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CONTENTS

Articles:	PAGE
A "Full and Particular Account" of the Assault on Charleston in 1706, by Kenneth R. Jones	1
South Carolina in the Caribbean Correspondence of Secretary of State Sunderland, 1706-1710, by James Alsop ..	12
Equality, "Extraordinary Law," and Criminal Justice: The South Carolina Experience, 1865-1866, by Thomas D. Morris	15
Alexander Gillon in Havana, "This Very Friendly Port," by Aileen Moore Topping	34
The Crucible of Civil War and Reconstruction in the Experience of William Porcher DuBose, by Ralph E. Luker	50
Book Reviews and Notes:	
Woodward, <i>Mary Chesnut's Civil War</i> , by Carol K. Bleser	72
Muhlenfeld, <i>Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Biography</i> , by Carol K. Bleser	72
Wilson, <i>The Papers of John C. Calhoun</i> , Volume XIII, 1835-1837, by John Barnwell	74
Severens, <i>Southern Architecture: 350 Years of Distinctive American Buildings</i> , by John Morrill Bryan	76
Bethel, <i>Promiseland: A Century of Life in a Negro Community</i> , by Virginia Watson Logan	77
Olson, <i>Music and Musket: Bands and Bandsmen of the American Civil War</i> , by Paul A. Cimbala	79
Smith and Owsley, <i>The Papers of Andrew Jackson</i> , Volume I, 1770-1803, by George C. Rogers, Jr.	80
Vlach, <i>Charleston Blacksmith: The Work of Philip Simmons</i> , by Isabella G. Leland	81
From the Archives	83
From the Society: Recent Manuscript Accessions	93

THE CRUCIBLE OF CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION IN THE EXPERIENCE OF WILLIAM PORCHER DUBOSE

RALPH E. LUKER *

Although scarcely remembered in the United States today, William Porcher DuBose ranks among the few important American theologians. He is, according to Norman Pittenger, "the only important creative theologian that the Episcopal Church in the United States has produced." Even in his own time, however, DuBose probably had a more appreciative audience abroad than he did at home.¹

England's Lord James Bryce read DuBose's first book "with great interest" and was "struck all through it with the evidences of subtlety and penetration in his manner of reflecting." The Abbe Henri Bremond, France's Roman Catholic historian of mysticism, held that no English writer in the twentieth century had helped him more than DuBose. "He is wonderfully a man of today," said Bremond, "a great light." "To me," said Scotland's Marcus Dods, "he seems to have more genius for theology than almost any living writer." His books, said the Bishop of Manchester, were "a positive sunburst from the West."² They were reviewed in journals published in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Liverpool, Brisbane, Sydney, Paris, Berlin and Copenhagen. Some foreign intellectuals urged the prophet's native land to take him more seriously. "America should make much of Dr. DuBose," wrote William Sanday, Oxford University's Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. "I strongly suspect that in the Philosophy of the Christian Religion he is the wisest writer on the other side of the Atlantic; indeed it may not be too

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¹ W. Norman Pittenger, "The Significance of DuBose's Theology," in William Porcher DuBose, *Unity in the Faith* (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1957), p. 21. See also: William T. Manning, "An Apostle of Reality," *Living Church* XCV (Oct. 24, 1936): 457-458; and Sydney Ahlstrom, "Theology in America: America: A Historical Survey," in James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison, eds., *The Shaping of American Religion* (Princeton, 1961), p. 299.

² James Bryce to Silas McBee, June 16, 1911, Silas McBee Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of N. C., Chapel Hill; Henri Bremond and Marcus Dods, as quoted in Silas McBee, "William Porcher DuBose," *Constructive Quarterly* VIII (1920): 522; and Bishop Moorhouse of Manchester, as quoted in Manning, "Apostle of Reality," p. 458.

merchants in Charlestown, for Miralles to collect and to record in the expense account he would send to this Government. Miralles acknowledged receipt of the Bills.

My predecessor so informed his superiors, with copies of all pertinent documents, and the transactions having been approved, the matter remained pending until Don Juan de Miralles should cash the Bills which he listed in the account prepared and sent to this government at the end of December 1779. In view of these unalterable facts, you will recognize that satisfaction of the debt is due to the estate and heirs of Don Juan de Miralles, deceased.

After the end of the American Revolutionary War, Diego de Gardoqui was sent to the United States as Spain's *cargado de negocios* (*chargé d'affaires*). In November 1785 Gardoqui was ordered by the Marqués de Sonora, minister of the Indies, to conduct a confidential investigation on behalf of the family of Juan de Miralles, who had died on 28 April 1780, while a guest of General George Washington in the latter's headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey. Gardoqui was asked to determine whether the sums of money due Miralles in the United States, as reported in 1780 by his friend and executor Robert Morris of Philadelphia, could be collected and sent to Havana.

After investigation of the matter Gardoqui reported to Sonora on 26 October 1786 that he had verified the existence of several debts outstanding. He listed among other items the following: "Payment of another sum of more than 14,000 dollars owed to the estate by South Carolina will be made when the condition of the treasury of that state permits it." Gardoqui's report concluded: "From the above it is evident that if one could manage to bring these accounts up to date, the creditors would be lucky to collect the interest due on them, as collection of the principal must be considered impossible, because of the deplorable condition of the treasuries of the several states."¹⁰

¹⁰ Diego de Gardoqui to Marqués de Sonora, New York, 26 Oct. 1786, AGI:Indiferente General, legajo 1606.

much to say, the wisest Anglican writer on both sides of the Atlantic." ³ Nevertheless, DuBose was a distinctly American theologian, a Southerner whose thought was decisively shaped by his experience in the Civil War and Reconstruction.

DuBose was born at Farmington, his father's upcountry South Carolina plantation, ten miles north of Winnsboro on April 11, 1836. Shortly thereafter, his grandfather and uncle bought neighboring plantations, forming a network of patriarchal communities. Farmington was a model of the plantation ideal, suggested DuBose's nephew, "a patriarchal family and an agricultural and mechanical community and school." ⁴ In his youth, DuBose studied at a Winnsboro academy and vacationed on his cousins' lowcountry plantations in St. John's Parish, Berkeley County. At fifteen, he entered The Citadel, where by the end of his first year DuBose ranked first in his class. ⁵ The young cadet had been nurtured on the Episcopal piety of a maiden aunt and a school-master uncle, Elizabeth and Octavius Porcher, but in his third year at The Citadel he began to neglect his prayers, to lose interest in his studies and to express homesickness in letters to his family. From his father came a reply that "was just like a *lash*," said DuBose. "It went straight to the mark—the weakness, the folly, the unmanliness of being homesick." ⁶

Shortly thereafter, DuBose was returning from a long upcountry march with two other cadets and stopped for the night in Columbia. After seeing a "roaring farce" at a local theater, the cadets returned to their hotel, so crowded that they were forced to share a single bed. They turned in shortly after midnight and the other two were soon asleep. As DuBose knelt to go through the form of his prayers, he recalled, "there swept over me a

³ Arthur Benjamin Chitty, Jr., *Reconstruction at Sewanee: The Founding of the University of the South and Its First Administration, 1857-1872*, (Sewanee, Tenn., 1954), p. 149n; and William Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research* (New York, 1908), p. 281.

⁴ Theodore DuBose Bratton, *An Apostle of Reality: The Life and Thought of the Reverend William Porcher DuBose* (New York, 1936), p. 5. The other major sources of biographical information on DuBose are: William Porcher DuBose, "Reminiscences, 1836-1878," typescript copy transcribed by William Haskell DuBose, Southern Historical Collection; DuBose, *Turning Points in My Life* (New York, 1912); and George Boggan Myers, "The Sage and Seer of Sewanee," in DuBose, *Unity in the Faith*, pp. 1-20.

⁵ DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 17-26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

feeling of the emptiness and unmeaningness of the act and of my whole life and self." He leapt to his feet and trembled. Then, "a light shone about me and a Presence filled the room." A new presence, an ineffable joy and peace took possession of him and opened a new world to him. Dreading to go to sleep, lest it disappear, DuBose finally nodded off, praying that it was no illusion, and when he awoke it was still there.⁷ Placing this conversion experience in the context of his father's reprimand, DuBose drew a parallel to the parable of the Prodigal Son. "A Man's own self, when he has once truly come to himself, is his best and only experimental proof of God," he said. "The act of the Prodigal's 'coming to himself' was also that of his arising and returning to his Father."⁸ The mystical reconciliation of self with father and Father was the experience of what DuBose would later call "at-one-ment."

Graduating from The Citadel with honors in December, 1855, he entered the University of Virginia in October of the following year. There, he studied Moral Science with William Holmes McGuffey, Latin with Gessner Harrison, Greek with Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, Mathematics with Albert Taylor Bleadsoe and Natural Philosophy with Francis H. Smith.⁹ He left the University in 1859 with a Master of Arts degree and later that year entered the Episcopal Church's diocesan seminary at Camden. Staffed largely by diocesan priests, the seminary counted only seven students in its ranks when DuBose entered. Among them, however, was John H. Elliott, who had studied with Calvinist Charles Hodge at Princeton for two years and had returned to South Carolina for a third year in the diocesan seminary. "Being fresh from the University and more immediately at home in Greek than the rest of us," DuBose recalled, "I was drawn by Elliott into the question whether the language and argument of St. Paul did not necessitate all the essential principles . . . of Calvinism."¹⁰ Although those discussions would continue to trouble him for several years, their lasting effect was to make DuBose "a life-long student and companion of St. Paul's faith and life." Forced to leave the seminary

⁷ DuBose left two different accounts of this conversion experience in: DuBose, "Reminiscences," p. 30; and DuBose, *Turning Points*, pp. 18-19.

⁸ DuBose, *Turning Points*, p. 20.

⁹ DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 42-58; and Bratton, *An Apostle of Reality*, pp. 32-43.

¹⁰ DuBose, *Turning Points*, p. 31.

in the spring of 1860 for health reasons, DuBose returned in the fall, only to find the rapid pace of political developments cutting short his seminary career.¹¹

When the little diocesan seminary at Camden closed for the Christmas holidays in December, 1860, William Porcher DuBose rushed to Charleston, where South Carolina's Convention of Secession had convened. Arriving on December 20, he went "with practically the whole city" to watch the convention unanimously endorse the ordinance of secession. Despite the gravity of the day's events, the young seminarian was in a light-hearted mood. His eyes searched the crowd for the face of Anne Barnwell Peronneau (Nannie), whom he had met during a summer's retreat in the North Carolina mountains. While South Carolina divorced herself from the nation, William Porcher DuBose courted Nannie Peronneau. Four months later, he was back in Charleston to celebrate his twenty-fifth birthday. On the night of April 11, 1861, DuBose and Nannie Perroneau paraded in company with many others on the Battery until late at night, awaiting the shot upon Fort Sumter by South Carolina's forces. The gaiety of the entertainment was only slightly spoiled by the fact that the shot was delayed until 4:30 a.m., by which time "the city were all asleep in their beds."¹²

Once the war had begun, South Carolina's coastline lay open to invasion by the Federal navy. Union gunboats infested its inlets, threatening the important coastal railway connection between Charleston and Savannah. Determined to resist the threat, Governor Francis W. Pickens organized the Holcombe Legion, a regiment of infantry and a battalion each of cavalry and artillery, to defend the state. Colonel P. F. Stevens, Commandant of The Citadel, was placed in its command and William Porcher DuBose was appointed Adjutant of the Legion. Torn between his father's desire that he report for service immediately and a seminarian's obligation to his Bishop, DuBose waited upon Bishop Thomas F. Davis' consent. When that was forthcoming, the will of son, father and Father seemed at one again. "I got then one of my father's letters," DuBose later recalled, "which was a turning point to me." While most parents complained of their children's disobedience, said the

¹¹ Ibid., p. 32; DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 60, 66; and Bratton, *An Apostle of Reality*, pp. 45, 47. On the diocesan seminary, see: Albert Sidney Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 1820-1957* (Columbia, 1957), pp. 50, 687-689.

¹² DuBose, "Reminiscences," 67-68.

older DuBose, his own children had tended to be too deferential and he applauded the young adjutant's decision to wait upon the Bishop.¹³ Securing a favorite horse from his Grandfather Porcher's plantation and given a fine set of military trappings by his father, DuBose joined Holcombe's Legion in camp on the Ashley River, overlooking Charleston and protecting the vital rail lines. The Legion spent the fall and winter in the pastimes of a war that was as yet none-too-serious, in drill, discipline, and occasional skirmishes with Yankee gunboats. Sounds like gunfire might as readily come from the fiddler crabs on the tideland shore as from enemy gunboats. There was time for displays of horsemanship and for picnics with Nannie.¹⁴

In June, 1862, Holcombe's Legion was mustered out of state into Confederate service and ordered north to Virginia to join the forces of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson in defense of Richmond. Arriving just at the close of the "Seven Days" campaign, June 25-July 1, 1862, the Legion engaged in slight brushes with the Federal troops near Malvern Hill. From there, Holcombe's Legion moved to Gordonsville under Lee's command to meet the advance of Union General John Pope. Later in the summer, the Legion advanced to the banks of the Rappahannock, where Union forces were encamped to resist their crossing. Commanded to take a hill where the enemy was presumably stationed, DuBose's troops crossed open territory and quickly mounted the hill. "A battery, which we were supporting, had reached the top of the hill," he remembered, "when it was literally blown off by shells from the opposite side of the river." After reporting the situation to the officer in command, DuBose rejoined his line on the hill. Shortly thereafter, a shell burst overhead, scattering shrapnel on the company. DuBose was struck at the knee and temporarily lamed.¹⁵

Crossing the Rappahannock, Holcombe's Legion marched toward Manassas Junction and arrived on August 29, 1862, in time to prepare for the climax to the Battle of Second Manassas. Early the next day, the Confederate line repulsed a furious assault by

¹³ Ibid., p. 70. Although this letter is not mentioned in his less intimate autobiographical lectures, *Turning Points in My Life*, letters from his father punctuated the first two of the major events DuBose focusses upon in the book, his conversion experience and his joining the South Carolina defense forces.

¹⁴ DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 70-80.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 83-84.

Union forces. Then, together with the whole line, Holcombe's Legion was ordered to advance. Passing through a thick woods, the Legion felt the play of enemy artillery and, when it emerged into an open field, became a target of firing from many sides. The Legionnaires dropped to the ground until the firing passed. Rising to advance against the enemy, Holcombe's Legion was decimated by a rain of enemy fire. Two-thirds of its men were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, along the line the Confederates were victorious and the Union ranks ahead broke into retreat. DuBose picked up a fallen flag and urged his few remaining men to advance. Suddenly some Union troops ahead turned and sighted the young adjutant standing in the open with the flag in hand. DuBose fell to the ground to escape their fire and then rose to seek shelter among some pine saplings to his left. A minie ball tore through his flesh and scraped his backbone. As the enemy resumed their retreat, he was temporarily paralyzed. DuBose found that his back was, at least, not broken and that he was able to move. As he slowly made his way off the field, the agonizing moans of the wounded and the awful sight of the dead obscured the adjutant's consciousness of the extent of his own wounds.¹⁶

Practically destroyed as a regiment, Holcombe's Legion could scarcely count a hundred able-bodied men and they were suffering from the lack of proper food and the ravages of disease. The regimental doctors having been killed on the battlefield, DuBose secured a half-dozen bottles of pain-killer from a nearby village and, with them, played doctor for two weeks. Despite his depleted ranks and poor equipment, Lee was determined to follow up his costly victory with a quick advance. The remnants of Holcombe's Legion were reorganized into three companies under DuBose's command. With Lee's other forces, they followed the Federal troops retreating toward Washington and then turned up the Potomac toward Leesburg. Crossing the river, they invaded Maryland. After a brief stop at Frederick, Lee's troops passed through Boonesboro Gap and over South Mountain to Hagerstown. There, rest, a bath, and a change of clothing were refreshing, but the problem of disease grew more serious. DuBose finally recruited a surgeon from a nearby camp. After diagnosing several cases, discussing their symptoms and mentioning the signs of typhoid fever, the surgeon turned to leave. "Well, doctor," said DuBose, "what are

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

you going to do about it?" "Nothing," replied the surgeon. "There's not a remedy . . . in reach." All medical supplies had been left behind with the wounded.¹⁷

Even so, within two days, the men were told to break camp for a forced march of sixteen miles back to Boonesboro Gap. The objective was to delay the new Union army of 80,000 men under General George McClellan long enough for Lee to unite his troops to meet them. They reached the Gap on September 14, 1862. Holcombe's Legion was stationed on the heights of the Gap's north side to act as skirmishers. Late that evening, too late for extended conflict, McClellan's troops were seen approaching. After a brief skirmish, the Confederate forces were pushed deep into the Gap. The men of Holcombe's Legion were so fatigued that they dropped by the roadside for sleep.

Shortly thereafter, DuBose was ordered to pick the best men at his command and return to extend the picket line. With thirty or forty men, he moved up the dark, forested terrain to the line. After his men were in place, they received orders from Lee to move forward to the scene of the evening's skirmish. Moving up the mountain, DuBose's men approached the top but halted just below the plateau at its peak. The adjutant himself went on to the top to reconnoiter. The dark silence of the night was so deep that only the bodies of those fallen in the skirmish could give mute verification that DuBose had made it to the scene of battle. As he moved through the darkness, DuBose believed that he was alone, until he was commanded to "Halt!" Uncertain of each others' loyalties, two men edged toward each other in the dark. When they recognized each other as enemies, the Confederate and Union soldiers leapt upon each other and a pistol discharged in the air. DuBose was overwhelmed by the side of his opponent and other Union soldiers drawn by the sound of the gun. Quickly surrounded and interrogated by Pennsylvania Vounteers, DuBose was relieved when he could finally rest, even as a captive.¹⁸

Early the next morning, two Irish guards conveyed William Porcher DuBose to a small prison camp, from which he watched McClellan's army march off to do battle at Sharpsburg. "I saw McClellan himself ride into the small cleared space of the gap at the head of a thousand splendidly mounted and equipped body-guard," he said. "As command after command, interspersed with

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 96. See also: DuBose, *Turning Points*, pp. 36-38.

artillery, marched through, my heart sank lower and lower. I thought of Lee's ragged, hungry, and in great part sick, thirty thousand odd waiting to receive this eighty thousand well and strong." ¹⁹ Although they could shortly hear the thunder of battle in the Gap, DuBose's captors had little to say of it, for Lee held his own and after a terrific blood-letting both sides retreated—Lee back across the Potomac and McClellan toward Frederick.

DuBose himself was removed to Frederick, where he joined a group of twelve Confederate officers in Union hands. From there he was taken to Baltimore and on by boat to Fort Delaware on the Delaware Bay. Until then, with the help of a servant, DuBose had kept himself clean and free of "the very worst form of dirt,—*live* dirt." Physically weak and fatigued, DuBose was kept all night on a boat, whose deck was covered with a sleeping mass of infested men. Unable to stand up through the night, he lay down among them and accepted the inevitable. Without even a change of underclothing, the future theologian found himself thoroughly infested within three or four days. "I have to confess," he noted, "that the strongest religious principles I could summon to my help were inadequate to the occasion." ²⁰

At Fort Delaware, DuBose was housed in a large room with seventy-five other Confederate officers. Occupying the whole length of the space between the interior court and the exterior river, the room was lined on its sides by a continuous bunk intended as common sleeping space for the officers. Around two deep windows overlooking the river were lavatory facilities with running water on each side of each seat. DuBose put two old shoe cartons together near the windows to the inner court to make a separate bed for himself. Every morning, when he took a half-bath, his still undressed back wound, which "had the appearance of having gone straight through my backbone," drew shocked attention from fellow prisoners. Nevertheless, DuBose believed that he was generally well-treated as a prisoner and noted that his only disagreeable experience was during interrogation about affairs in the Confederate army. ²¹

¹⁹ DuBose, "Reminiscences," p. 99.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103. For an earlier account of his experience from the Battle of Second Manassas to his imprisonment at Fort Delaware, see: William Porter DuBose, "Adventures of an Adjutant," *The [Charleston] Weekly News*, Oct. 4, 1862.

²¹ DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 103-104.

While in prison, DuBose used his enforced leisure for studying. Throughout the war, he carried with him a strong little ammunition box which contained copies of a Greek New Testament, Tennyson's "Poems," Pascal's "Thoughts," Xenophon's "Memorabilia" and the Episcopal Prayer Book. Of these, the New Testament was the most important, because it fed his thinking on the issues initially raised by his fellow seminarian, John H. Elliott. "The only vein of living thought . . . I had struck in my too short seminary course was the question of the true mind and meaning of the . . . intensely human and real St. Paul," DuBose later recalled. "St. Paul is the exact and inspired applier of Christianity to the universal facts and conditions of human life and destiny. . . . It was he alone who burst its bands, released its spirit, and gave it to the world."²² As a prisoner, William Porcher DuBose found a kind of emancipation in the thought of his fellow prisoner, St. Paul.

After two or three months of imprisonment in the fall of 1862, DuBose and other Confederate officers at Fort Delaware boarded boats bound for Virginia and prisoner exchange. Returned eventually to Richmond, he had to remain at a parole camp until the exchange was complete. While on leave from the parole camp one day, he stopped by a local library, only to read in the Southern press reports of his death at the time of his capture.²³

When his exchange was completed in December, 1862, DuBose rejoined Holcombe's Legion near Wilmington, North Carolina. Under his command, the Legion moved to Kinston to stop a Federal force marching from New Bern toward an important railway connection at Goldsboro. At Kinston, the Legion formed to defend a bridge outside the town. They waited throughout the day and into the early morning hours, when suddenly there was gunfire immediately in front of them. Just as the Legion's outposts began to run in, DuBose received an order to fall back fifty yards to a more favorable position. The surprise attack at three or four in the morning, coupled with the return of excited outposts and the order to fall back produced near panic in the ranks, but the Legion commander brought his men into line.²⁴

²² DuBose, *Turning Points*, pp. 40-41.

²³ DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 109-114. See also: DuBose, *Turning Points*, p. 38.

²⁴ DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 118-119.

While doing so, however, DuBose was struck by a minie ball, fired at a hundred yards. Partially scraped off when it touched a slope near the front, the ball passed through a half-dozen folds of clothing before inflicting its wound. Although it grazed two mortal spots, the missile fortunately penetrated neither of them. Numbled by the wound, DuBose was carried to the rear, where surgeons extracted the minie ball, leaving him in considerable pain but relieving the immediate danger. He was taken by ambulance to Goldsboro and eventually to Raleigh for recovery.

When he was able to travel, DuBose made a quick visit to Anderson, South Carolina, where his fiance, Nannie Peronneau, was living with her family. His brigade had received orders to transfer to Mississippi for the relief of Vicksburg and he urged the exigencies of war, as well as their shared love, as reasons for an early wedding. Anderson was already crowded with war refugees, so the Peronneaus had converted some offices in the town into an apartment. In the small office-apartment, William Porcher DuBose and Nannie Perroneau were married on April 30, 1863, by his seminary friend, the Reverend John H. Elliott.²⁵

In the spring of 1863, however, events of much more serious portent were looming on the horizon. Union and Confederate armies were maneuvering toward confrontations at Vicksburg, Gettysburg and Chattanooga. Together, they would mark the decisive turning point of the war. William Porcher DuBose was ordered to join his brigade in Mississippi, to assist in the relief of Vicksburg from the Union siege. Then camped on the banks of the Pearl River, just outside Jackson, DuBose's men were part of a small army under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston, which moved out of camp on July 1, 1863, in the direction of Vicksburg. "The weather was very warm, the dust very deep, and the enemy had preceded us all the way defiling all the sources of water with dead animals," DuBose recalled. After a two day march, Johnston's army arrived on the banks of the Big Black River. On the evening of July 3rd, the army slept, with the expectation of crossing the river the next morning and attacking General Ulysses S. Grant's siege forces from the rear. "We arose early in the morning with that expectation, fell quickly into ranks and then,"

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-121. See also: William Porcher DuBose to Mrs. Mary Peronneau, April 1, 1863. William Porcher DuBose Papers, University Archives, Jesse Ball DuPont Library, University of the South, Sewanee.

said DuBose, "—to our utter surprise, turned our forces away from the river and made straight for Jackson again. The Vicksburg garrison had surrendered to Grant."²⁶

Although neither side yet fully sensed it, the fall of Vicksburg in the West, occurring simultaneously with the Union victory at Gettysburg in the East, marked the turning point in the War. With Grant now free to turn upon Johnston's forces, the Confederates hastily recovered their tracks in retreat to Jackson and threw up siege works. It was just at such moments, DuBose later insisted, that his mind was likely to turn to St. Paul. "The Epistle to the Romans was really my constant *pièce de resistance*," DuBose said. "I can distinctly remember lying on my back, while my men were constructing earthworks, and with closed eyes constructing for myself the vital spiritual sequence, unity, and completeness of the first eight chapters."²⁷

As the enemy troops pulled up a line of assault on three sides of the city, DuBose and Holcombe's Legion were stationed on the extensive grounds of Judge William L. Sharkey's estate. Although there was cannonading and sharpshooting all along the line to the right and to the left of their position, Sharkey's estate seemed to be immune to enemy fire. In the absence of enemy fire, DuBose entered Sharkey's house and made his way to the library, where he found the autobiography of an English painter. "It was charmingly written," DuBose recalled, "and as I lay flat on my back in the house with the cannon bursting and roaring in the distance, I don't know that I ever in my life enjoyed a little relaxation more." When shells finally burst upon the Sharkey house, DuBose was driven from his literary reverie back to the Battle of Jackson.²⁸ Shortly thereafter, Holcombe's Legion was recalled to the east and spent the fall of 1863 in the coastal island defenses off Savannah and Charleston.

At the outset of the War, William Porcher DuBose had been near ordination. On December 13, 1863, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Thomas F. Davis and, through the intervention of General Joseph B. Kershaw, was commissioned as chaplain of Kershaw's Brigade. Leaving Winnsboro with a companion, DuBose rode into the mountains of North Carolina and east Tennessee. Be-

²⁶ DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 121-122.

²⁷ DuBose, *Turning Points*, pp. 42-43.

²⁸ DuBose, "Reminiscences," p. 123; Bratton, *An Apostle of Reality*, p. 67.

tween Asheville and Hot Springs, North Carolina, they noticed increasing signs of the bushwackers who took advantage of the pre-occupations of war to pillage the mountainous countryside. Although they accidentally rode into the camp of some bushwackers, DuBose and his friend escaped without injury and rode on to Greeneville, Tennessee. Asked to take charge of a little church while the brigade was in winter quarters, DuBose began his ministry there. "For . . . two or three months," he recalled, "I officiated in that church to the most distinguished congregation I ever served, composed mainly of officers of the army from generals down."²⁹

In the spring of 1864, Kershaw's Brigade broke winter camp and moved into Virginia to face Grant's opening campaign in the war's most severe conflicts. After a period of maneuvers near Gordonsville, Virginia, the Brigade moved toward Fredricksburg. Arriving at the battlefield on May 4, 1864, just in time to take part in the opening rounds of the Battle of the Wilderness, Kershaw's Brigade took fearful losses in the next two days. When Grant withdrew from the wilderness entanglement, he found himself confronted again by Lee several days later at Spotsylvania Courthouse. As Lee's cavalry fell back before Grant's attack, DuBose noted, "the advancing infantry of the enemy came rushing over our line, still mistaking them for cavalry. The men were lying down under slight protection to receive them and as they rushed over a number of our men were bayoneted in the back." Stationed at a brick church near the field of battle, DuBose attended to the wounded. When Grant disengaged from Spotsylvania Courthouse, he pushed on to Cold Harbor for the third phase of the month-long campaign. At the end of the war's bloodiest month, Grant could count 55,000 losses out of 118,000 men, while Lee lost about 26,000 of 60,000 men.³⁰

While General Philip Sheridan prepared his campaign to take control of the Shenandoah Valley and Sherman hovered like a dark cloud above Atlanta, Grant's army settled before Petersburg in the summer of 1864. Kershaw's Brigade continued to operate there under Lee's command until the fall, when it was ordered to join General Jubal Early's forces to meet Sheridan's campaign in the

²⁹ DuBose, "Reminiscences," p. 130.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132. For the role of Kershaw's Brigade at the Wilderness, see: Edward Stackpole, *The Wilderness Campaign* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1960), *passim*.

Shenandoah Valley. As he rode toward that confrontation, William Porcher DuBose pulled from his ammunition box a little blue and gold volume of Tennyson's poetry, given to him by Nannie at the beginning of the war. "Many a day, with a leg crossed over the pommel of my saddle, as we wound our slow and romantic way through the mountains of Virginia," he recalled, "I drank in the music and sentiment of the 'Songs,' or pondered over the mysteries and questionings of 'In Memoriam.'" Throughout the war, said DuBose, Tennyson was "my Bible of humanity, as my New Testament was of divinity."⁸¹

Kershaw's Brigade entered the Shenandoah Valley through the pass at Front Royal and, in conjunction with others, engaged Sheridan's forces and succeeded in drawing them out of the Valley. Then ordered back to Petersburg, the Brigade was half-way there, when Sheridan again seized the offensive in the Valley. Kershaw's Brigade hurried back to the Shenandoah. Taking advantage of Sheridan's temporary absence from the field, Early surprised and nearly routed the Union forces at Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864. On his way back from Washington, Sheridan had stopped over night at Winchester where he heard the noise of distant battle. Riding to the scene of the conflict, Sheridan rallied his demoralized men in time to turn the tide of battle and rout Early's Confederates.⁸²

Never before, DuBose recalled, had Kershaw's Brigade slept behind its field of battle. But when they rested near midnight on October 19, Kershaw's men lay down fifteen miles behind the scene of the day's drama. Unable to sleep, the chaplain wrestled that night with disturbing thoughts. "The soldier almost always engaged in action, has no time for reflection or thought," he thought, "and the Confederate soldier considered himself generally successful and victorious." DuBose had found the time to review St. Paul's argument in Romans I-VIII; he had taken leisurely moments during the Battle of Jackson to page through the biography of an English painter; and he had pondered the deep humanity of Tennyson's poetry on the way to the Shenandoah, but never before were his thoughts so deeply disturbed. "Never once before had dawned

⁸¹ DuBose, *Turning Points*, pp. 46, 48.

⁸² DuBose, "Reminiscences," p. 183; and Edward James Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Shenandoah: Jubal Early's Nemesis* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1961), pp. 281-341.

upon me the possibility of final defeat for the Confederate Cause," he recalled.

That night it came upon me like a shock of death that the Confederacy was beginning to break; the strain even of unbroken victories had been too long and too heavy; it would be impossible much longer to resist the force of the ever-renewed and ever-increasing pressure of new armies and inexhaustible resources.⁸³

As he looked back upon the shock of that night's recognition, DuBose struggled to understand its meaning: "The end of the world was upon me as completely as upon the Romans when the barbarians had overrun them." . . . "To me—that night:—I felt as if everything was gone:" . . . "Alone upon the planet, without home or country or any earthly interest of object before me, my very world at an end, I redevoted myself wholly and only to God, and to the work and life of His Kingdom, whatever and wherever that might be."⁸⁴

A month after Jubal Early's defeat at Cedar Creek, Sherman's army moved out of Atlanta, freely burning and plundering its way along a path sixty miles wide in the direction of Savannah, which he occupied December 21, 1864. In anticipation of a direct move against Charleston, Kershaw's South Carolinians were transferred from Virginia to defend the port city. In January, Sherman began his campaign up through the Carolinas, burning and pillaging as he went. Slowed more by the winter rains than by organized opposition, the Union forces moved relentlessly toward Columbia. By February 11, the lower part of the state had been reduced by his troops. Hardeeville, Robertsville, McPhersonville, Barnwell, Blackville, Orangeburg and Lexington were all partially or wholly destroyed by fire.⁸⁵

Sherman pushed on through upper South Carolina. After large sections of Columbia were burned to the ground, Winnsboro, Camden, Lancaster, Chesterfield, Cheraw and Darlington were put to the torch. When Sherman moved out of Columbia in the direction of Camden and Cheraw, the Confederate troops remaining in Charles-

⁸³ DuBose, "Reminiscences," p. 184; and DuBose, *Turning Point*, p. 49.

⁸⁴ DuBose, *Turning Points*, pp. 49-50. "Reminiscences," p. 184.

⁸⁵ John G. Barrett, *Sherman's March Through the Carolinas* (Chapel Hill, 1956), pp. 44-70.

ton were ordered out to join General Joseph E. Johnston's force gathering on Sherman's trail. After some skirmishing at Cheraw, under Johnston's command, Kershaw's Brigade followed Sherman into North Carolina. Engaging him initially in a delaying action at Averysboro on March 15, 1865, the Brigade joined Johnston's force to confront Sherman four days later at Bentonville. Losing the advantage of surprise, however, Johnston fought Sherman only to a stand-off. Among the Confederate casualties were William Porcher DuBose's brother, Robert, who suffered a painful wound from a shell fragment.

In the month after Bentonville, camp life in Johnston's army was largely a holding operation, an attempt to maintain discipline among the demoralized veterans and raw recruits of the latest levee. Among the latter was a large number of men in Kitt's Regiment from a Dutch settlement near Orangeburg, South Carolina. Tempted to desert to rejoin their families on Sherman's blackened trail through South Carolina, a half-dozen of those recruits were caught, court-martialed and sentenced to be shot. As chaplain, William Porcher DuBose was ordered to prepare the men for their fate. "It was the most awful thing I was ever asked to do," he remembered, "the worst I ever experienced." Fortunately, the surrender of Lee to Grant on April 9 and of Johnston to Sherman four days later interceded to prevent the execution of the Orangeburg recruits.⁸⁶

When William Porcher DuBose was discharged from the Confederate service, the Treasury of the Army was distributed among the soldiers. His share was \$1.50. After having his horse shod and purchasing two mules, DuBose set out for Winnsboro. "Sherman's march had swept the country clean of every facility for private travel, animals or vehicles, as well as provisions and everything else," he recalled. At Roseland, the family plantation, DuBose found an old barouche, so long out of use that the Yankees had passed it by. Needing to go to Anderson to get his wife, Nannie he had it repaired and a harness fashioned for it. So equipped, he left Winnsboro for Anderson. Along the way, DuBose stopped to console the widows and families of fallen comrades—Nance, Rutherford, Seabrook. "Widows and bereaved persons were at

⁸⁶ DuBose, "Reminiscences," p. 135. See also: Barrett, *Sherman's March Through the Carolinas*, pp. 71-185, 201, 227.

every turn," he noted, "and worse of all, facing us everywhere was the loss of our country."³⁷

With Nannie, DuBose returned to Winnsboro, which had been largely burned by Sherman's troops. Nearby, said DuBose were encamped "not only Yankee troops, but *negro* troops." "These men seemed to be under very little discipline because they ranged and roamed through the country, more and more demoralizing the native negroes." When the elder DuBose died, during the Civil War, responsibility for the management of his two plantations had passed to his brother-in-law, General John Bratton, who had three plantations of his own. As a result, William and Nannie DuBose agreed to live at Farmington and supervise the work there. "It was a trying experience," he recalled. "The negroes, who up to that time had been one with ourselves were gradually alienated so that we never knew what was going on. There were nights when at the negro quarters, a quarter of a mile from the house, we could hear the noisy carryings on of negro soldiers from Winnsboro. It might have been very dangerous."³⁸ Without animals, without farm implements, without seed, without the capital with which to purchase such necessities, the management of a plantation was a hopeless task. Only when Bratton entered a partnership with a Baltimore banker for the operation of the five plantations in the fall of 1865 was it made possible.³⁹

In October, 1865, Nannie DuBose gave birth to their first child, a daughter, Susie Peronneau. At the same time, DuBose was asked to take charge of the congregations of St. John's Church, Winnsboro, and St. Stephen's Mission, Ridgeway. The building of the Winnsboro congregation having been burned by Sherman's troops, he held services in the county courthouse. At the first visit of Bishop Thomas F. Davis on September 9, 1866, DuBose was ordained to the priesthood. Because his salary was largely a "faith venture" and much of it came in farm produce, he also took charge of the Greek classes at Mount Zion College until leaving Winnsboro in January, 1868.⁴⁰

On January 1, 1868, the DuBose's second daughter, May, was born and her father arrived in Abbeville to take charge of Trinity

³⁷ DuBose, "Reminiscences," p. 188.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 139-140.

³⁹ Bratton, *An Apostle of Reality*, p. 72-74.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75. See also: DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 140-142; Thomas, *Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, p. 625.

Church. The building was one of the most beautiful in the state; and her congregation included an unusual number of the conservative white political leaders who had attempted to reassume control of the state at the end of the war. Samuel McGowan had been a member of the state constitutional convention of 1865, while Armistead Burt and David L. Wardlaw had drafted the "Black Code" which the General Assembly had adopted that year to regulate the conduct of freemen.⁴¹

By the time DuBose reached Abbeville, however, the United States Congress had repudiated the state's conservative white regime and imposed military rule. Federal registrars had enfranchised the freemen and a new constitutional convention, dominated by radicals, was preparing to assemble in Charleston. "The carpet-bag regime was at its height and its worse," DuBose recalled.

As elsewhere, there were in the community, besides the ordinary carpetbaggers, representatives known as scalawags, the former coming from abroad to reap benefits, but the latter being natives. The negroes were influenced and became for a time very dangerous. Barns and sometimes dwellings were burned at night.⁴²

An example of the danger, he remembered, occurred while the family was living in the rectory of Trinity Church. Two of his sisters-in-law were visiting them at the time and slept in the front bedroom with Susie. During the night, someone entered the house and carried out a trunk belonging to one of the women. The robber then returned to the front bedroom, went to the bed and was apparently searching around the pillows. Putting out her hand, one of the women felt "the kinky head of a negro." When she screamed, the robber quickly disappeared. A second instance of the danger, DuBose noted, was that in the absence of Samuel McGowan, a building on his premises was burned and his house broken into. The invaders carried his wife, the daughter of David Wardlaw out of the house and only the shouts and screams of her old nurse frightened them into releasing her. So aroused was the

⁴¹ Bratton, *An Apostle of Reality*, p. 75; and Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 1982), pp. 37, 48.

⁴² DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 144.

community by the incident that all the citizens were urged to arm themselves and take turns at night watch. Even the Episcopal priest bought a pistol and joined the watch.⁴³

Conditions such as these help to explain DuBose's remarks about the rise of the Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction. "The condition of things just compelled some such organization as the Ku Klux Klan" he argued.

It was an inspiration of genius—the most discreet and successful management of the situation that could have been devised. No one wanted to be violent. Indeed that was a thing they couldn't have been, with the Yankees everywhere. The negroes were managed instead by mystery and superstition. The violences of the organization were surprisingly few.⁴⁴

Despite DuBose's nostalgic recollection of a pacific Abbeville Klan, Abbeville and neighboring Edgefield counties were the most violent region of the state, according to Allen W. Trelease. As early as June, 1868, local Democratic Party clubs mounted white robed Klansmen to roam the countryside at night, whipping a dozen freemen at one neighborhood, burning the house of Nelson Joiner, a Negro delegate to the recent constitutional convention, and driving him out of the county. The violence in Abbeville County reached an early peak before the local elections in June. In July, says Trelease, false rumors that the Negroes were arming themselves led whites to import guns and make a show of them. The earlier violence recurred in greater intensity with the approach of the fall elections. In October, two Republican state legislators, James Martin and Benjamin Franklin Randolph, were assassinated. Randolph, a Negro, had been a particularly effective political organizer. He was shot down in broad daylight by "three members of the Democratic secret committee, alias the Klan." When armed Klansmen guarded the polling places through the day on November 3, 1868, less than one-fifth of the eligible black voters cast their ballots in Abbeville County.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140. See also: William Porcher DuBose, "Wade Hampton," *Sewannes Review* X (July, 1902): 367-368.

⁴⁵ Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York, 1971), pp. 72, 115-117, 349, 353. See also: Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877* (Chapel Hill, 1965), p. 260.

One of DuBose's closest friends at Abbeville was his uncle, Octavious Porcher. Having come to nearby Willington in 1851 to teach at Moses Waddell's academy, Porcher built St. Stephen's Chapel there in 1859. He was persuaded to enter the ministry as a deacon in 1868 and, two years later, when the diocesan convention met at Abbeville, he was ordained to the priesthood. His ordination sermon, "The Christian Ministry," was given by his nephew, William Porcher DuBose.⁴⁶ DuBose's recruitment of his schoolmaster uncle to the priesthood and his ordination sermon for him were not particularly remarkable developments, *except* in their historical context. What remained to his fellow Southerners after the defeat of the Confederacy was the church. Seen in that way, the ordination sermon for Octavious Porcher sheds a powerful light upon the whole post-War career and thought of William Porcher DuBose.

"We have thought too exclusively of Christ as He is *in person* in Heaven; and too little of Him as He is—no less really—*in spirit* in His Church on earth," DuBose told the congregants in Abbeville. "The *Holy Catholic Church* . . . is as much a Divine fact, is as much an Article of the Creed, and a matter of necessary faith, as the Incarnation." It was inadequate, too, to speak of the Church as a Kingdom, for that implied divine rule only *over* the members. "The Church of Christ *is* the Kingdom of God; but it is much more than a Kingdom. It is no longer a Body externally controlled by the law of its Head; it is a Body internally filled with the life of its Head."⁴⁷

In His offices as Prophet, Priest and King, Christ lives on in the life of the Church. "Christ's work in His Church now," said DuBose, "is a continuation of the work which he began when He was Himself on earth." Every member of the Church, within his own sphere, was to exercise the three-fold office of Christ, but a body of men are set apart for particular exercise of the priestly function. "So far as teaching and ruling, the prophetic and kingly offices, are concerned, Angels might far better than we have been appointed Ministers of the Church of Christ," DuBose said in conclusion.

⁴⁶ William Porcher DuBose, *The Christian Ministry. A Sermon Preached at the Ordination of Rev. O. T. Porcher, Abbeville, S. C., May 15th, 1870* (Charleston, 1870). See also: DuBose, "Reminiscences," pp. 47-48.

⁴⁷ DuBose, *The Christian Ministry*, pp. 5, 8.

But in order that as Ministers of Christ we should have His priestly spirit and exercise His priestly functions in the church, we must be *men; suffering men, tempted men, men girt about with infirmity*. To be Priests, we must be the habitual bearers of our people's burdens; yea, we must bear our people themselves, individually and collectively, upon our hearts, and be ready always, not only to sympathize with them and to intercede for them, but if necessary, in the spirit of Christ to sacrifice ourselves for them.⁴⁸

In DuBose's inclination to identify the Church as the extension of the Incarnation was an early foretaste of his high church proclivities. It was also the theological rationale for his transfer of loyalties from the Confederacy as the bearer of the spirit in history to the Church as the vehicle of the spirit. Finally, it would be the peculiar function of priests in their human qualities to bear the burdens of a defeated people—a disfranchised and impoverished elite, beset by carpetbagging enemies, traitorous scalawags, ungrateful and dangerous Negroes in their midst. "May the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us, my dear brethren," he prayed, "make us *all . . . sympathizing, interceding, self-sacrificing Priests; not only in the Church, but in the homes, at the bedsides, and in all the trials, afflictions, temptations and sufferings of our people! Amen.*"⁴⁹

A man who preached such sermons and who prayed such prayers seemed bound for a position of leadership. In June, 1870, shortly after the birth of his third child, William Haskell, DuBose joined the Reverend John DeWitt McCullough of Spartansburg to found a diocesan journal, *The Monthly Record*, which gave him a statewide platform.⁵⁰ When the diocesan convention met the following year in Charleston, his leadership won acknowledgement. Bishop Thomas F. Davis, now old and blind, had remained in office to do what he could to get the church in South Carolina back on its feet after the War's destruction.⁵¹ But the task was too great for the old man and the convention met to elect a Bishop

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 14.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁰ DuBose, "Reminiscences," 148; and Thomas, *Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, 692.

⁵¹ For the devastating effect of the War upon the church in South Carolina, see: Thomas, *Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, pp. 71-80.

co-adjutor to assist him. After it had taken eleven ballots, the Reverend Christopher Gadsden and the Reverend William Bell White Howe seemed deadlocked. In order to get around the impasse, their partisans put forward the names of William Porcher DuBose and John H. Elliott. Through another twelve ballots, the four candidates jockeyed for position. Although DuBose was able to command a majority of the laity's vote through most of those ballots, he was unable to win the necessary majority among the clergy and on the twenty-fourth ballot Howe was elected Bishop co-adjutor by both houses. "I have always regarded this as one of the most fortunate escapes of my life," DuBose insisted. "It would have been one of the great misfortunes of my life, if I had been elected."⁵²

A month later, DuBose received a telegram from the Board of Trustees of the University of the South, meeting in session at Sewanee. It informed him of his election as Chaplain of the University and Professor of Moral Science. In the remainder of the year, DuBose wound up his affairs in Abbeville and, at thirty-five, prepared for the move to Sewanee, where his life's work began. For nearly four decades, DuBose taught at the University of the South. Much of what he taught was a working out of his experience in the Civil War and Reconstruction. "In class one day he told us that after the war, he had lost his fortune and his civilization," said a Sewanee student. "The Church was all that he had left."⁵³

In the maturity of his old age, DuBose said that he had been nurtured in an evangelical theology, a phase that extended from his childhood through his conversion in 1854 and his rich engagement with the thought of St. Paul during the Civil War. The shattering of his world in Confederate defeat led to a second, or Churchly, phase. The belief that he had vested in the Confederacy as the bearer of the spirit in history was transformed by defeat into

⁵² DuBose, "Reminiscences," p. 151. DuBose's recollection of the balloting in his "Reminiscences" was faulty. I have reconstructed the situation from the *Journal of the Eighty-First Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina, held in St. Philips Church, Charleston, on the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 15th of May, 1871* (Charleston, 1871) pp. 28-39.

⁵³ George Boggan Myers, "The Sage and Seer of Sewanee," in DuBose, *Unity in the Faith*, p. 19.

devotion to the Church as the extension of the Incarnation in history.⁵⁴

Although he wrote very little before he was fifty-five, between 1892 and 1912 DuBose published seven books. Writing under the influence of the churchly continental theologians, Johann August Wilhelm Neander, Herman Olshausen and Isaac August Dorner, and the Mercersburg theology of John Williamson Nevin and Philip Schaff, DuBose offered the New South an ecclesiology in the place of its lost polity. In the rich liturgical and hierarchical traditions of the churchly life, he found a saving remnant of the best that he had known of "his home, his own, his native land." "The Church was to me simply the divine institution that claimed and attracted all the fealty and devotion of my heart, mind, soul, and life," said DuBose. "The more divine it could be made to appear, the more willing and satisfied was my loyalty."⁵⁵ Underlying the theological transition from evangelical to high churchman, however, was the continuity of loyalty to the South. An English visitor to Sewanee in 1912 observed that "in this mountain retreat, there lives on the spirit of the Old South, purified and refined through years of sorrow and desolation."⁵⁶ By then, its link to the Old South, its living embodiment at Sewanee, was William Porcher DuBose.

⁵⁴ DuBose, *Turning Points*, p. 16.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55; and Bratton, *An Apostle of Reality*, p. 106. DuBose's major books were: *The Soteriology of the New Testament* (New York, 1892); *The Ecumenical Councils* (New York, 1906); *The Gospel in the Gospels* (New York, 1906); *The Gospel According to St. Paul* (New York, 1907); *High Priesthood and Sacrifice* (New York, 1908); *The Reason of Life* (New York, 1911); and *Turning Points*. An important series of essays were posthumously published as *Unity in the Faith*.

⁵⁶ John Spence Johnston, "Dr. DuBose and the University of the South," *Church Quarterly Review* LXXV (Oct. 1912): 77.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES

Mary Chesnut's Civil War. Edited by C. Vann Woodward. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1981. Pp. lviii, 886. \$29.95.

Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Biography, by Elisabeth Muhlenfeld. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1981. Pp. xv, 271. \$20.00.

The famous Civil War diary of Mary Boykin Chesnut went through two editions while awaiting the advent of an editor who could restore it to life and vitality, and in Professor C. Vann Woodward the Confederate diarist has found her prince. There is absolutely no question that this third edition will supercede the second edition by novelist Ben Ames Williams which has been, perhaps, the most frequently quoted source on the non-military aspects of the history of the Confederacy.

One of the reasons for *Mary Chesnut's Civil War* becoming the definitive edition is the editorial decision by Professor Woodward to publish the "diary" in its entirety. "Diary" is being applied loosely here. Woodward abandoned the term in his title, for as he makes clear, Mrs. Chesnut's manuscripts included not only parts from her journals kept during the Civil War but also revisions and additions she made in 1875-1876 and again from 1881 to 1884. All three published editions are derived from her 1880s manuscript, but previous editors used only portions of this work. The first two editions conveyed a sense of life among the inner circle at Richmond and made known Mary Chesnut's caustic comments on the Southern elite, on slavery, on miscegenation, on the comings and goings of military heroes, on the gossip, and on the frivolity of the war-time teas, dinners, and balls. Professor Woodward's edition, however, does much more than convey to us the world-view of the cafe society of Mrs. Chesnut's day. By publishing it all, he has endowed the "diary" with universal character. Put before us is a world of victories and defeats, of hospital visits to mutilated soldiers, of accounts of human lives being wasted—a dying society in its final agony. There is also something strikingly contemporary about *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*. We are reminded again and again of what we have read of life in Saigon during the Vietnam War—of a besieged population