William F. Broadus encouraged his nephew to "Come to Charlottesville forthwith . . . It would I think do much for us. We need it just now, if you can come. Don't refuse."⁷⁰ Broadus was unable to fulfill his uncle's request until July.

Dickinson's public relations efforts for his colportage work depended heavily upon correspondence with the religious papers. The Southern Baptist Convention in May afforded Dickinson an opportunity to visit Georgia to lobby in person. Dickinson attended as a messenger from Virginia. He served on the Foreign Mission Board of Managers. Dickinson addressed the convention on Sunday at the Sabbath School Mass Meeting.⁷¹

Dickinson also delivered an impromptu appeal on Sunday morning following an hour and ten minute sermon by A. J. Huntington. The Christian Index explained that Dickinson's "easy, natural, and yet dignified manner. . . [with use of]

⁶⁸Ibid., 16.

⁶⁹Bennett, Revival, 279.

⁷⁰William F. Broadus to Broadus, 11 June 1863, SBTS.

⁷¹Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Session, 16.

pathetic word-pictures" moved his audience to sympathy for the Confederate soldiers and colportage. His talk only lasted a "few minutes," but resulted in a spontaneous collection of \$360.00.⁷²

The Christian Index editor continued his praises of Dickinson in another short article. The article stated, "What excites our admiration most in his character is the zeal, energy, and tact which he has brought to bear upon the great and self-sacrificing work of army colportage."⁷³ Dickinson persisted in his efforts to recruit workers. In "Revivals in the Army," Dickinson wrote about the widespread revival occurring in the army. He stressed, "The cry is for the gospel. . . . The voice of a minister has scarcely been heard. . . . Send us tracts, colporters and evangelists."⁷⁴

The revival effort lost one of its greatest supporters at the battle of Chancellorsville in the spring of 1863. General Jackson died after being accidentally shot by a Confederate sentry. Prior to his death, Jackson had asked Jones to urge Broadus to come to the camps. General Jackson specifically requested Broadus to preach in the camps, saying to Jones, "Write to him [Broadus] by all means and beg him to come. Tell him he never had a better opportunity of preaching

⁷²"Convention Incident," Christian Index, 11 May 1863.

⁷³"Rev. A. E. Dickinson," Christian Index, 11 May 1863.

⁷⁴Dickinson, "Revivals in the Army," Religious Herald, 4 June 1863.

the gospel than he would have right now in these camps."⁷⁵ Jones stated, "I wrote that night to my old teacher and life-long friend, delivered General Jackson's message and added my own earnest plea--offering to share with him my blankets and my rations."⁷⁶

Broadus and Jones planned to combine their ministries for the summer revival work the first of July. Jones's regiment had repositioned to the vicinity of Winchester, Virginia. Due to the Gettysburg campaign the area had few troops, but there were numerous wounded soldiers in area hospitals.⁷⁷

Ministry Activities Of John A. Broadus and
J. William Jones from July 5 to
September 12, 1863

John A. Broadus arrived at Lynchburg, Virginia on 27 June 1863. He wrote his wife, "My heart glows at the thought that I am in Virginia again."⁷⁸ He preached that day and twice the next before traveling to Winchester to meet Jones.⁷⁹ According to his records Broadus preached at least once a day from 5 July to 19 July.⁸⁰ Jones stated that he had arranged

⁷⁵Jones, "As Evangelist," 353-354; Jones, Christ, 308. James Nelson, Chaplain Forty-fourth Virginia Regiment, gave another account of Jackson urging Broadus to come. Robertson, Life, 197.

⁷⁶J. William Jones, "As Evangelist," 354.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Robertson, Life, 199.

⁷⁹John A. Broadus, "Day Book, Sermon Records."

⁸⁰Ibid.

for Broadus to preach twice daily.³¹ Broadus preached at an army hospital on 16 July. Jones wrote of Broadus's "simple, earnest, faithful talks."³²

There were some discrepancies between Broadus's preaching record and Jones's diary. Jones remembered "a sermon . . . at General Gordon's headquarters about sunset on the evening of the Confederate Fast Day (he preached four times that day.)"³³ Broadus's "Day Book" recorded one Fast Day for the period of Broadus's service in the camps, 21 August. On 21 August, Broadus preached a sermon on 1 Peter 5:6, 7 at Smith's Brigade. He then preached a message on Isaiah 55:8, 9 for Gordon's Brigade. No other sermons were recorded.³⁴ Broadus's and Jones's divergence can be attributed to Broadus's not recording every sermon delivered, or to Jones's embellishment of Broadus's service. Broadus did list a sermon on James 5:16 for 2 September, in Charlottesville. He explained to his wife that he originally agreed to give "a 10 minute talk."³⁵ Because of notices being posted that Broadus would be preaching at the prayer-meeting, he "had to expand it into a sermon."³⁶ While preaching daily in Mahone's Brigade, 26-29 August, Broadus stated that he limited his

³¹Jones, "As Evangelist," 354.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., 357.

³⁴Broadus, "Day Book, Sermons."

³⁵Broadus to Lottie Broadus, 2 September 1863, SBTS.

³⁶Ibid.

preaching to once a day in the morning due to a sore throat. Yet, he gave a "fifteen minute talk" in the evening.⁸⁷

Jones, however, mentioned his use of a diary that detailed times, locations, and units for each day. Also, Jones meticulously compiled records for his history of the revival. Therefore, it is most likely that Broadus's full schedule while in the camp precluded his recording every message or speaking event. Broadus and Jones both seemed to differentiate between "talks" and "sermons."⁸⁸ Jones wrote of the period beginning with Broadus's arrival, "We went every day to minister to the sick and wounded in the hospitals, and I was never more impressed than during these labors, with Dr. Broadus' [sic] tender zeal and consecrated tact."⁸⁹

Broadus demonstrated his concern for the troops as they returned from Gettysburg. Broadus spent the afternoon of 7 July standing beside the road passing out buttered bread to the soldiers as they passed until "the supplies were exhausted, and everybody broken down."⁹⁰ After his Sunday sermon at the Presbyterian church, Broadus spent time with one of the wounded soldiers who lost four of his five brothers at Gettysburg. The man was in the church basement which was serving as a makeshift hospital. Broadus presented the plan of salvation to the soldier, who responded, "You seem to care something for me--now pray for me, won't you?" Broadus wrote, "I sat by his side--there were soldiers lying

⁸⁷Robertson, Life, 206.

⁸⁸Jones, "As Evangelist," 354; Robertson, Life, 206.

⁸⁹Jones, "As Evangelist," 354.

⁹⁰Robertson, Life, 201

all around, and people passing in every direction, and noisy confusion in the street close by, but I never in my life felt more deeply that prayer is a living and precious reality."⁹¹

Broadus's sermon record noted a sermon on 16 July, at the "Convalescent Camp." He recalled, "I went out to preach on Thursday morning. Some 200 men assembled under the trees in what was Mr. Mason's yard, and it was moving to see with what fixed attention they listened. Men were there from almost every State in the Confederacy, but we had a common interest in God's worship and word. At the close of the sermon, some 20 or 25 readily knelt for special prayer."⁹²

Broadus preached to mixed congregations of soldiers and civilians for the first two weeks in Virginia. He used his familiar sermons, which he rated as "not particularly good or particularly bad." He wrote, "Oh, it is so hard to preach as one ought to do! I long for the opportunity, yet do not rise to meet it with whole-souled earnestness and living faith, and afterwards I feel sad and ashamed."⁹³

Broadus enjoyed the army ministry. Dickinson submitted an article to the Religious Herald in which he quoted a letter from Broadus. Broadus wrote, "I am very glad that I came to Virginia and came to Winchester. . . . I met a hearty welcome and rejoice in the work. My heart warms toward the soldiers. How they do listen to preaching."⁹⁴ Jones stated,

⁹¹John A. Broadus, "Among the Soldiers;" "Pray for Me--A Hospital Scene," Biblical Recorder, 19 August 1863.

⁹²Broadus, "Among the Soldiers."

⁹³Robertson, Life, 200

⁹⁴A. E. Dickinson, "Rev. J. A. Broadus, D.D."

"The congregations were large and attentive."⁹⁵ Broadus's writing as well as preaching ministered to the troops. His series, "The Soldiers of the New Testament," appeared in the Religious Herald simultaneously to his preaching in Virginia.⁹⁶

Broadus's first opportunity to preach to large groups of soldiers in their camps came on 19 July to Corse's Brigade. He wrote his wife, Lottie, "At last I was preaching to the soldiers, and I enjoyed it very much."⁹⁷ In a letter to his wife Broadus noted that he spent 24 July in Staunton, Virginia, with [George] Taylor "distributing newspapers and tracts in the hospitals and afterwards [I] rode to see the graveyard."⁹⁸

Broadus was well received by the pastors of other denominations while in Winchester. He was even asked to conduct a funeral for a soldier. The local Presbyterian pastor was unable to officiate due to prior commitments. Broadus related how the soldier was a Baptist from South Carolina.⁹⁹ He expressed his appreciation for the "great kindness" shown him by the clergy.¹⁰⁰ In his 3 August letter to

⁹⁵J. William Jones, "Letters From Camp No. 9."

⁹⁶John A. Broadus, "The Soldiers of the New Testament," Religious Herald, 16 July 1863.

⁹⁷Robertson, Life, 202; John A. Broadus, "Among the Soldiers."

⁹⁸Robertson, Life, 203.

⁹⁹John A. Broadus, "A Burial at Winchester," Confederate Baptist, 26 August 1863.

¹⁰⁰Broadus, "Among the Soldiers."

Lottie, Broadus mentioned his cold and by 5 August he "felt very weak and prostrate."¹⁰¹ Jones believed Broadus's hoarseness [cold] caused him to leave Winchester.¹⁰² Broadus relocated to Charlottesville for the rest of the month.¹⁰³ He stayed with his in-laws at their home, Locust Grove.

Broadus's health failed several times in his ministry. The first year at the seminary, 1860, other professors had to assume his classes for a while due to his "badly shattered health."¹⁰⁴ Therefore, his health concerned Jones and other friends. The camp conditions did not help Broadus's poor health. In August he wrote his wife, "Last night I slept in Jones's tent on the ground, with my clothes on, and slept pretty soundly, thanks to being tired."¹⁰⁵ A week later Broadus's cold reoccurred reducing his preaching load due to throat problems.¹⁰⁶

Jones continued in Winchester for the remainder of July. During this period, Broadus wrote, "[I] have received much pleasure and valuable aid from the presence here of my cherished friend, Rev. J. Wm. Jones, chaplain 13th Va., who is surely one of the most useful men in the service."¹⁰⁷ Jones

¹⁰¹Robertson, Life, 203-4.

¹⁰²Jones, Christ, 321; "Army Evangelist," Religious Herald, 13 August 1863.

¹⁰³Broadus, "Day Book, Sermon Record."

¹⁰⁴Robertson, Life, 171.

¹⁰⁵Robertson, Life, 204.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 205.

¹⁰⁷John A. Broadus, "Among the Soldiers."

preached at least twice daily. He distributed tracts and papers and visited the soldiers in the hospitals.

Jones and Broadus combined their ministries for several weeks in the latter half of August and early September.¹⁰⁸ Jones informed Broadus, "If you are well enough be sure and come. There is a splendid opportunity for preaching in the army now and probably will be for some days."¹⁰⁹ Jones's regiment, the 13th Virginia Infantry, moved to Mt. Pisgah Church, Orange County, Virginia, the first week of August. In Christ in the Camp Jones wrote:

From the 1st of August to the 1st of October I averaged two sermons every day, besides other work. My own brigade (Smith's, formerly Early's Virginia) was fortunately camped near Mt. Pisgah Baptist Church . . . We were fortunate in having at different times Rev. Dr. J. A. Broadus, Rev. F. M. Barker (who took in my tent the cold which resulted in his death). . . There were 250 professions of conversion, and a revival among Christians.¹¹⁰

Jones also had "general conduct of revival meetings in Hoke's North Carolina Brigade, Gordon's Georgia Brigade, and Hays's Louisiana Brigade."¹¹¹

Jones stated, "I had appointments for him [Broadus] three times every day, and occasionally four times."¹¹² Broadus's "Day Book" does not concur. Broadus recorded, at

¹⁰⁸Jones, "As Evangelist," 356; Broadus, "Day Book, Sermon Record."

¹⁰⁹Jones to Broadus, 6 August 1863, SBTS.

¹¹⁰Jones, Christ, 319.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Jones, "As Evangelist," 357.

most, two messages a day.¹¹³ Jones remembered:

[Broadus] "drew large crowds, and as he looked into the eyes of those bronzed heroes of many a battle, and realized that they might be summoned at any hour into another battle, and into eternity, his very soul was stirred within him, and I never heard him preach with such beautiful simplicity and thrilling power the old gospel which he loved so well."¹¹⁴

Whatever the number of daily sermons, Jones believed in Broadus's effectiveness.

Jones was responsible for revival services in four brigades. He scheduled Broadus to preach in two of the four, Smith's and Gordon's.¹¹⁵ Smith's Brigade had 250 professions of faith during the period of Broadus's preaching. Gordon's Brigade had "large numbers" of conversions.¹¹⁶ On one occasion, the Confederate Fast Day, General Gordon "exerted himself to have a congregation, and a large crowd." He sent out notices that Broadus would be preaching.¹¹⁷ Approximately 5,000 troops attended the service including Generals Lee, Hill, Gordon, Ewell, Early, and "a number of other generals."¹¹⁸ Jones claimed that Broadus "caught the vast crowd with his first

¹¹³Broadus, "Day Book, Sermon Record."

¹¹⁴Jones, "As Evangelist," 357.

¹¹⁵Broadus, "Day Book, Sermon Record." Also see "Army Evangelist." Jones was the only chaplain for his brigade, another brigade had one, and one brigade was without a chaplain.

¹¹⁶Jones, "As Evangelist," 357.

¹¹⁷Jones, Christ, 247.

¹¹⁸Jones, "As Evangelist," 357.

sentence, and held, and thrilled, and moved them to the close of the sermon."¹¹⁹

Broadus preached the first time for Mahone's Brigade on 9 August. His "Day Book" listed him preaching on ten occasions in the brigade. The next highest occurrence of multiple messages to the same troops was six occasions in Smith's Brigade.¹²⁰ One of the Presbyterian officers in Mahone's Brigade tried to recruit Broadus as chaplain. The brigade had five hundred attending the nightly prayer meetings.¹²¹ Jones cited two hundred professions of faith for the two weeks that Broadus preached in the unit.¹²²

Always involved in the denomination, Broadus attended the Albemarle Baptist Association 11 through 13 August. His uncle, William, was elected the associational moderator. John A. Broadus preached the message at the morning session on the twelfth. He also made an address on Sunday Schools which, "Enlisted the attention of all present." When the committee On the State of the Country presented resolutions the resolutions were "sustained by an address from Elder J. A. Broadus."¹²³ The associational meeting was adjourned with a prayer by Broadus.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Broadus, "Day Book, Sermon Record".

¹²¹Robertson, Life, 204.

¹²²Jones, "As Evangelist," 356.

¹²³"Albemarle Association," Religious Herald, 27 August 1863.

¹²⁴Ibid.

The following week Broadus addressed the Chaplains meeting for the Second and Third Corps. Broadus wrote Charlotte he was, "Overwhelmed with invitations to come and preach in different brigades. About sixty preachers were present of the different denominations."¹²⁵ Jones had invited Broadus, in his 6 August letter, to speak at the meeting. Jones stated, "Now our 'Bishop' joins me in urging you to come down, preach for us, and be present at the meeting."¹²⁶ Jones had written an earlier letter that had been misdirected in the constant moving of Broadus and Jones.¹²⁷ Broadus and Jones worked the remainder of August together in the camps around Orange County.¹²⁸

Despite his heavy work load Broadus found time to contribute articles to the Religious Herald based on his camp activities. Though deciding that he would not remain in the camps, he appealed to ministers to visit the troops. He stated that there was an "urgent need of at least 50 visiting preachers." He told of preaching in a brigade that had heard "scarcely a sermon" in eight months. He urged, "Come, brother, thrust in your sickle, and by God's blessing you shall reap golden sheaves."¹²⁹ The same issue of the Religious

¹²⁵Robertson, Life, 204-5.

¹²⁶Jones to Broadus, 6 August 1863, SBTS.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Broadus, "Day Book, Sermon Record."

¹²⁹Broadus, "Come and Preach in the Army."

Herald carried his article challenging officers to use their influence for the advancement of the gospel.¹³⁰

Broadus wrote about his conversation with a young officer in "Nobody Cares for Us." The officer complained that family and friends had forgotten the soldiers in the camps. Letters home were often unanswered. Broadus then confessed that the young officer was his "Cousin A. [Andrew]" who had written Broadus four times without response. Broadus stated that three of the letters had never reached him. He had only "kept intending" to reply to the letter that had been received. Broadus wrote that he loved his cousin and had "done injustice to him, and injustice to myself and my family; and I mean to do better." Broadus wrote the article to encourage family and friends to support the soldiers by frequent correspondence. He wrote, "One of the worst things about camp life is the stupid dullness. Do relieve it, for your friends by frequent and cheerful letters."¹³¹

In the same issue of the Religious Herald Broadus pleaded, "As a Virginian, I appeal to Virginians; as a Baptist, to Baptists; brethren and sisters, send on means for this purpose [providing the Religious Herald to the troops] without delay."¹³² To Broadus, ministry in the camps went far beyond preaching convicting sermons.

Both Broadus and Jones empathized with the Confederate troops. Two letters written the first week of September

¹³⁰Broadus, "Influence of Officers."

¹³¹John A. Broadus, "Nobody Cares for Us," Religious Herald, 20 August 1863.

¹³²John A. Broadus, "The Herald for the Soldiers," Religious Herald, 20 August 1863.

explained their reasons. John A. Broadus wrote his wife on 2 September. Interspersed with his comments concerning his throat problems and a severe rash of unknown origin, Broadus spoke of his concern for his brother-in-law, Charley, and several other relatives. Broadus "contented [himself] with repeated praying at worship in a way I hoped might perhaps move them somewhat." Broadus expressed a hope that "the army may become the scene of conversion [for Charley]." ¹³³ When Broadus ministered, prayed, and preached in the camps, it was not to faceless multitudes, but to loved ones. The second letter illustrating the emotional ties between the ministers and the troops was from Jones to Broadus. Jones's younger brother, Pendleton, died on 4 September. Jones failed to reach his home at Louisa Court House before his brother's death from wounds received "while gallantly doing his duty." ¹³⁴

Pendleton was the second brother that Jones had lost in combat. While expressing sorrow, Jones did rest in the fact that his brother died "peacefully . . . on the bosom of the Savior in whom he trusted." ¹³⁵ Pendleton's death made Jones question if "it may become my duty to fill the place of one of them, if so I trust I shall be ready." ¹³⁶ Jones had served a year of combat in the ranks. He, more than Broadus, knew the needs of the Confederate soldiers. Jones preached and ministered to the troops as a brother.

¹³³Broadus to Lottie Broadus, 2 September 1863, SBTS.

¹³⁴Jones to Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS.

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Ibid.

Jones's letter to Broadus telling of Pendleton's death also contained an offer of the position of corps chaplain for A. P. Hill. Jones asked Broadus to accept the position since he was the best man for the task. If, however, Broadus was unable to accept, Jones would be "willing to do the best" he could.¹³⁷ Jones asked for a speedy decision since he had promised to give Dickinson an answer at the upcoming Goshen Associational meeting.¹³⁸

In Christ in the Camp, Jones described a day during this period of the revival. He began the day at 6:00 a.m. preaching to his own brigade. At 11:00 a.m. he participated in the ordination of a new chaplain. The man had been serving in the ranks. That afternoon Jones baptized 82 men from Mahone's Brigade and Wilcox's Brigade with approximately 5,000 soldiers "from the general to the private" standing along the banks of the Rapidan. In the evening he preached a sermon to a congregation of approximately 5,000 men. The service ended with two hundred decisions for conversion. He ended the day by finding Broadus "instructing a large number of inquirers" who had remained after his sermon at Mahone's Brigade.¹³⁹

Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones all attended the Goshen Baptist Associational meeting in Louisa, Virginia. Broadus

¹³⁷Jones to Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS; Robertson, Life, 207. Broadus mentioned A. P. Hill several times in letters to his wife. The mutual respect that Hill and Broadus shared is evident. On 6 September Broadus preached to Scales's Brigade with Generals Hill, Scales, and Wilcox present. Hill's and Scales's wives were also present as was a "great crowd."

¹³⁸Jones to Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS.

¹³⁹Jones, Christ, 246.

preached one of the messages on 9 September. He was followed by A. E. Dickinson who appealed for support of the Sunday School Board at Greenville. One thousand dollars was collected. J. William Jones also participated in the program.¹⁴⁰ Broadus preached his last sermon in the camps to the men of Jones's Artillery Battalion on 12 September. His text was Luke 18:13.

Ministry Activities Of A. E. Dickinson from
July to September 1863

Dickinson was listed among a number of pastors who assisted the chaplain of the Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment from December 1862 to the time of Gettysburg.¹⁴¹ Upon return of the Army of Northern Virginia from Gettysburg, Dickinson continued to preach as available.

Dickinson's correspondence load was time consuming. A sample of the articles published by the various state Baptist papers for the months of July and August include: "Revival in the Hospital," "Rev. J. A. Broadus, D.D.," "The Hospitals," "A Request," "Letter from the Georgia Coast," "Something the Brethren Should Know," "Evangelists for the Army," "The Sunday School Work," "How a Soldier was led to Christ," "Our Army Colportage Operations," and "Who Else will Go?" These articles varied in length from a paragraph to several columns. The articles reported the activities of colporters, chaplains, and visiting ministers with moving anecdotes of

¹⁴⁰Broadus, "Day Book, Sermon Record." Also see "Goshen Baptist Association," Religious Herald, 17 September 1863.

¹⁴¹Jones, Christ, 295.

the revival and life in the army.¹⁴² Dickinson also reported monthly the lists of contributions and colporter appointments. Contributors varied from "Two little girls in [King William County]" giving \$1.00 to Lieut. J. Ryland, King & Queen Artillery, with a gift of \$100.00.¹⁴³ In July 1863, Dickinson gave notice that "Rev. J. R. Harrison, of Roanoke County, Va., has been appointed to visit the churches in the Strawberry, Blue Ridge, and Valley Associations, to lay before them the claims of Sunday schools and Colportage . . . He is authorized also to take up collections to aid us in supplying our soldiers with the means of grace."¹⁴⁴ Such notices by Dickinson were common.

Dickinson assisted Chaplain J. J. D. Renfroe of the 10th Alabama, Wilcox's Brigade the last week of August. The brigade was located near Orange Court House. Dickinson stated that the crowds were "very large." When he arrived he found Renfroe "nearly broken down" from exhaustion. Dickinson's articles authenticates the soldiers's awakening, the chaplains' faithfulness, the importance of printed material, and the need for more ministers to come to the camps. He

¹⁴²A. E. Dickinson, Christian Index, 13 July 1863; Religious Herald, 16 July 1863. Religious Herald, 16 July 1863. Confederate Baptist, 22 July 1863. Religious Herald, 23 July 1863. Religious Herald, 23 July 1863. Religious Herald, 30 July 1863. Religious Herald, 30 July 1863. Religious Herald, 20 August 1863. Religious Herald, 20 August 1863.

¹⁴³A. E. Dickinson, "Army Colportage--Acknowledgments," Religious Herald, 25 June 1863.

¹⁴⁴A. E. Dickinson, Religious Herald, 2 July 1863.

wrote, "Your own son, or brother, or father, may be converted through the preaching of your minister."¹⁴⁵

The following week the Religious Herald printed General Gordon's letter to Dickinson concerning the shortage of ministers willing to come and preach to the soldiers.¹⁴⁶ Dickinson was the unofficial press agent for the army revival effort. Chaplains, colporters, ministers, and generals knew that Dickinson would have their materials published in the appropriate papers.

Dickinson wrote three letters to Broadus in August and September. Dickinson's letters indicate his position as coordinator of ministry resources. Dickinson apprised Broadus of Broadus's expenditures and scheduled Broadus's appearance at an associational meeting in behalf of the Sunday school Board. Dickinson also wanted "very much for [Broadus] to induce some of the ministers at the Albemarle [Association] to enter the Army as Evangelists."¹⁴⁷

In his short note of 17 August, Dickinson sent a railroad ticket to Broadus and encouraged his remaining in the camps for "some months to come." Dickinson asked Broadus to preach in Wise's Brigade for several weeks.¹⁴⁸ After Broadus left the camps in mid-month, Dickinson wrote to inform him of Jones's appointment as General Evangelist for the army. This

¹⁴⁵A. E. Dickinson, "Revival in Wilcox' Brigade."

¹⁴⁶"Letter from Brig. Gen. Gordon." Also see A. E. Dickinson, "It Pays Well." John A. Broadus was cited as involved in a brigade of five Virginian regiments without a chaplain. "Scores of souls have professed conversion."

¹⁴⁷Dickinson to Broadus, 7 August 1863, SBTS.

action was based on Broadus's recommendation for Jones and George Taylor.¹⁴⁹

Always persistent, Dickinson tried once again to enlist Broadus the camp ministry. If Broadus could not be induced to remain in Virginia, then Dickinson wanted him to accept an appointment for the South Carolina coast to serve Wise's Brigade which had just been relocated to Charleston, S.C. Dickinson stated that the position would be "evangelist, commissioner, bishop, or whatever you prefer being called." Dickinson stressed the fact that Wise's Brigade was all Virginian and that it would be beneficial for Broadus to continue his labors with the unit. Dickinson also asked Broadus to recruit the other available seminary faculty members for several months service in the army.¹⁵⁰

Though more encumbered by administrative responsibilities than Broadus or Jones, Dickinson's love for the troops was evident. Dickinson fulfilled the role of chaplain, colporter, and administrator. He believed in the effectiveness of the printed medium for evangelism but knew that the revival required pastors who were willing to minister in the camps.

Activities Related to the Army Revival in the Fall of 1863

In his tribute to Broadus, Jones indicated that Broadus had wanted to remain in the camps as chaplain. Jones stated, "Dr. Broadus was very anxious to remain permanently with the

¹⁴⁹Dickinson to Broadus, 30 September 1863, SBTS.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

army, and had made up his mind at one time to accept the appointment of missionary chaplain to A. P. Hill's corps which was urged upon him by his old school-fellow 'Powell Hill.'"¹⁵¹ Broadus expressed pleasure in the camp ministry, and a sense of duty compelled him to consider accepting an appointment. However, he did not indicate to his wife a decision to remain.¹⁵² Given his wife's attitude toward his staying in Virginia and his health concerns, it was more a desire on Jones's and Dickinson's part than a realistic plan.¹⁵³ Broadus returned to South Carolina by the end of September via Charlottesville, the University of Virginia, and Lynchburg.¹⁵⁴

Jones ended his chaplaincy of the Thirteenth Virginia in September to assume the position of General Evangelist. An article signed by "Lieut." expressed Jones's stature among the troops. "Lieut." wrote, concerning the revival in Hoke's Brigade, "[G. W. Bagley and Jones] have visited us and preached several times during the past week, and our hearts have been made glad, for they are Baptists, zealous for good works, and we had not been blest with Baptist preachers for about twelve months. . . . [Jones] resignation as Chaplain of the 13th Virginia Regt., in which he was universally beloved, has been accepted."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹Jones, "As Evangelist," 358.

¹⁵²Broadus to Lottie Broadus, 2 September 1863, SBTS; Robertson, Life, 198-207.

¹⁵³Lottie Broadus to Broadus, 4 September 1863, SBTS.

¹⁵⁴Broadus, "Day Book, Sermon Record."

¹⁵⁵"Camp Near Summerville Ford," Biblical Recorder, 21 October 1863.

Jones's priority as General Evangelist was recruitment of chaplains, preferably Baptists. After Broadus's departure from the camps Jones wrote to him in late December. Jones asked Broadus to have Boyce and "any other of the brethren" to send recommendations for a chaplain nominee.¹⁵⁴ Although well known for his nonsectarian approach in camp evangelism, he wanted Baptists for the open chaplaincies. He wrote, "I am beginning to do something at filling up the Regts. with good Baptist Chaplains." His goal was "greatly retarded by the want of the right sort of men."¹⁵⁷

The Secretary of War contributed to the difficulty. He rejected one chaplain's appointment with the comment, "I am not willing to convert good soldiers or officers into Chaplains. As men and Christians they do a holier work, and more especially obligatory now, in the field. In my judgement [*sic*] it is the highest field of labor even for the minister." Jones regarded this as an "outrageous decision" which could destroy his plans for a number of other appointments of Baptists.¹⁵⁶

The trend for chaplains to resign their commissions and become missionaries likewise threatened the advancement of Baptist work in the camps. Jones understood the long term effect to be one of closing the opportunities to visiting evangelists, such as Broadus. If Baptists vacated the chaplaincies, the Presbyterians and Methodist would fill them and invite their own evangelists. Jones encouraged Broadus to

¹⁵⁶Jones to Broadus, 29 December 1863, SBTS.

¹⁵⁷Ibid

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

write an article on the advantages of the chaplaincy over transient missionaries. His letter had two familiar elements. He advised Broadus that Broadus could have his position if Broadus would come to the army in the spring. He also asked for Broadus's interpretation of a biblical passage. Jones was not satisfied with his own answer to a soldier's question on the passage.¹⁵⁹

Dickinson and Broadus had a flurry of correspondence between the time of Broadus's departure and the end of the year. There was spirited debate concerning the use of Bibles and Sunday Schools in their October and November correspondence. On 11 October Dickinson wrote to Broadus requesting a portion of the Bibles donated by a New York [Bible] society for Sunday Schools in Virginia.¹⁶⁰

One month later Broadus wrote to Dickinson expressing his surprise and dismay at reading an article in the Religious Herald about Dickinson supplying testaments to "army Sunday Schools."¹⁶¹ Broadus stated, "Your 'army S. Schools' cannot be, ought not to be 'Baptist S. Schools.'"¹⁶² Broadus apparently was willing to recognize, to a certain extent, the necessity of a church in exile. However, he understood the necessity of maintaining an ecumenical approach in the revival efforts.

Broadus was concerned that the Sunday School Board was placed in a untenable position. They were required to follow

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁶⁰Dickinson to Broadus, 11 October 1863, SBTS.

¹⁶¹Broadus to Dickinson, 10 November 1863, SBTS.

¹⁶²Ibid.

the guidelines of the designated gift. The Bibles were given for children's Baptist Sunday schools in the South by a northern Bible society. Broadus acknowledged Dickinson's concern that the Board was turning "a cold shoulder to the noble army work."¹⁶³ Broadus ended his letter, "My dear fellow, you have not wished to do us an unkindness & you must use your well known skill in getting us quietly out of the false position in which we are placed."¹⁶⁴

Dickinson responded immediately. On 16 November 1863 he wrote, "My Dear Brother, Yours of 10th has just been received. I am sorry to learn that my proposal to let the army S. Schools have a portion of the testaments has so surprised and grieved you."¹⁶⁵ Dickinson explained he had informally spoken to several Sunday School Board members who had approved of the idea. He also pointed out that in past instances the state board had been responsible for distribution. Dickinson promised, "I will see to it that you are not damaged by me in that regard."¹⁶⁶

Dickinson did not appear to retreat from his view of the army Sunday Schools. He stated, "We have sent very few Testaments to the army and only to Bap. S. Schools."¹⁶⁷ Dickinson spent the last two pages of his letter informing Broadus of events in several of the Virginian churches in which Dickinson had been preaching. He commented, "I think

¹⁶³Ibid.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Dickinson to Broadus, 16 November 1863, SBTS.

¹⁶⁶Dickinson to Broadus, 16 November 1863, SBTS.

¹⁶⁷Ibid.

the Pedobaptist are rather restive under the large additions to the Baptists in the army."¹⁶⁸ The issue was settled and worthy of only a passing comment in Dickinson's next letter. He wrote, "Sorry to have given you any trouble on that point."¹⁶⁹

In his last letter of 1863 Dickinson requested Broadus to use his influence with the editor of the Christian Index. The Index had taken the position that Baptists needed to publish tracts that presented Baptist doctrines in opposition to the other denominations. Dickinson recognized that such action would hurt the Baptist effort. Dickinson felt that Baptists had "it all our own way" at the time. A tract war would result in Baptists being "out published" ten to one and cause "denominational suicide."¹⁷⁰ This letter displayed the ecumenical approach that Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones shared. They were willing to work with other denominations, but never ceased being Southern Baptists.

On 5 January 1864, Dickinson wrote Broadus expressing his frustration with pastors who refused to minister in the army camps. Dickinson charged, "They have already proved themselves proof against all such appeals. They love to work at home with their own churches and nothing but the inroads of the enemy can move them."¹⁷¹ He joined Jones in expressing

¹⁶⁸Ibid.

¹⁶⁹Dickinson to Broadus, 30 November 1863, SBTS.

¹⁷⁰Ibid.

¹⁷¹Dickinson to Broadus, 5 January 1864, SBTS.

concern that government was refusing to commission chaplains.¹⁷²

Summary

In the spring of 1863 Dickinson and Jones were confident that the Army of Northern Virginia was ready for revival and awakening. A key element for success was recruitment of competent ministers to work in the camps. Dickinson and Jones knew that civilian pastors were highly effective when they preached to their church and community members in the army. John A. Broadus was highly sought after for the summer of 1863. Dickinson, Jones, and others urged Broadus to preach for the summer season. Broadus happily complied.

The apex of the revival in the Army of Northern Virginia spanned July, August, and September 1863. Those three months were a period of relative peace that permitted ministers to conduct evangelistic activities. John A. Broadus, A. E. Dickinson, and J. William Jones left a record of their activities that reflect their mutual efforts and teamwork.

Broadus and Jones were able to build upon their pastoral relationships with the men in the units they served. Dickinson had the responsibility of coordinating Southern Baptist resources for the revival season. However, even though his attention was divided, Dickinson ministered in pastoral roles with units lacking chaplains. The three friends combined their talents and pastoral evangelism philosophy to contribute to the successful evangelistic efforts in the Army of Northern Virginia.

¹⁷²Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

THE PASTORAL EVANGELISM OF JOHN A. BROADUS, A. E. DICKINSON, AND J. WILLIAM JONES WITH APPLICATIONS FOR CONTEMPORARY PASTORS

As the Civil War continued throughout 1864 and the first four months of 1865, revival interest remained, but the intensity never again reached the heights of the revival along the Rapidan river. The military campaign intensified and many of the soldiers who had experienced revival or conversion became casualties. Lt. Thomas Boatwright, for one, never returned home. He died in the last few months of the war.

The setting of the Confederate revival was unique to American history. However, an astute pastor will emulate the examples of Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones. This study has demonstrated their methodological principles which can be transferred to the contemporary local church.

The Role of the "Church in Exile" in the Army of Northern Virginia Revival

Pastoral evangelism recognizes the influence and opportunities uniquely available to the individual performing the duties of a pastor. It integrates evangelism with the recognized pastoral functions of preaching and teaching the Bible, visiting the sick and unconverted, and ministering to the spiritual, emotional, and physical needs of the church

and community. As defined, pastoral evangelism requires the existence of a "church."

The church in exile made major contributions to the revival in the Army of Northern Virginia. Mathews contends that the sociological movement that resulted from the Second Great Awakening developed a cultural proclivity for the organization of local church bodies. Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones understood the authority, and therefore the necessity, of the local church as an issue of scriptural mandate. Whatever the motive, local organized bodies of Christians appeared throughout the army revival effort.

Whether labeled "church," "society," or "association," groups of Christian soldiers organized themselves to provide spiritual, physical, and emotional support. The groups also accepted the responsibility for evangelizing their military units. The importance of discipline among members was evident in the function of the soldiers' organizations. They understood the importance of maintaining a spiritual standard. Effective evangelism required a body of Christians to maintain a standard of godly behavior. Dickinson and Jones recruited pastors for the army revival. The recruited clergy were accustomed to operating within the covenant of discipline common to nineteenth century Baptist churches.

The three subjects of this dissertation, Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones, were committed to pastoral evangelism. In that paradigm, how did they relate to non-Christians outside of the covenant relationship of the congregation? How did a pastoral approach to ministry aid in the evangelism of the unconverted? And finally, can a pastoral evangelism

methodology be effective within a large group, mass evangelism, setting?

Pastoral Evangelism and the Unconverted

The major assertion for the credibility of the ministers rested upon their pastoral reputations. Christian troops wanted their pastors from home to visit and minister in the camps. The soldiers missed the familiar preaching of home. John A. Broadus attracted thousands of soldiers to hear his preaching because he was known as a pastor by so many Virginia soldiers. In turn, the unconverted believed their fellow soldiers when the Christian soldier vouched for his pastor and the message. This provided a bridge between the pastor and the unconverted.

Broadus left a record of his pastoral ministry prior to the war. He regularly visited members of his congregation and community. His visits to the University of Virginia campus and the Female Institute modeled the pattern followed by Jones during his tenure as pastor and chaplain in Lexington. The church does not exist in a vacuum, therefore neither does the pastor's ministry. These men were known by the whole community, not just their church members. Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's credibility did not restrict itself to the congregations of their churches. The unconverted were cognizant when the chaplain, pastor, or colporter preached and taught, visited, and ministered effectively to his congregation of troops. To the unconverted the credibility of the minister is inseparable from the credibility of his message. John Broadus, recognized scholar and seminary professor, spent an afternoon standing beside the road

greeting the soldiers returning from Gettysburg. He helped pass out bread and milk to the hungry troops until the supplies were exhausted.¹ Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones spent considerable time visiting the hospitals and convalescence camps. The first month Broadus was in the camps he spent the majority of his time ministering to the sick and wounded. The records reveal a pattern of meeting physical needs. Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's proven concern gave power to their gospel presentation.

Today, the Christian church must earn the opportunity to be heard. A pastor cannot expect the unconverted to listen simply because he is pastor of an area church. Broadus contended, "We must never forget the power of character and life to reinforce speech. What a preacher is goes far to determine the effect of what he says."²

The army camp setting created challenges in establishing pastoral credibility. In the civilian church a pastor has the stability of an established church field. In the Confederate camp setting the pastor had to deal with a more fluid environment. However, Dickinson, Jones, and others who recruited civilian ministers for camp visits tried to counteract the tendency for disconnected ministries. Ministers were not urged to simply go to an army camp and preach. They were specifically encouraged to visit the units which contained their membership and community members. This promoted a bond between the unconverted and the familiar face from home.

¹Robertson, Life, 201.

²Broadus, A Treatise, 541.

Since chaplains were the military equivalent of pastors filling their vacancies deserved the highest priority. Many people recognized the chaplain's influence. Colonel Hoffman, Union Commissary-General of Prisoners, rejected a request to allow a Confederate chaplain to visit the Confederate wounded who were prisoners. Hoffman argued, "There is probably no class of officers whose influence is more powerful to keep up the spirits of the rebels than their chaplains."³ Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones labored to place men of known Christian character into chaplaincies.⁴ The men considered had proven their evangelistic abilities and work ethic in campus, church, and camp ministries. Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones valued men who held baptistic doctrines. All three men had demonstrated ecumenical spirits in their ministries. However, they remained committed to Baptist doctrines and polity. Their ecclesiology demanded placement of men who understood the role of the local body of believers, the church.

Jones and Dickinson recruited Broadus to preach in units containing large numbers of former parishioners and students. In the seventy days Broadus ministered in Virginia he focused the majority of his attention on three regiments. He largely spent July at the hospitals around Winchester and Charlottesville and with Jones's Thirteenth Virginia. Jones stated that the soldiers "always seemed delighted to see him and hear his simple, earnest, faithful talks and his fervent,

³War of the Rebellion, Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series II Vol. vi (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 249.

⁴Jones, Christ, 523. "Minutes of the Chaplain's Association of Second and Third Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, 12 May 1863."

melting prayers."⁵ The majority of Baptists in Jones's regiment were familiar with Broadus. Soldiers unfamiliar with him, valued the endorsement of their trusted chaplain, Jones.

Broadus spent from 9 August until 12 September preaching to the troops along the Rapidan. He delivered twenty-two of the thirty-one sermons recorded to three regiments, Mahone's, Smith's (including the 13th. Virginia), and Gordon's. He divided his time between General A. P. Hill's II Corps and General Ewell's III Corps.⁶ Broadus did not spend his summer evangelism effort as an itinerant evangelist moving from one venue to the next. He spent his time preaching to old friends, Christian and unconverted. In the process Broadus cultivated new friendships laying the foundation for future pastoral evangelism.

Opportunities for mass evangelism abounded for the pastors who ministered in the Army of Northern Virginia's camps. However, as shown in the previous chapters, the men who preached in the camps identified themselves with individual men, not crowds of soldiers. The pastoral ministry approach cultivates individual relationships as a basis for the gospel message. The crowds were large, numbering into the thousands, yet, the pastors preached to the individual participants to whom they had ministered.

Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones relied on relational and confrontational evangelism. Pastoral evangelism does not

⁵Jones, "As Evangelist," 354.

⁶"Organization of the Army of Northern Virginia, General R.E. Lee, C.S. Army, Commanding August 31, 1863," War of the Rebellion Official Records Series I Vol. xxix Part Two-Correspondence (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 684-8.

isolate communication of the gospel to the pulpit and pastoral duties. J. I. Packer states that an evangelistic message uses the Scriptures to communicate the exclusivity and sufficiency of Christ.⁷ Describing the sermons in the camps, Granberry stated, "[They dealt with] eternal things, the claims of God, the worth of the soul, the wages of sin which is death, and the gift of God which is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."⁸ A pastoral evangelism methodology communicates the same message which includes a confrontational facet. Shortly after his conversion Broadus led his friend, Sandy, to the Lord. Later, Broadus presented the plan of salvation when he visited the wounded soldier in the church basement. Broadus not only lived a Christian lifestyle, he also preached the gospel corporately and presented it individually, as did Dickinson and Jones.

The Christians in the military units organized in order to help maintain a Christian witness and facilitate evangelism. The revival records demonstrate the soldiers' understanding of a covenant community. The soldiers presented opportunities for conversion and then maturation. The revival did not result from the efforts of individuals acting independently or professional evangelists working the camps. The revival movement in the Army of Northern Virginia was based on the efforts of "the church in exile."

⁷J. I. Packer, Evangelism and the Sovereignty of God (Downers Grove, Illinois, : InterVarsity Press, 1961), 54-5.

⁸Granberry, 15.

The Methodology of Pastoral Evangelism in the Army of Northern Virginia

Several methods of effective pastoral evangelism are evident in the ministries of Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones. The methods were not isolated to their army revival ministries. The three men demonstrated a consistency throughout their careers. Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's ministries were characterized by a confidence in prayer meetings, Sunday schools, discipleship (mentoring), mobilizing the laity, and young adult ministries.

Prayer Meetings

Prior to the Prayer Revival there is sparse record of prayer in the role of revival mentioned by Broadus, Dickinson, or Jones. In August 1856 Dickinson wrote Broadus requesting assistance with a protracted meeting due to throat problems. J. B. Jeter was assisting in the preaching, but Dickinson wanted Broadus to join them. Dickinson wrote, "Today the congregation is quite large, 15 persons have asked to be prayed for, 5 or 6 of whom profess conversion; and the prospect is very good for a great revival."⁹

Subsequent to the Prayer Revival, prayer was noticeably an integral part of the revival effort. The University of Virginia chapter of the Y.M.C.A. organized prayer groups by residence halls. Broadus visited the students for prayer. Prayer meetings provided the foundational organization for the Christians in the Confederate army. Prayer meetings in the Army of Northern Virginia were similar to the Prayer Revival. They were ecumenical, restrained, and also used for

⁹A.E. Dickinson to Broadus, 26 August 1856, SBTS.

evangelism. Unlike the mid-day prayer meetings of the Prayer Revival, the Confederate meetings did not have the one hour time limit.

In their postwar ministries all three men recognized the importance of prayer. The student revival at Virginia Military Institute and Washington College involved resident hall prayer meetings. Jones visited the students' prayer meetings each morning and evening. He credited the prayer meetings for the 150 recorded student conversions.¹⁰

In his homiletic text Broadus began his section on public prayer stating, "The prayers form the most important part of public worship."¹¹ Broadus argued that effective public prayer required "fervent piety" which resulted from extensive private prayer.¹²

One of the several periods of revival at Leigh Street Baptist Church surprised Dickinson. George B. Taylor explained that few people were praying for a revival in the church. Its occurrence perplexed Dickinson. Taylor asserted, "Dr. Dickinson afterwards rejoiced to trace this spiritual quickening to the prayers of one quiet and aged woman."¹³ Dickinson believed revival followed prayer.

Sunday Schools

The commitment to Sunday schools united Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones. The American Sunday School Union in

¹⁰Jones, "Varied," 5.

¹¹Broadus, Treatise, 527.

¹²Ibid., 528.

¹³Taylor, Ministers, 169.

1824 organized the first national Sunday school effort.¹⁴ Sunday schools were not widespread in the Southern Baptist Convention by the 1850s. However, Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones devoted their energies to promoting the movement's acceptance. At some point in their lives all three men held offices in the Virginia Baptist state convention Sunday school organization. John Broadus assumed denominational Sunday school responsibilities following his departure from the army camps in 1863. The printing arm of the Southern Baptist Convention was named in his and Dr. Basil Manly, Jr.'s honor due to their involvement in Sunday school.

Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones demonstrated their commitment to the authority of Scriptures by their persistence in promoting Bible study. Dickinson's early correspondence with Broadus was replete with Sunday school issues. Broadus sought Dickinson's expertise in Sunday School organization. Jones walked ten miles to teach weekly Sunday school classes in neighboring communities while a student at Charlottesville. He continued his Sunday school work while a seminary student. Dickinson's colportage ministry was a means of proliferating Sunday schools. One of the major objectives of each Virginia Baptist colporter was organizing Sunday schools. Dickinson stated that the Sunday school was the nursery of the church.¹⁵ In conjunction with Sunday schools was the distribution of Christian literature, especially Bibles. Dickinson's commitment to print evangelism resulted

¹⁴Thom Rainer, Effective Evangelistic Churches (Nashville: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1996), 81.

¹⁵Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia Held in the City of Petersburg, June 1861, 23.

in his agency's distribution of 6,187,000 pages of materials in one year of the war.¹⁶ This was a remarkable accomplishment considering the South's publishing deficiencies.

Sunday School as an evangelistic tool is not outmoded. "Those who predict the demise of Sunday School are betting against history," Thom Rainer argues.¹⁷ His research identified Sunday school as a "contributing or main factor to the churches' evangelistic effectiveness" in two-thirds of the churches he studied.¹⁸ In the nineteenth century Sunday school was a major evangelistic tool for Protestant churches. Sunday schools or its equivalent was a major tool in a pastoral evangelism approach for the three subjects of this study. Whether in a civilian setting or among the troops, Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones relied upon Sunday school for evangelism and discipleship.

Mentoring

Mentoring, or discipleship, requires time. Many ministers train or supervise less experienced staff, yet, few of those ministers mentor their staff. Training involves the impartation of skills, but discipleship, contemporary mentoring, imparts skill and character. Mentoring involves the personal investment of the mentor in his protege. Robert Coleman identifies association as a key feature in the evangelistic methodology of Jesus. Jesus spent time with his

¹⁶Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia 39th Session, Held in the City of Richmond, June 1862, 45.

¹⁷Rainer, Effective, 81.

¹⁸Ibid., 90.

disciples, which resulted in impartation of his character to to them.¹⁹

John A. Broadus was renowned as a scholar and homiletician, however, his greatest skill may of been as a mentor. Broadus mentored Dickinson and Jones. In turn Dickinson mentored over fifty young ministers in his life.²⁰ In his role as pastor, college chaplain, or seminary professor Broadus attracted promising young men. William Hatcher first heard Broadus preach in 1857. He later wrote, "[Broadus] thrilled people with immense magnetism. For weeks I found myself saying things like Broadus. He threw a matchless spell over people that carried them away. Forty years ago people would worship Broadus as the most wonderful thing you ever heard."²¹

Hatcher typified the young men influenced by Broadus. Hatcher attended the Southern Baptist Seminary and served as a chaplain in the army revival. Drawn by the abilities students encountered the man. He had the ability to see a student's potential. Jones and Crawford Toy followed Broadus to the seminary in Greenville and were taken into Broadus's home. Toy became a recognized scholar and Jones fulfilled Broadus's assessment of having "an unusual turn for practical working."²² Broadus clearly committed himself to younger ministers. After the war Toy served with Broadus on Southern

¹⁹Robert Coleman, Master, 41, 61.

²⁰Taylor, Ministers, 170.

²¹Robertson, Life, 147.

²²Ibid., 173.

Baptist Theological Seminary's faculty. Broadus was heartbroken when Toy was forced to resign in 1879.²³

One cannot read the Civil War revival accounts without encountering individuals who were connected to Broadus. Former students and parishioners served in capacities critical to the revival effort. Their letters and articles showed their high regard for Broadus. He had the ability to make each individual feel significant. He possessed a keen eye for an individual's abilities and he invested himself in helping the individual to succeed.

Broadus's mentoring prior to his ministry in the camps increased the revival effects. Broadus only spent July through early September 1863 in the military revival. If he had not been personally involved with the students in Charlottesville and Greenville his contribution to the revival would have been insignificant. However, because of the large number of men he had mentored his evangelistic contribution was sizable. Broadus's preaching in Mahone's brigade resulted in several hundred conversions. The brigade chaplain, Hilary E. Hatcher, was one of Broadus's former students. In turn, Dickinson multiplied his efforts by investing in young colporters from 1857 until the Civil War's end. Jones was young himself during the war. Yet, his records show his efforts to mentor new chaplains. After the war Jones followed Broadus's model of ministry with the students at Lexington. The contemporary pastor would be wise to emulate

²³Broadus, Memoir, 259-64; Robertson, Life, 313. Broadus did not question the necessity of Toy's termination. He understood the theological damage that would result if Toy remained on the faculty.

Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones by mentoring select church members.

Mobilizing the Laity

Even with the recruitment of additional clergy, the Great Revival depended upon the mobilization of the laity. Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones replicated their ministries through the mentoring of younger ministers, yet, mentoring has its limitations. One minister can only mentor a handful of men at one time. Dickinson was credited with mentoring fifty young ministers in his lifetime. The revival efforts demanded greater mobilization than mentoring alone could provide. Several methods of lay mobilization were used prior to and during the Great Revival, Sunday school and Bible studies, prayer meetings, and tract distribution.

Sunday schools not only served an evangelistic purpose, they were an integral part of laity mobilization. Whether an organized Sunday school or an informal Bible study, laymen played instrumental roles in their operations. Dickinson valued colportage as an entry point for ministers. It was a less intimidating task to the neophyte minister. In turn, Sunday schools required lay teachers. This need promoted the involvement of numerous Christians. Men who were not called to preach were needed to teach, and they did so. Units without chaplains were served by lay led Sunday schools and Bible studies.

Accounts of prayer meetings filled the religious papers during the Great Revival. Christians faced with separation from home, the possibility of death, the conditions of camp life, and numerous unconverted companions began praying. As

the movement gained momentum the prayer meetings became nightly events with large crowds. Many of the troops were familiar with the methods of the 1857-58 Prayer Revival. Laymen assumed leadership of the prayer meetings.

Printed materials were popular with the army troops. Even with their limited finances soldiers purchased tracts for distribution to their friends. Men afraid of verbalizing their faith could still present the gospel to their companions.

Chaplains played a vital role in the revival.²⁴ However, the shortage of ministers may have aided the revival in one regard. Laymen were compelled to become involved in ministry. Different avenues were available from non intimidating tract distribution to leading hundreds of fellow soldiers in prayer or Bible study. Laymen were able to involve themselves at whatever level of ministry they desired.

Contemporary pastors who would follow Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's model should implement a variety of evangelism and ministry options in their churches. These options should be led by laymen whenever possible. The ministries provide an arena of service for the men mentored by the pastor. In turn, as they spiritually mature their ministry assignments provide a basis for mentor ship. Replicating mature laity ensures the healthy growth of the local church. Not every Christian is called to be involved in vocational ministry, but every Christian is called into full time ministry. The layman who envisions his workplace as his ministry field will be able to implement many of the techniques of pastoral evangelism learned from his pastor.

²⁴Hieronymus, 271.

Young Adult Ministry

Young adult ministry received Broadus's, Dickinson's, and Jones's full support. Jones addressed the 1908 Richmond Baptist Ministers' Conference. He pleaded:

Work among young men is of the highest importance, and it is a most hopeful work.

Brethren, I beseech you, look diligently after your young men; preach sermons to them. Know them personally, and come in frequent contact with them; make them subjects of fervent prayer and earnest efforts, and God will crown your labors with a rich blessing.²⁵

Unfortunately, today, Alvin Reid can state, "In my denomination, the [Southern Baptist Convention], we are not reaching youth effectively."²⁶ Too often pastors and churches delegate youth ministry to the neophyte staff member, and youth ministries are seen as advanced child care programs. Young men and women, who in the nineteenth century would be considered beyond the age of emancipation and expected to participate as adults, are expected to remain interested in an organization that all too often refuses to involve them in ministry.

Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones remained closely involved with young people throughout their ministries. Each one was called to the ministry in their teens. Dickinson pastored his first church at age eighteen, and in his early twenties spent his summers on horseback as a colporter missionary. Jones helped organize the first campus Y.M.C.A. at age twenty-two. Broadus was involved with young men as a college professor, seminary professor, or college chaplain for forty-one of the sixty-eight years of his life. For an additional four years

²⁵Jones, "Varied," 5.

²⁶Reid, Introduction, 244.

he pastored many of the students and faculty in Charlottesville. Broadus valued education. He wrote:

In our churches, the most crying need at present is for an educated membership. . . . These where they do exist, give interest to Sunday Schools and prayer-meetings, diffuse correct ideas of Christian benevolence, and give sympathetic appreciation and moral support to an intelligent and active pastor.²⁷

He understood the importance of educating the youth to insure mature church leadership for the future.

Dickinson served as a trustee of Richmond College for thirty-five years, maintaining a well known presence on campus. Jones served at least three colleges and universities as chaplain. He continued his relationship with the Y.M.C.A. In 1871 he served as president of the city-wide organization for Richmond. Jones was an active Y.M.C.A. member for the six years he lived in Atlanta and served as the assistant secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention's Home Mission Board.²⁸

Wars are fought by the young. A large number of the soldiers in the army camps, North and South, were in their late teens and early twenties. Thom Rainer claims that eighty percent of the people who are converted do so before age twenty.²⁹ Jonathan Edwards claimed, "When God has begun any great work for the revival of his church; he has taken the young people, and cast off the old and stiff-necked

²⁷John A. Broadus, College Education For Men of Business (Richmond: Richmond College, 1875), 11.

²⁸Jones, "Varied," 5.

²⁹Thom Rainer, The Bridger Generation (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1997), ix.

generation."³⁰ This receptivity, coupled with the factors discussed in the chapter on the revival aids, may help explain the large numbers of conversions. Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones focused their ministries on young people knowing that their efforts would be fruitful. Pastors presently concentrating their energies upon the middle aged and senior citizen membership should reevaluate their focus. A pastor seeking revival and awakening must make youth and young adult ministries a priority.

Conclusion

The local church provided those who ministered in the Army of Northern Virginia a platform for evangelism. The revival and spiritual awakening that occurred in the Army of Northern Virginia had many contributing factors, not the least of which was the pastoral evangelism methodology employed by chaplains, colporters, missionaries, and visiting pastors. The development of "the church in exile" gave a context for pastoral evangelism. One must conclude that the gospel message can not be separated from the messenger. As a minister displays a concern for the physical and emotional needs of the unconverted, the practiced word, credibility is established for the proclaimed word.

Numerous ministers, as represented by Broadus, Dickinson, and Jones, shared the soldiers' daily camp experiences. Chaplains risked camp diseases, combat injuries, and capture. Colporters served units lacking chaplains and built relationships with the soldiers. Visiting pastors left the comforts of their civilian churches to minister to their

³⁰Edwards, 410.

communities serving in the army. These expressions of personal interest purchased the message's credibility. The ministers' willingness to identify with the soldiers by coming to the army camps concentrated a large number of trained laborers in the camps during a great spiritual harvest. The power of a pastoral evangelism methodology is not limited to the military setting. Wherever a minister is able to build a relationship with a community he can be a living demonstration of the biblical message. The longer he serves the more powerful his message becomes. This pastoral relationship presents an advantage unavailable to more transient ministers.

Contemporary pastors who would follow this model should reevaluate their procedures for their annual revival efforts. Jones served as chaplain for over a year before he invited Broadus to the camps. The invitation for the summer of 1863 was extended because Jones and Dickinson believed that God was ready to revive the Christians and awaken the unconverted. The seasonal scheduling of revivals is discouraged by this model. A protracted meeting would be scheduled when the pastor and praying membership sense God's leading. Regularly scheduled "revivals" cause cynicism in the church's membership when revival does not occur.

Pastors should also reevaluate their use of itinerant evangelists. The pastor's relationship with his congregation and community is too valuable to set aside lightly. If another minister leads the protracted meetings, he should be someone with a proven pastoral methodology. During the period of protracted meetings the evangelist should accompany the pastor in his daily visitation duties. The evangelist gains

credibility with each exposure to the local church, therefore it is advantageous to develop a long term relationship with a congregation by using the same evangelist over a period of years.

The "church in exile" faced the challenges of evangelizing the Army of Northern Virginia. Men accustomed to operating within the parameters of a covenant community naturally sought ministers who were familiar with pastoral ministry. Whenever possible ministers from home were secured for long or short term service in the camps. The revival occurred within the confines of a structured organization, the army. Military success hinges upon mutual trust. That trust gave impetus to the communication of the Christian message. It also secured a hearing for clergy who came to the camps to minister with a pastoral evangelism methodology.

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