

ADULT EDUCATION IN CIVIL WAR RICHMOND
JANUARY 1861-APRIL 1865

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University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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in
Adult and Continuing Education

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January 1861-April 1865

by

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Adult and Continuing Education

(ABSTRACT)

This study examines adult education in Civil War Richmond from January 1861 to April 1865. Drawing on a range of sources (including newspapers, magazines, letters and diaries, reports, school catalogs, and published and unpublished personal narratives), it explores the types and availability of adult education activities and the impact that these activities had on influencing the mind, emotions, and attitudes of the residents.

The analysis reveals that for four years, Richmond, the Capital of the Confederacy, endured severe hardships and tragedies of war: overcrowdedness, disease, wounded and sick soldiers, food shortages, high inflationary rates, crime, sanitation deficiencies, and weakened socio-educational institutions. Despite these deplorable conditions, the examination reveals that educative systems of organizations, groups, and individuals offered the opportunity and means for personal development and growth. The study presents and tracks the educational activities of organizations like churches, amusement centers, colleges, evening schools, military, and voluntary groups to determine the type and theme of their activities for educational purposes, such as personal development, leisure, and recreation. The study examines and tracks such activities as higher education, industrial training, religious education, college-preparatory education, military training, informal education, and educational leisure and recreation, such as reading and listening to and singing music. The study concludes that wartime conditions had minimal affect on the type and availability of adult education. Based on the number and types of educational activities and participants engaged in such activities, the study concludes that adult education had influenced and contributed to the lives of the majority of Richmonders, including the thousands of soldiers convalescing in the city's hospitals. Whatever the educative system, the study finds that the people of Richmond, under tremendous stress and despondency improved themselves individually and collectively.

Thus, Civil War Richmond's adult education experience is about educative systems that gave people knowledge, comfort, and hope under extreme deprivation and deplorable conditions.

For Charlotte

wife, mother, advisor, mentor, and best friend

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

Social, political, and economic movements influenced adult education activities in the United States from the Colonial Period to the present time (Stubblefield and Keane, 1994). These movements helped shape an educational consciousness for the growth and diffusion of knowledge for adult learners. As institutions were established, education became part of the grand design. After the Revolutionary War, the notion of an informed citizenry became paramount. Thus, adult education had a new purpose.

The period between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War saw development and a rapid expansion in libraries and publishing. Reading rooms became a means to increase literacy. The Lyceum Movement and the Mechanics Institutes came into being to promote education, specifically for the community and skilled workers. Trade schools were established to meet the needs of an expanding industrial base. Normal schools were established to provide teacher education for those who would seek to educate the citizenry. The religious spirit that had a powerful influence on literature and the arts was felt even more strongly in education. It seemed that America wanted a baptized intelligence. The kind and quality of adult education opportunities depended on the section, the national origin of the settlers, and the way of life.

The people of the South had developed a more homogeneous society that was less exposed to the social and intellectual agitation that kept the North in a perpetual ferment. The Southern economy was based on agriculture with the use of slaves as a cheap and available workforce. Measured by conventional standards--illiteracy rates, public schools, museums, the fine arts, and publishing--the South lagged behind the North (Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron, 1959, pp. 518-528). The Southern writers, however, were caught up in the romantic currents that influenced the literary movement in the North. Even though the South had a more illiterate public than the North, the Southern writers wrote of Southern life free of Northern ideological impurities and influence. Colleges and universities were established. Newspapers and literary magazines influenced the social and political institutions and the mind of the populace. For many Southerners, reading books or telling stories occupied their leisure time. For many illiterate Southerners, both Black and White, folk tales and story telling were the only literature available (Thomas, 1979, p. 27). Folk culture expressed the Southern individualism and self-image. By 1860, social, political, and economic movements influenced the adult education activities in the South.

Southerners believed that the Revolutionary War was fought to give the colonies their independence and greater self-rule. They believed that the Federal Government, dominated particularly by the Northern States, was out to destroy its economic base through restrictive tariffs, abolition of its principal workforce, the slaves, and the limiting of slavery in the new territories. Thus, the two regions--the North and South--stumbled down an increasingly slippery path toward an armed conflict. With the election of Abraham Lincoln on November 6, 1860, the

South saw the end of its political power in the Union. Southerners had depended on the legal absolutes of Congress to preserve slavery. Yet, the issue of slavery was under vigorous attack by Northerners who wanted its abolition.

In 1860, states rights became a political theory in the Southern mind that they were willing to fight for as a national issue. The Southern political alienation led to state secessions. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina became the first state to pass an Ordinance of Secession. Over the next few months, ten other states followed South Carolina. These eleven states formed the Confederate States of America and Richmond became its capital on May 21, 1861. On April 3, 1861, President Lincoln decided that the provisioning of Fort Sumter, a Federal garrison in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, must go forth. The South viewed the supplying of the fort as an act of coercion. When the Confederate order to surrender Fort Sumter was turned down by the installation commander Major Robert Anderson, Confederate batteries fired on the fort. Those shots began the bloodiest and most violent period in American history, resulting in the deaths of over 600,000 Americans. For four years, Richmond, laying one hundred miles south of Washington, became the focal point of the Union's efforts to capture it. Other large Southern cities would fall first, including Vicksburg, Nashville, Atlanta, and Savannah. But Richmond would endure until the city was evacuated on April 2, 1865, seven days before the final surrender of the Confederate Army. Thus, for four years, the tribulations, deprivations, and horrors of war would influence the mind and spirit of Richmonders.

Background of the Problem

The Civil War era is the most documented period in American history with more than 50,000 books alone written on just about any topic or subject. These books, coupled with the official records, diaries, personal narratives, letters, magazines, and newspapers, provide sufficient resources to research and write on just about any topic during those turbulent four years. The literature of the Confederacy is vast, except for social, educational, and cultural activities. There exists no comprehensive adult educational history of the Confederacy, or its capital, Richmond, Virginia, probably due to the interest in the military campaigns, the generals, and the politicians. Yet, for four years, the residents of Richmond endured violence, deprivations, economic hardships, and tragedies unparalleled in American history. Although the Civil War had a predominant impact on Richmond's educational and social life, many of its citizens, through adult education activities, were able to sustain themselves until the city was evacuated the night of 2-3 April 1865. This study examined adult education in Civil War Richmond and the impact that adult education activities had on influencing the morale and attitudes of the residents of a wartime city. Little has been written about the social, educational, and cultural activities during those four years (1861-1865) in Richmond. An overview of what Richmond looked like in 1860, focusing on and the type of adult education activities available, provides a background understanding of the city before its tranquil life became disrupted by the war.

Numerous sources provide a glimpse of what Richmond was like in 1860, one year before the Civil War began. Chesson's Richmond After the War (1981), Manarian's Richmond At War

(1966), the Richmond newspapers, and the 1860 United States census data provide information of the population, demographics, and social life of the third largest city in the South. These works, along with others, offer some insights into its social and cultural character of Richmond in 1860, and provide some background on the types of adult education activities.

Its People and Industry

Richmond in 1860 was the state capital of Virginia and a community with a population of 37,910 (62 percent White and 38 percent Black) residing in an area of 2.4 square miles (Sanford, 1975, p. 140; Current, 1993, p. 1329). The city ranked 25th in population in the United States and led the South in manufacturing iron and processing flour, meal, and tobacco (Faust, 1986, p. 630). It had three wards: Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe (Sanford, 1975, p. 140). Five railroads terminated in Richmond, "but none was connected by tracks through the city" (Chesson, 1981, p. 6). Teamsters had to haul the freight between the depots and warehouses on unpaved streets.

The Tredegar Iron Works, situated along the James River which was a principal concourse of commerce, turned out wrought iron and cast iron and finished products such as steam engines. Tredegar was the only manufacturer in the South able to make cannons and railroad rails (Faust, 1986, p. 630). It employed one-fifth of the city's manufacturing labor force and grossed more than \$2 million in 1860 (Chesson, 1981, p. 10). In addition, Richmond had 12 flour and meal mills, 52 tobacco manufacturers, 14 foundries and machine shops, nail works, and four rolling mills (Thomas, 1971, p. 23). The tobacco factories, whose plant facilities were 100 to 150 feet long, processed 14,500,000 pounds of tobacco annually (Sanford, 1975, p. 130). Nearly, 7,600 workers were engaged in manufacturing with the day laborer making \$ 1.25 a day (Thomas, 1971, pp. 23-24). Slaves, except free slaves, numbered nearly 11,800 and served as domestics, cooks, teamsters, and factory workers. According to Emory Thomas, "Richmond was first among American cities in her adaptation of slave labor to factories" (Thomas, p. 26). At Mayo's Tobacco Factory, Blacks "earned the best wages of their lives" and were heard to sing songs of their longings, such as the following:

I hope my mother will be there,
In that beautiful world on high,
That used to join me in prayer,
In that beautiful world on high.

(Jordan, 1995, p. 49).

The Newspapers

Richmond had five newspapers with a daily circulation of 84,000, more than two newspapers for each city resident. Its residents obviously enjoyed reading their newspapers. The oldest and most prominent newspaper during the war was the Richmond Enquirer, which was founded in 1804 by Thomas Ritchie. During the slavery debates of the 1850s, it criticized extremists in both the secessionist and abolitionist camps (Faust, 1986, p. 633). When Virginia seceded in April 1861, it supported the nationalism of the Confederacy. Founded in 1847, the Richmond Examiner was a highly successful newspaper due to the influence of its owner, John M.

Daniel. The Examiner's editorials were rich in sensationalism, controversy, and debate. The Richmond Whig was founded as the voice of the Whig Party in 1824. Up until the firing on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, the Whig had opposed secession and supported popular sovereignty (Faust, 1986, p. 633). Once the war started, the Whig actively supported the Confederate nationalism. The Richmond Daily Dispatch was the fourth pre-war newspaper available to Richmonders. The Tagalicher Anzeiger, a German language newspaper since 1853, catered to the city's Jewish population. In 1863, the Richmond Sentinel, a transplanted newspaper from Alexandria, Virginia, became the city's sixth newspaper. Most of the Richmond papers were four pages in length and provided sections for national news, local news, editorials, and advertisements at a cost of two or three cents. The newspaper was the primary source for the residents to receive national, state, and local news.

The Churches and Synagogues

As in most Southern cities, religion had a great influence on Richmond residents in fostering cultural nationalism and individualism. In 1860, there were 33 churches: 25 Protestant, three Roman Catholic, three Jewish synagogues, one Quaker, and one Universalist (Thomas, 1971, p. 30). The dominant denominations were Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist. The Episcopalians and Presbyterians tended to be among the richer classes, located near the city's center bordered by Marshall, Cary, Franklin, and Grace Streets (Thomas, 1979, p. 21; Thomas, 1971, p. 25). The First African Baptist Church, located northeast of Broad and College Streets, was the largest African American church with over 2,000 members. It had a White minister, Reverend Dr. Robert Ryland, also the President of Richmond College (Moore, 1978, p. 42). Richmonders worshipped on a regular basis and heard fiery sermons on sin and salvation. Many attended camp meetings and interdenominational revival services, suggesting a religious homogeneity among Protestant denominations (Thomas, 1979, p. 21). They availed themselves of a number of religious magazines, newspapers, and tracts (pamphlets on a religious topics) produced in Richmond and sent throughout the South: Religious Herald, Central Presbyterian, Richmond Christian Advocate, Southern Churchman, and Christian Observer (Guide of Confederate Government, 1981, p. 32). The religious magazines provided religious education with an emphasis on a moral code and a common standard of personal behavior. For Richmonders, the conviction to lead a moral life was personal, and they accepted human frailty, but they did not want the church entering the domain of social justice. They viewed that "as meddling" (Thomas, 1971, p. 23).

Public, Private, and Higher Education

Support by the city for public education was almost non-existent in 1860. The city supported six public schools with scarcely more than 200 students receiving secondary instruction at public expense (Thomas, 1971, pp. 27-30). There were 23 private primaries and academies supported by those with money. Many of these schools were for young women, such as the Richmond Female Seminary and the Old Dominion Institute. Institutions of higher learning were the Medical College of Virginia, Richmond College, the Richmond Female Institute, a two year college under Baptist sponsorship, and the Southern Female Institute.

The Medical College of Virginia (MCV) was established based on a petition from the trustees of Hampden-Sydney College to place a teaching department of medicine in the capital. Petition was approved on December 1, 1837. The first session opened in the Union Hotel on November 3, 1838 with 46 students (Sanger, 1973, pp. 4-6). At the end of the 1838-1839 academic term, 14 students received medical degrees (p. 6). From its founding in 1838 to March 1858, MCV graduated 416 medical doctors, an average of 21 per year. From 1859 to 1865, the College enrolled 863 students and graduated 333 doctors, with most going into the Confederate Army (MCV Catalogues, 1859-1865; Sanger, p. 76).

With the hanging of John Brown, a fanatic slavery abolitionist, on December 2, 1859, tensions between Northern and Southern medical students at both the Jefferson Medical School and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School reached volatile heights as Brown's remains were transported through Philadelphia enroute to burial in upstate New York. As a result, Dr. Hunter H. McGuire and Dr. Francis E. Lockett, both Virginians, rallied 400 Southern students to go home (MCV Bulletin, 1963, p. 24). If they would return home, the faculties of MCV, and the faculties of the Charleston, Augusta, Nashville, and New Orleans medical schools agreed to admit them free of charge (Maryland and Virginia Medical Journal, 1860, p. 84). The result was that on Wednesday, December 21, 1859, 244 students came to Richmond from Philadelphia with 144 enrolling at MCV (p. 84). The other 100 students went on to the other Southern medical schools. MCV paid the cost of the train transportation for the 244 students to Richmond that totaled \$3,555.95 (Dean's Report, 1860; MCV Bulletin, 1963, p. 25). Of the 144 students that enrolled at MCV, 56 of them would graduate on March 8, 1860, along with 26 regular MCV students (MCV Catalogue, 1859-1860, pp. 5-10). With this additional pressure on the college, the State Legislature appropriated \$30,000 to do the following:

1. Enlarge the hospital and infirmary to include an amphitheater capable of seating a large class of students.
2. Improve and extend the college museum.
3. Purchase medical training apparatus, equipment, and illustrations of all types (MCV Catalogue, 1859-60, pp. 13-15).

Also, the legislative act further provided "a deed converging all the property of the college to the Literary Fund" (p. 14). The 1859-60 MCV Catalogue emphasized the quality and capability of MCV with the following statement: "In view of the enlarged advantages which have been enumerated, the Faculty may claim that the Medical College of Virginia offers every facility for the attainment of a complete medical education, both theoretical and practical" (p. 19). The college was set in a good position for the 1860s.

On June 30, 1830, the Virginia Baptist General Association resolved "that it is expedient that the Baptists of this State form an Education Society for the improvement of the ministry" (Gaines, 1932, p. 19). Thus, the Virginia Baptist Education Society was organized, and two years later the Virginia Baptist Seminary opened its doors, with Reverend Dr. Robert Ryland as its first president. Classes began on July 4, 1832 with 14 students (Gaines, p. 20). In 1840 a new charter was issued, and in January 1843 the responsibility of running the college was transferred

from the voluntary denominational society to a legally incorporated board of trustees (p. 25). The college, renamed Richmond College, conferred its first degrees in 1849. The junior year was added in 1845 but the senior year was not added until 1848 (p. 25). The campus was located on 15 acres of land on Lombardy Street extending to Broad Street and was enclosed by a board fence (Hackley, 1961, p. 3). From 1850 to 1860 the annual enrollment was about 120 students, with the largest enrollment being 161 (Gaines, 1932, p. 26). During this ten-year period, it graduated 68 students (p. 26) and in 1860, it had seven faculty members and an endowment of \$75,000 (p. 26). The college main building was a three story edifice containing 80 rooms, including a chapel, lecture rooms, a library, and dormitories (H. Rep. No. 1646 (1896), Affidavit No. 1, p. 4). For the 1859-60 academic session, Richmond College enrolled 114 students, including 30 studying for the ministry (Alley, 1977, p. 45).

The Richmond Female Institute, founded in 1854 under the auspices of the Baptist Church, was a two year collegiate institution (Lyne, 1928, p. 11). In 1859, Charles H. Winston became its administrator. He launched a new liberal curriculum that consisted of courses in mathematics, English literature, moral science, Christianity, natural science, music, drawing, painting, and penmanship (Alley, 1997, p. 113). Fee for the courses ranged from \$2 to \$50 (p. 113). The college building, designed along the lines of an Italian Villa, had capability to accommodate 250 students (Moore, 1978, p. 54). The motto of the Institute read: "That our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace" (Lyne, 1928, 13).

The Southern Female Institute, modeled after the University of Virginia and the Virginia Military Institute, opened its doors in 1850. The academic program included studies in philosophy, ethics, foreign languages, algebra, plain and solid geometry, mechanics of solids, airs and thermatics, electricity, optics, chemistry, and geology (Meagher, 1939, p. 72). Students had daily readings, lectures, and examinations (p. 72). The school was located on Franklin Street between First and Second Streets.

The Virginia Mechanics Institute, founded in 1854, became a School of Design and Night School in 1856 (Meagher, 1939, p. 77). The Night School, under the administration of C. P. Burrows, met on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday in the basement of the Universalist Church and the Design School, under the leadership of William Percival, met in a building at Main and Twelfth Streets (p. 77). Due to facility constraints, the Design School was limited to 25 students who paid annual dues of \$2 and an instructor fee of \$1 (p. 77). In 1858, the Mechanics Institute moved into a new, three story building on the westside of Ninth Street at Bank Street (Moore, 1987, p. 53). The building had a large library and several lecture rooms. In 1859, the Literary Society moved its book collection from the Athenaeum Building to the Mechanics Institute (Meagher, 1939, p. 140).

Educational Leisure Organizations and Activities

In 1860, Richmond was home to 11 masonic lodges and the Grand Lodge of Virginia (Guide of Confederate Government, 1981, p. 27). The city had three theaters, a Lyceum, and was home to the Virginia State Library. It had no city public library.

The Virginia State Library, authorized by law in 1823 and established by an act of the General Assembly in 1828, contained collections and books from the colonial period (Meagher, 1939, p. 143). In 1860, the library, housed on the third floor of the Capital Building, served as a reference library, under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, for the State Assembly (p. 143).

As 1861 and the impending crisis drew nearer, Richmonders of all societal levels had numerous educational leisure activities available to them. For example, on Christmas Day, December 25, 1860, the poem, "The Tyrant's Done," by Piedmont appeared in the Enquirer to encourage the men of the South to arise up. The 20 line poem concluded by stating:

Let Northern tyrants howl and rave,
The "Sunny South" shall be their grave!
(Enquirer, Dec. 25, 1860, p. 4, col. 1).

On the same day, at the Richmond Theater, an audience was being entertained to the grand Christmas pantomime, Christmas Afternoon, by Oliver Twist (Enquirer, Dec. 25, 1860, p. 2, col. 8). Down on the westside of 9th Street at the Mechanics Hall, an audience enjoyed Professor Anderson's Grand Magical Gala (Enquirer, Dec 25, 1860, p. 2, col. 6). Other Richmonders enjoyed the reading of a new three-volume biography, The Life of Andrew Jackson by James Parton (Enquirer, Dec. 25, 1860, p. 2, col 7).

On December 27, 1860, a public meeting, attended by 1500 to 2000 Richmonders, was held in and around the African Church "to give sentiment of the people of Richmond upon present condition of our national affairs" (Enquirer, Jan. 1, 1861, p. 1, col. 3). There was such a demand to learn more about the public meeting that the Enquirer printed an additional 500 copies of the January 1st edition (Enquirer, Jan. 1, 1861, p. 1, col. 3). It was through reading of newspapers, attending public gatherings, and conversing in the taverns, on the streets, and in homes that most residents stayed abreast of local, state, and national affairs. These activities, along with others, would intensify as Richmond became the capital of a new nation called the Confederate States of America.

As the 1861 New Year approached, audiences were back at the Richmond Theater enjoying Bulwer's play, Lady of Lyons starring Emma Waller (Enquirer, Dec. 28, 1860, p. 2, col. 8). On the same day, December 28, 1860, Bishop William Meade, the Episcopal Bishop of Virginia, sensing the impending crisis, offered the following prayer for Richmonders to consider in their hearts and minds.

We pray especially for rulers and leaders of our country; that grace and wisdom be given them according to our present need. Save them from ignorance, error, pride, and prejudice. Direct and prosper all their constellations to the advancement of thy glory, the good of the Church, the safety, honor, and welfare of thy people (Enquirer, Dec. 28, 1860, p. 4, col. 1).

Thus, in 1860, Richmond had a diverse manufacturing base, comprised of skilled and unskilled White and Black laborers, that would play a significant role in supplying war materials for the Confederate armies for four years. Richmond, one year before the start of the war, was a state capital and a city of diverse population. It had heavy manufacturing and tobacco industries, variety of churches and synagogues, five daily newspapers, theaters, formal higher education institutions, music, religious, and book publishers, and a social environment befitting a Southern city. The city imbued the Southern culture and way of life. Southern society was more homogeneous and conservative in its ways than the Northern society. John DeForest, the novelist, who passed through Richmond and wrote about the people of the South: "They are more simple than Northerners, more provincial, more antique, more picturesque; they have fewer of the virtues of modern society, and more of the primitive, the natural virtues; they care less for wealth, art, learning, and other delicacies; they care more for individual character and reputation of honor" (cited in Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron, 1959, p. 507). William Makepeace Thackeray, the Victorian novelist, called Richmond after a visit in 1854, "the merriest and most picturesque place in America!" (cited in Richmond, 1938, p. 21).

The city's social and educational activities centered around the church, the market place, the Spotswood Hotel, the Fair Grounds, Capitol Square, the theaters, the city taverns, the colleges, schools, and homes. Compared to Northern cities, life in Richmond was slower. People placed a high value on virtues of character and hard work. Many exhibited their prowess for riding and shooting during contests at the Fair Grounds. This would later help account for the success of training Confederate troops early in the war. Citizens attended horse races and cock fights, and participated in private military organizations and clubs for drilling and the manual of arms. The most prestigious of these organizations was the Richmond Light Infantry Blues, organized in 1793, and another was the Richmond Grays (Chesson, 1981, p. 12). For many White male residents, they also served as social clubs for the discussion of many topics and issues, and to build comradeship and esprit de corps. Richmonders, like most Southerners before the war, suffered many privations, but worked hard and were cordial and friendly. They enjoyed reading biographies, histories, poems, short stories, and works by English authors. The Richmond newspapers provided daily poetical expressions and poems on a number of subjects, such as individual expression, heritage, and Christian values and virtues. They took advantage of such leisure and recreation activities as dancing, theater, music, art, reading, and Bible study. Well-to-do residents augmented their attendance at public entertainment with private theatricals, card games, and charades in their homes (Thomas, 1971, p. 115).

Other Southern cities envied the social, educational, and cultural life of the city. Richmonders availed themselves of the adult education activities which, at the time, enhanced their mind and spirit toward the Southern way of life (Thomas, 1971). However, within a year, Richmond would have the war on its doorsteps. The effect the war had on the adult education activities, such as attending the theater, listening to music, and participating in higher education programs, that had represented the type of pre-war activities in the city, had never been researched. These activities and their influence on the social and emotional development of Richmonders during four years of war is the topic to be studied.

Statement of Problem

From 1861 to 1865, Richmond was a beleaguered city faced with hardships of war not faced by another city in the United States. During those years, Richmond was frequently threatened by Union Army attacks. For the Union, the long-sought prize was its capture. In the Spring of 1862, the Union penetrated to as close as five miles from the city's center. Richmonders encountered the wounded, the dying, and the displaced who reached the city seeking assistance. The residents faced shortages of food and high inflation, plus the diseases brought to their community by soldiers from the field. The normal necessities, such as food, clothing, and shelter, taken for granted before the war, became scarce and hard to obtain. Daily wartime conditions that the people faced tested their psychological being and spirit in supporting the Confederate nationalism. Through newspapers, periodicals, speeches, music, and other educational activities, the residents were encouraged to support Confederate nationalism. Some of the articles in these publications, coupled with educational leisure and recreational activities, could be classified as wartime propaganda, specifically designed to win the hearts and minds of the citizenry. The identification of the adult education activities and their influence on a populace facing the ravages of war every day for four years is essentially unknown except for scant references. Additionally, there is a void in the knowledge and historical context on how the consequences of adult education activities may have influenced the mind, emotions, and morale of the people of Civil War Richmond.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is threefold: a) identify adult education activities in Richmond from January 1861 to April 1865, b) determine the effect wartime conditions had on the type and availability of the educational activities during that period, and c) determine the impact that the adult education activities had on influencing the mind, emotions, and morale of the residents.

Research Questions

1. What were the adult education activities in Richmond from January 1861 to April 1865?
2. What was the impact of wartime conditions on the types and availability of adult education activities in Richmond from January 1861 to April 1865?
3. What was the impact of adult education on the residents of Richmond in influencing and sustaining their mind, morale, and attitudes?

Significance of Study

This study provides the first comprehensive examination of adult education in wartime Richmond. The findings of this study provide a documented history of adult education programs and activities in a city ravaged by four years of war. The study presents the categories, types, themes, sponsors, providers, and participants of adult education, along with the deprivations and difficult conditions that shook the foundations of Richmond's social, economic, and educational institutions.

This study fulfilled the need to provide an understanding of how educative systems of organizations, groups, and individuals offered the means for personal development and growth despite the severe hardships and deprivations of war. Additionally, the study identified the types and themes of educational activities that may contribute to the sustainment of the mind, emotions, and attitudes of a people faced with the ravages of war. Specifically, the study revealed the type, availability, and impact that adult education had on the people of Civil War Richmond. The findings of this study should add to the body of knowledge of how educative systems, faced with adverse conditions, overcame them to provide the people knowledge, comfort, and hope.

Definition of Term--Adult Education

Definition normally gives framework and boundary to a word, concept, or discipline. Adult education was not a familiar term used before or during the Civil War period. As pointed out by Courtney (1989) and Stubblefield and Keane (1994), the term adult education was first used in 1924 to represent the "community facilities" needed to meet the adult learner's needs.

For this study, the term adult education refers to the multitude of educational, leisure, recreation, and cultural activities and events with an educational purpose. Thus, any activity undertaken or initiated that effected the knowledge, skill, and emotional development of individuals and groups was considered adult education.

Method

Research Design

The research design used the historical research method to track and interpret adult education activities and events in Richmond from January 1861 to April 1865. This study followed the war's chronological years, starting in 1861 and culminating with the evacuation of Richmond in April 1865, in identifying and tracking educational activities, events, and themes. Specific activities that were tracked were leisure and recreational activities, such as attending the theater, listening to music, reading, and letter writing. Vocational activities in training laborers to work in factories were also tracked. The formal educational activities of the Medical College of Virginia, Richmond College, the Richmond Female Institute, and the Southern Female Institute were tracked to determine the effects the war had on their programs. Such a chronology and tracking enabled the identification of any trends in the adult education activities from year to year

based on the military, political, and social conditions in Richmond. Secondly, the effects that the adult education activities had on the mind, emotions, and morale of Richmonders was identified and tracked from year to year based on newspaper editorials, letters to the editors, diaries, and the actions of the people as reported in the newspapers, periodicals, and personal narratives.

The historical design approach provided the links and chains for data collection, analysis, and interpretation: people, types of educative programs and their themes, effects of the war by year on the educational activities, and lastly, a basis for sensing the changes that occurred and how they affected spirit and morale. This design approach provided the basis for the types of sources used.

Sources of Data

No singular authorities or sources on adult education in wartime Richmond existed. This effort was a first. Only scattered references exist in a small number of secondary sources. This study used primary sources: newspapers, religious periodicals, literary magazines, diaries, personal narratives, school catalogs and records, and official military records.

Contemporary newspapers served as primary sources and included the five wartime Richmond newspapers: the Richmond Dispatch, Richmond Enquirer, Richmond Examiner, Richmond Sentinel, and Richmond Whig. These newspapers provided information on the city's social, political, military, and cultural activities during the four years that Richmond was a beleaguered city. The newspapers also provided announcements and articles about social, educational, and cultural programs and events. These articles not only provided accounts of the socio-political environment but the types of educational leisure and recreation activities available for the residents either through specific announcements or advertisements. Editorial comments and those who wrote letters to the editors, along with diaries and personal narratives, revealed the opinions and emotions of the citizenry.

Five contemporary Richmond religious periodicals served as primary sources: Central Presbyterian, Christian Observer, Richmond Christian Advocate, Religious Herald, and Southern Churchman. These periodicals provided invaluable information on the educational activities of the churches, clergy, tract societies, and colporters. These periodicals also served as educational resource materials by providing religious commentaries, prayers, and serial Biblical stories. Letters to the editors revealed the opinions and attitudes of people.

Contemporary literary periodicals, such as the Richmond Age, Southern Illustrated News, Southern Literary Messenger, Magnolia Weekly, The Record, and Southern Punch complemented the newspapers by providing poetry, literary articles, commentaries on the educational amusement centers, and social and educational perspectives. These literary periodicals provided the residents a nationalistic, Southern theme reflected in the powerful and persuasive political, social, and cultural claims for independence. The periodicals reflected that residents were bound by ties of self interest and nationalism which were at odds with American trends and traditions during the mid-Nineteenth Century. Further, they reflected the elements of Southern social and cultural

activities to affect the minds and attitudes of the residents of the Confederate capital. Such sources provided valuable, personal testimony to the value of social and educational activities for Richmonders who coped with the ravages of war for four years.

Personal narratives and diaries provided eye witness accounts that highlighted some of the adult education activities and their effect and influence upon individuals and the general populace. Over 30 diaries and personal narratives were used for this study. One of the best diaries that provides salient observations and reflections was Sallie Brock Putnam's 1867 book titled, Richmond During the War: Four Years of Personal Observation. Miss Putnam detailed the military and governmental happenings in wartime Richmond. Mary Chestnut's Civil War (1981), considered by Civil War historians to be one of the best first hand records and memories of the Confederate experience, included her observations of the social and cultural activities in Richmond. One of the best insights into the social life, including educational leisure and recreation activities was Ladies of Richmond, Confederate Capital (1962), edited by Katherine M. Jones. This edition captured excerpts from the diaries of prominent women who were in Richmond because their spouses were in the Confederate Government or Army. Personal narratives and diaries, along with personal letters, provided first hand observations, testimonies, and reflections on the types and value of social and educational events and activities Richmonders participated in regularly or sporadically.

School catalogs and records for the Medical College of Virginia, Richmond College, Richmond Female Institute, and Southern Female Institute served as primary sources to reveal the types of academic programs, the costs, the faculty, the number of students, and graduation dates.

The Confederate Veteran (1890-1930), a magazine written by Confederate Army survivors, had numerous personal accounts of the social, military, and political climate that effected the type of adult education activities that were available during those four years in Richmond.

The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies and its companion series, The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies, provided eye witness accounts to the real story of the Civil War as it evolved through letters, telegrams, log books, dispatches, and battlefield reports. These records provided the reports of the intricate events, battles, and campaigns that would influence the type and number of educational activities for the people of Richmond. The attitudes and emotions of the residents were shaped by what they knew and read about military activities. Forty-five percent of the war's major battles took place in Virginia, most within a 60 mile radius of Richmond. These battles from First Manassas to Appomattox emotionally affected the residents: the teeming city became the last haven of resort for wounded soldiers and refugees.

Secondary sources on the social and cultural climate of Richmond during the war years are limited. These sources provided limited facts on the social and cultural environment but were not comprehensive enough to provide a complete picture of the educational activities. The best

secondary work on the life of Richmond as the capital is Emory M. Thomas's The Confederate State of Richmond: A Biography of the Capital (1971). Thomas provides insights into the workings of the city as both a state and national capital, the military activities, the military camps, the crowded city conditions, and some leisure and recreation activities. His work provided an excellent perspective on the social and political conditions within the city that influenced the type of available adult education activities. However, he does not specifically identify those activities that influence the cognitive and affective domains of learning for the residents and how these activities contributed to the emotions and attitudes of the residents during the war.

Dr. Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., an Assistant Professor and Associate Curator, Special Collections, Alderman, University of Virginia Library, is the first scholar to study and research the role of African Americans in Civil War Virginia. His book, Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia (1995), provided an invaluable portrait of the Black experience in Virginia, including its society and culture in Richmond. Ernest B. (Pat) Furgurson's Ashes of Glory (1996) provided a picture of life in Civil War Richmond through vivid stories and accounts of its personalities and characters and the hardships the city went through. Furgurson, a former Richmond newspaperman and foreign correspondent for the Baltimore Sun, skimmed the political, social, and cultural surface of Richmond. Regrettably, Furgurson has no more to tell us about Richmond at war than Emory Thomas. Both fall short on specifically identifying adult education activities and their effect upon Richmonders.

Collection of Data

A number of special collections, archives, and libraries were used to do the research and collect the data: Virginia State Library, Library of Congress, Virginia Historical Society, The Virginia Baptist Historical Society, Medical College of Virginia Archives (Tompkins-McCaw Library), James Branch Cabell Library (Virginia Commonwealth University), and the Museum of the Confederacy. The data was collected and cataloged by month and year, type of adult education activity, its theme, and the participants. The data was recorded on 5 x 8 file cards, each containing one item of information, coded by month and year, the type of educational activity, its theme, activities for various groups, and the name and page of the source. This process permitted a convenient layout and arrangement for outline and narrative purposes. Small 3x5 cards were used to record the individual references with their complete citation information.

Analysis of Data

Each data element collected was sorted, categorized, compared, and interpreted. This arrangement facilitated the identification of the types and themes of educative systems of organizations, groups, and individuals that provided adult education. The analysis tracked the types and themes for four years to determine the effects the wartime conditions had on them. The data in each year was then examined in light of the deprivations and conditions in Richmond at that time and their impact upon educational activities and programs. Additionally, the data analysis was organized by categories of adult education, such as educational leisure and recreation, schools and colleges, military education and training, industrial training, and religious education so that trends could be determined from January 1861 to April 1865 including the

specific types of activities, their themes and content, participants, purposes, and sponsors. This tracking and pattern approach to the data analysis permitted a logical form for the study organization and narrative.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into seven chapters. Chapter One introduces the background, purpose, and rationale for the study of adult education in Richmond during the Civil War. It presents the research questions to be studied and the importance of the study for adult education historiography and adult education practitioners. It provides a summary pictorial of what Richmond was like in 1860, one year before the start of the Civil War. Chapter One also provides the following: a) research design used, b) the sources, both primary and secondary, c) the research repositories used, and d) the analytical approach. Lastly, it provides the organization of the study.

Chapter Two, Education, Gaiety, and Miseries-1861, presents a representative sampling of the different adult education activities that the people participated in during the first year of the war. The chapter presents these activities in a chronological sequence, from January through December 1861. Chapter Two presents the mood, spirits, and emotions of the citizens based on the educational activities and the wartime conditions in a sequential manner to gauge their effect on the educational activities and events. Chapter Two also tracks, analyzes, and presents the effect that the wartime conditions had on the type and availability of adult education. The chapter concludes with a summary analysis of adult education and its influence on the Richmonders during the first year of the war.

Chapter Three, Education Amidst Deprivations and Hardships-1862, presents the effect the Union Army's Peninsula Campaign in the Spring of 1862 had on the types and availability of adult education activities in Richmond. As the war comes to the doorsteps of Richmond, this chapter presents the effect the expanded wartime conditions--crowdedness, shortage of food and supplies, and the wounded and sick--had on adult education and its ability to influence the emotions and attitudes toward the Confederate cause. Chapter Three concludes with a summary analysis of the influence of adult education on the people as the war closed in about them.

Chapter Four, Tragedy, High Tide, and Education-1863, presents the background the military successes had on the people and their everyday adult educational activities. Viewing the tragic death of Lieutenant General Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson at Chancellorsville in May and the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg in July 1863, the chapter focuses on how these two events affected the educational and leisure activities in Richmond, and the events' effects on the sagging morale and spirit. This chapter concludes with a summary analysis on how the hardships and deprivations of war were affecting adult education activities and events at all levels of the society and the military. The chapter provides a summary on how adult education fared under severe conditions in the crowded city of Richmond.

Chapter Five, Total War: Educational Opportunities-1864, presents the effects that the siege of Richmond and Petersburg in 1864 had on adult education events and the effects these events had on the attitudes and opinions of the people toward the war effort. The chapter's summary discusses the effect that the adult education events and activities had on the city's social fiber despite intolerable conditions and deprivations.

Chapter Six, Education Under Privations and Starvation-1865, presents the background of the military events that brought this tragic war to a close and the effect that adult education had on Richmonders until evacuation day--April 2, 1865. This chapter summarizes the role that adult education played during the last three months of the war.

Chapter Seven, Summary and Conclusions, presents the summary and conclusions on the effect that the wartime conditions in Richmond (1861-1865) had on the types and availability of adult education for the city's populace. Further, this chapter highlights the overall effect adult education had influencing the mind, emotions, and morale of Richmonders toward Confederate nationalism and what were the conclusions that could be drawn.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION, GAIETY, AND MISERIES--1861

On January 1, 1861, Richmonders awoke to a new year with concern. The secession of South Carolina, followed shortly after by five other Southern states, troubled the residents. The majority of Virginians, including Richmonders, were reluctant to leave the Union that they and their descendants had worked so hard to establish. Six of the first seven presidents were Virginians. General Winfield Scott, a native of Virginia, was a national hero of the Mexican War and Commander of the Union Army. James Murray Mason, the grandson of George Mason, was one of Virginia's senators. Richmonders, like most Virginians, were proud of their contributions that led to the establishment of the United States of America. But now, the residents were uncertain about their own future and that of their state. On January 4, 1861, the Richmond Whig offered the following observation:

It is hoped that our citizens generally will suspend business today, and observe the occasion....The future is dark and troublesome, and if prayers and efforts of good men and patriots cannot avail to avert the calamities that threaten us, then our existence and happiness as a nation may be dispensed of. A calmer and more fraternal spirit, and that we may soon be cheered and comforted by a happy issue out of our difficulties and dangers (Whig, Jan. 4, 1861, p. 1, col. 1).

January 1861 to May 1861

The first four months of 1861 saw the residents in a festive but wearisome mood. The people prepared to make the ultimate decision on secession. Adult education activities increased in number and availability. Newspapers served as a means to educate the residents about the impending crisis.

Informal Education--Newspapers and Books

The city newspapers served as intellectual instruments to keep the people informed of national, state, and local activities and events. They helped to distribute knowledge through the news, editorials, literary section, and advertisements. For example, to acquaint the residents with the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, the Enquirer on January 4th, displayed a map depicting Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie and added the "South has been driven to the wall" (Enquirer, Jan. 4, 1861, p. 2, col. 3). The Enquirer said that "she must fight now, or by resolute preparation for defenses, teach the aggressors to beware of her. The General Assembly of Virginia should give immediate attention to our military defenses" (Enquirer, Jan. 4, 1861, p. 2, col. 3). Thus, two Richmond newspapers provided their perceptions and recommendations to the readers. The citizenry in due time would make its decision. To inspire its readers, the Enquirer offered a patriotic poem, "For the Fourth of January 1861" (Enquirer, Jan. 4, 1861, p. 4, col. 1).

Until March 12th, Richmonders had no idea what the flag of the Confederate States of America looked like. On that day, the Enquirer, to educate the residents, provided a picture and an explanation of the flag, "The Stars and Stripes," (Enquirer, Mar. 12, 1861, p. 3, col. 4). Thus, the residents had a civics lesson on the Confederate flag, except it would be referred to as the Stars and Bars for more than a month before they would vote on an Ordinance of Secession.

As the impending crisis neared, Richmonders were reading six new books that West and Johnston, Richmond's largest publisher and bookseller, had recently made available to the public. These books included the following: Bancroft's History of the United States (8 volumes), Encyclopedia Britannica (21 volumes), Waverly's Novels, Lives of Chief Justices, Bristol Drama, and Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanism (Enquirer, Jan. 15, 1861, p. 2, col. 8).

For many, reading served as an intellectually, stimulating leisure activity. For others, attending the theater, listening to music, and playing games provided educational leisure and recreation.

Educational Leisure and Recreation

Richmonders had always been fond of attending the various theaters in the city, whether it was a play, musical, comedy, or pantomime. This fondness continued unabated during the war years. Attending the theater was one of a number of educational leisure activities that provided the residents an avenue for social, intellectual, and emotional outreach and growth.

For educational leisure, the play, Lady Eveline and Marinia, played at the New Richmond Theater (Whig, Jan. 1, 1861, p. 4, col. 1). On January 1st, Miss Joey Gorngenhien, a comedienne and vocalist, starred in the comedy, Hidden Hand, and a week later in Babes in the Wood (Enquirer, Jan. 8, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). They continued their leisure activities, such as attending Cinderella which was playing at the New Richmond Theater (Enquirer, Jan. 22, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). From February 20th through February 23rd, there were 16 performances (four each night) of Duprey's and Green's Original New Orleans and the Metropolitan Burlesque Opera Troupe (Enquirer, Feb. 22, p. 3, col. 3). At the New Richmond Theater, a drama entitled Rose Elmer was playing, followed by the drama of Andy Black or the Irish Diamond (Enquirer, Feb. 22, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). The latter appealed to the Irish immigrants of Richmond who enjoyed dramas or comedies based on their heritage.

In the evenings, weather permitting, the city's residents walked along the walk ways in Capitol Square, and listened to serenading music from the band stand there (Kimball, 1976, p. 9). According to Kimball (1976), the wealthy, in conjunction with supper, might avail themselves of dancing or play games like charades (p. 9).

Military Training

To assist the state militia in their training, the Commonwealth of Virginia had authorized a new training manual: A Manual of Instruction for Volunteers and Militias by Major William Gilham (Whig, Jan. 1, 1861, p. 1, col 6). Major Gilham, a 1840 graduate of the United States

Military Academy, was on the faculty at the Virginia Military Institute at the time that he authored this drill and tactics training manual. This manual, along with William J. Hardee's Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics (1853-55), were two of the principal training manuals that the volunteers and militia used in their training at Richmond's Fair Grounds. Within a few months, these manuals, along with others, would be used for training of Confederate forces in camps around Richmond. The Union Army also used Hardee's manual.

To assist the militia officers in tactical training, a book, entitled Serenade of War-Tactics for Officers of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery by J. W. Randolph, became available (Enquirer, Mar. 12, 1861, p. 3, col. 4). For many of the militia officers who had no formal military training, this military handbook provided them an instructional plan that they solely needed to train the recruits in tactics and maneuvers. As the volunteer and militia officers planned their instruction in early March 1861, the Medical College of Virginia concluded another academic session.

Higher Education

The 1860-61 academic session for the Medical College of Virginia (MCV) concluded on Friday, March 15th, with the graduation of 59 new medical doctors at the Metropolitan Hall (Enquirer, Mar. 14, 1861, p. 1, col. 7). For the five-month term which began on October 1, 1860, and culminated on March 1, 1861, MCV had 146 students: 122 from Virginia, 19 from North Carolina, two from South Carolina, two from Tennessee, and one student from Arkansas (MCV 1860-61 Catalogue, pp. 4-8). The fees during the term were the following: matriculation-\$5; ticket of each professor-\$15; ticket of Demonstrator of Anatomy-\$10; and graduation-\$25 (p. 8). The Dean of Faculty Report for the quarter ending March 31, 1861, reported a financial balance of \$1655.35 on hand.

On March 12th, the College announced The Summer Course of Lectures and the plan of instruction (Enquirer, Mar. 12, 1861, p. 3, col. 8). The plan called for a combination of lectures and examinations with two lectures per day preceded by an examination. The instruction started on April 25th, with lectures on the principles and practices of surgery, followed by anatomy and clinical surgery, medical chemistry and toxicology, theory and practice of medicine, and obstetrics. Instructors were Dr. James McCaw and Dr. J. D. Cullen (Enquirer, Mar. 12, 1861, p. 3, col. 8). The College regarded the summer lecture plan as equivalent to 12 months of study in a doctor's office (Enquirer, Mar. 12, 1861, p. 3, col. 8). Fee for this course of instruction was \$70 (Enquirer, Mar. 12, 1861, p. 3, col. 8).

The Medical College of Virginia would be the only medical school in the South that kept its doors open during the Civil War. In addition, Dean Levin S. Joynes, with the unanimous support of the teaching faculty, continued essentially the same plan of instruction for the next four years (Catalogues of the Medical College of Virginia, 1860-1865).

In April 1861, the first educational institution in Richmond affected by the war was Richmond College. For the 1860-61 academic session, the College had 112 students (Religious Herald, May 2, 1861, p. 1, col. 2). In a statement in the Religious Herald (May 31, 1861),

Reverend Dr. Robert Ryland, the College President, revealed that the "students faded away" and that 500 Confederate soldiers were stationed at the college for field artillery training (Hackley, 1961, p. 3). On April 21st, seven days after the surrender of Fort Sumter, Major Thomas J. Jackson brought 176 Virginia Military Institute cadets (out of 223 in the Corps) and eight officers to Richmond to train new Confederate recruits (Mann, 1986, p. 3). The 15-acre campus (present day Grace and Lombardy Streets) of Richmond College became the artillery training center for the Confederacy. On April 28th, the Richmond Howitzers marched to the college grounds and organized and drilled into one of the Confederate premier artillery battalions (Hackley, 1961, p. 31).

Before the students disappeared to their homes and into the Confederate Army, the college awarded seven bachelor of arts degrees and the first Master of Arts degree it ever conferred (p. 3). Four of the nine members of the class of 1861 were killed (p. 32). During the four years of the war, twenty-percent of the graduates of Richmond College were killed in action. On August 16th, the college trustees passed a motion that "it was expedient that the duties of the college be resumed in the first of October....The President of the College is to notify Confederate States of America authorities and put ads in the papers" (cited in Hackley, p. 3). Two weeks later on August 29th, President Ryland reported in the Religious Herald that the trustees decided that in view of the state of military affairs and the need for hospitals, "it was inexpedient to open buildings for students" (cited in Hackley, p. 3).

In late 1861, the Louisiana Hospital was designated and located on the grounds of the college. In 1863, the main college building was rented as a hospital for \$3,000 per year (p. 31). President Ryland continued to live in and oversee the college property during the war in a building called Columbia. He witnessed the extensive damage to the buildings, classroom, equipment, and library by Federal troops over an eight month period beginning on April 1st, 1865 (House Report No. 1646 (1896), p. 1). Richmond College did not reopen its doors again for academic instruction until October 1, 1866 (Taylor, 1932, p. 40).

Politics and the People

In early January 1861, the people started to weigh their options for secession. On January 8th, former governor Henry A. Wise, in a letter to the Enquirer, called for a State Convention by the General Assembly (Enquirer, Jan. 8, 1861, p. 1, col. 2). The next day, the Whig said that "in view of the probabilities of war, and of our present defenseless condition, the Legislature of Virginia should at once devise measures for raising the necessary money to carry on the war!" (Whig, Jan. 9, 1861, p. 2, col. 2). The Whig, which advocated \$5 million dollars for immediate military preparation, concluded with the following encouragement: "...let the people believe the truth, and prepare for war, for taxes, and for an unwiral prostration of all business and all pursuits" (Whig, Jan. 9, 1861, p. 2, col. 1).

On January 15th, the Enquirer tried to influence the minds and hearts of its readers on the impending situation by offering the following:

The duty we owe to the people of the Commonwealth demands that we should inform you then, that all that they held most sacred and dear, both as to the Federal Constitution, and the rights and honor of the States, is in imminent peril from the timidity of the House of Delegates (Enquirer, Jan. 15, 1861, p. 1, col. 2).

This editorial was followed three days later by a letter from former President John Tyler, a native Virginian, who called for a meeting of the border states of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa (Enquirer, Jan. 18, 1861, p. 1, col. 4). For Richmonders, they were weighing all the options that the state might take, but, on the whole, they were still reluctant to leave the Union. To educate the people about the Confederacy, newspapers published background stories and feature articles about the new nation and its president.

To educate Richmonders on "the New Confederacy" and its President, Jefferson Davis, the Whig provided a number of articles on these two subjects.

On February 13th, the "New Confederacy" included six states with a free population of 2,287,147, a slave population of 2,165,651, and a debt of \$32,800,000 (Whig, Feb. 13, 1861, p. 1, col. 3). Early in 1861, the Richmond newspapers kept its readers informed not only of activities in the Southern states but also in the Northern states. These articles served to inform and educate the citizenry on the views of all sections but also of their elected officials.

By mid-April 1861, the people seemed to be exuberant and excited. As John B. Jones, the Confederate States War Clerk, arrived in Richmond on April 10th, he noted in his diary: "As we approached Richmond, it was observed that the people were more excited, and seemed to be pretty nearly unanimous for the immediate secession of the State" (Jones, 1866, vol. 1, p. 15). The next day the Dispatch, trying to appeal to the emotions of its readers, said the following: "The people cannot be bought-they will never submit-Virginians never will be slaves!" (Dispatch, Apr. 11, 1861, p. 2, col. 1). On April 13th, the Enquirer in its "news by telegraph" had a headline that read: "The War Commenced! Bombardment of Fort Sumter" (Enquirer, Apr. 13, 1861, p. 3, col. 4). Two days later a spontaneous States Rights Convention met and organized in Metropolitan Hall (Jones, 1866, p. 21).

According to John B. Jones, with every county in the state represented, the single event that drew the most attention was the raising of the Confederate flag (Jones, p. 21; Whig, April 15, p. 3, col. 4). But at the request of Governor John Letcher, the flag was removed because Virginia had not yet voted on secession (Jones, 1866, p. 21). Five days later on April 20th, the Enquirer proudly informed the people about flying the Confederate flag: "It will be seen that our paper in this morning graced by the flag of the Confederate States-the flag of our native land. This flag now waves beautifully over the Enquirer building, and its ample folds, we promise to fight with whatever power we possess and with determination which never falter for fear or personal

consequences" (Enquirer, Apr. 20, 1861, p. 3, col. 8). Now the time had come for Virginia to vote on secession.

The newspapers through reporting of the news, coupled with its editorials, had done everything possible to inform and educate its readers, particularly the city residents, about the impending crisis and what Virginians should do. Now, it was time for the people to speak. On April 4th, the Virginia delegates to the state convention voted 88 to 45 against secession. However, nearly two weeks later on the April 16th, the delegates voted 88 to 55 in favor of secession with the three Richmond delegates voting with the majority (Dabney, 1976, p. 161). Although it would be a few weeks before the people would vote on the ordinance, the people were ecstatic over the vote of the delegates. As John B. Jones noted on April 24, 1861: "Martial music heard everywhere, day and night, and all the trappings and paraphernalia of war decorations are in great demand" (Jones, 1866, p. 27). The next day the Religious Herald reported that "genuine cheerfulness is an almost certain index of a happy and pure heart" (Religious Herald, Apr. 25, 1861, p. 4, col. 2). The ratification of Ordinance of Secession and Amendments to the Constitution were submitted to the people for vote on May 23rd. The state-wide vote was 4 to 1 for secession with only four Richmond citizens out of 3,265 voting against secession (Dabney, 1976, p. 162; Christian, 1912, p. 221). As Fannie Beers (1888) noted in her diary:

The moment it was known that Virginia had passed the ordinance of secession, the cheering, enthusiastic crowd which had for hours surrounded the Mechanics Institute, made a rush for the State-House to haul down the old flag, and run up the stars and bars (p. 29).

Now Richmond became the educational, social, cultural, and governmental center for the Confederacy.

On May 20th, the Confederate Congress meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, voted to move the Confederate capital from Montgomery to Richmond. The Confederate Congress reconvened in Richmond on July 20th. Now, Richmond and its people became the symbol of the Confederacy and the prize sought after by the Union. As Emory Thomas (1971) concluded: "Richmond offered the Confederacy educational, religious, and cultural institutions equal to any city in the South" (p. 30). Now, the stage was set for Richmond to become the political heart and soul of a new nation called the Confederate States of America.

Summary--January 1861 to May 1861

During the first four months of 1861, the people voted for secession, Virginia joined the Confederacy, and Richmond became the Confederate Capital, and its educational, social, political, and industrial center. Educational activities flourished in number and availability in the city's gaiety.

May 1861 to October 1861

During the period of May 1861 to October 1861, the city changed dramatically. The Confederate government moved in and the city became a military training center for the recruits. In essence, Richmond became one great camp. In mid-July, the city experienced the wounded and sick from the Battle of First Manassas and became the major medical center in the Eastern Theater for the Confederacy. The population doubled and crime increased. Yet, through it all, all types of education, including informal education, educational leisure and recreation, military training, higher education, and religious education continued unabated, affecting the mind, emotions, and attitudes of the participants.

Educational Leisure and Recreation

The professional theater in Richmond was considered by some as immoral. Yet, others believed that the theater proved "the South's intellectual prowess" (Harwell, 1955, p. 295). It was an educational leisure activity that Richmonders of all classes came to enjoy. In May 1861, the New Richmond Theater provided nightly leisure activities, such as Shakespearean plays, comedies, and musicals under the direction of John Hill Hewitt, a theatrical producer and dramatist. Hewitt, a 1822 graduate of the United States Military Academy, offered his services to the Confederacy but Jefferson Davis thought he was too old (p. 295). He became the quintessential producer in the Richmond theater over the next two years before he left to go to other Southern cities to put on theatrical productions. His productions provided an intellectual and emotional transformation for the attendees and served to stimulate a patriotic, nationalistic feeling.

From May to December 1861, even though the population doubled, the city "knew no interruption of its floating population, balls, parties, and theaters made a merry world of it...Frenchmen say it was Paris in miniature" (Jones, 1961, p. 57). Even after the wounded were brought to Richmond for care after the Battle of First Manassas, leisure activities such as "danceable teas" flourished (Chesson, 1981, p. 189). "Danceable teas" were lavish luncheons, held at prominent Richmond homes where the best food would be served such as gumbo, duck, and chicken. The lunch would be followed by dancing and conversation. Such luncheons continued, even though they would become known as "starvation parties" until the evacuation of Richmond on April 3, 1865. One guest wrote in her diary that "she found diversion at one another's houses..." (cited in Bill, 1946, p. 189). Playing charades after these luncheons was a popular leisure activity (p. 187).

Starting in the summer 1861 and continuing into 1863, "bi-monthly levees" of music took place (Bill, 1946, p. 82). These were leisure activities that brought together Confederate cabinet officers, senators, representatives, military officers, and the general public with their wives to listen to a military band play patriotic and inspirational music. These musical events became so popular that they were moved to Gamble Hill (present day Headquarters of the Ethyl Corporation) so more residents could be accommodated. In her diary, Fannie Beers, who had accompanied her husband to Richmond, said: "in the cool drawing rooms pleasant chat beguiled

the summer hours, sweet songs floated out upon the air, or the stirring notes of "Dixie" or "the Bonnie Blue Flag," played with a spirit and vim which electrified every listener" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 80).

Listening to or playing music became a favorite activity of the residents and the Confederate soldiers in the Richmond camps. Soldiers would whistle, hum, or listen to the camp band play such melodies as "Dixie", "Lorena," "Faded Flowers," and "Cheer, Boys, Cheer," and "Bonnie Blue Bonnet" (Wiley, 1984, p. 151). Informal song fest relieved the boredom of the city and camp life. A treat was not only watching the training of the soldiers, but listening to the camp music. Publishing firms, such as Blackmar and Werlein of New Orleans, Schreiner of Macon, and J. W. Randolph of Richmond, ground out a large quantity of sheet music, and Northern publishers sent Southern tunes through the blockade (Wiley, p. 152). "Lorena" was the most popular song in Richmond and "every piano seemed to bang out the song" (Thomas, 1971, p. 115). Residents heard serenades with full brass band on expeditions to Drewery's Bluff, six miles south of Richmond (Kimball, 1976, p. 150). Mary Chestnut, probably the best known Confederate diarist who had arrived in Richmond in late June 1861, observed: "Noise of drums, tramp of marching regiments all day long, rattling artillery wagons, bands of music, friends from every quarter coming in. We ought to be miserable and anxious, and yet these are pleasant days. Perhaps we are unnaturally exhilarated and executed" (Chestnut, 1961, p. 75).

For many, reading letters and poetry became a favorite educational leisure activity. Richmonders always liked reading poems which appeared daily in the newspapers. It uplifted their spirits. Henry Timrod, an ardent Southerner patriot, was able through his poetry to urge Southerners to repel the enemy. His works, particularly "A Cry to Arms," earned Timrod unchallenged renown as the poet laureate of the Confederacy (Sifakis, 1988, p. 655). On June 13th, the Enquirer provided nine different poems for its readers (Enquirer, Jun. 13, 1861, p. 4, col. 1). This was the largest number of poems to appear in the Enquirer up to that time. The titles of the poems reflected the troubled and tragic times and the message each tried to convey: "To My Mother," "There Are Two Ways to Live on Earth," "God Save the South," "Mock Diamonds," "The Soldiers Boy," "The Land of the Past," "A Song of 1861," "A Blow Has Been Struck," and "To the Memory of the Lamented (Andrew) Jackson." The poems were written by different authors, many of whom were ordinary folks who wanted to share their feelings and emotions with others.

To continue to motivate the spirits of Richmonders, the Enquirer offered its readers a five-verse poem titled, "To the Lady Reflemer" by Rowena (Enquirer, Jul. 11, 1861, p. 4, col 1). The last verse addressed the righteous of the Confederate cause:

And when with all the south combined
Ye break crushed freedom's chains
They will old Abe in dust repine,
And mourn you'll free again,
Once more adieu: ye gallant band;
God will protect your cause,

For you have pledged, both heart and hand
To abide by Southern Laws
(Examiner, Jul. 11, 1861, p. 4, col. 1).

Such poetry seemed to lift the public spirits as did watching cavalry going through the city. General Wade Hampton's Legion Cavalry unit attracted much attention due to its "martial bearing" as they rode through the streets on July 10th (Enquirer, Jul. 11, 1861, p. 3, col. 5).

In June 1861, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) continued their regular fellowship meetings in the lecture room of the United Presbyterian Church (Enquirer, Jun. 18, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). Such regular meetings became the norm throughout the four years of the war. Citizens and soldiers alike found the fellowship, conversation, and reading materials to be intellectually and emotionally stimulating. Through the war years, the YMCA undertook special projects, such as feeding the poor, providing reading materials to residents, and sponsoring Bible studies for soldiers and its members.

For others, visiting the military camps around on the outskirts of Richmond was a popular pastime. On May 22nd, the Whig reported that "crowds of ladies and gentlemen repair every afternoon to the Camp of Instruction of Virginia, at the Hermitage Fair Grounds" (Whig, May 22, 1861, p. 3). Others, at this time, were reading and pondering the poem, "A Word to Southern Christians" by X. G.

Let us plead with him to forgive our sins as a people to frustrate the evil
design of our enemies, and soon restore peace to our country. Let us not
forget the cause of Christ in our midst (Religious Herald, May 23, 1861,
p. 1, col. 5).

This is an example of the types of appeals that appeared in the religious journals in mid-1861 when Richmond became one big military camp.

Military Training, Women, and Patriotic Pride

President Jefferson Davis' wife, Varina Howell Davis, who had only been in Richmond since late May observed: "Richmond was one great camp-men hurried to and fro and without uniforms and arms, with that fired look upon their faces that they acquire with confronted with danger and the necessity for supreme effort" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 60). As each day went by, there were more military notices in the Richmond papers, instructing men where to report for training (Enquirer, Jun. 4, 1861, p. 2, col. 6). By the end of June 1861, military camps ringed the outskirts of the city. Troops were not allowed to be billeted in the city which had already doubled in size. The increase of newcomers was due to government workers, office seekers, refugees seeking assistance, Army followers, gamblers, speculators, doctors, prisoners, spies, and ruffians. All segments of society and class were melded and crowded together.

A day of general prayer was called by President Davis on Tuesday, June 13, 1861. The Enquirer hoped that "the purpose for which the day has thus been set aside will be reverently respected" (Enquirer, Jun. 13, 1861, p. 2, col. 1).

In June 1861, military encampments continued to be the main attraction (Enquirer, Jun. 13, 1861, p. 3, col. 2). Crowds visited daily the Central Fair Grounds at Howard's Grove to watch the drilling and training going on. The Enquirer reported that the ladies took as much delight as "a veteran General" might manifest in watching the soldiers go through their training exercises and tactics (Enquirer, Jun. 13, 1861, p. 3, col. 2). The women were definitely moved by what they saw and heard. The crowd pleaser appeared to be the New Orleans Washington Artillery and the New Orleans Zouaves with their colorful uniforms and precision drill (Enquirer, Jun. 13, 1861, p. 3, col. 2). In fact, the Enquirer, to stimulate interest in the Zouaves, provided a training ditty to its readers entitled "How to Make a Zouave" (Enquirer, Jun. 13, 1861, p. 4, col. 2). They had obtained the training routine from one of the French drill sergeants at Howard's Grove and it went as follows:

Take de recruit-keep him forty-eight hours-notting to eat; der let him march
him fort-eight hours-notting to eat; der let him fight like h.ll fort-eight hours
notting to eat; by dam, he one Zouave! (Enquirer, Jun. 13, 1861, p. 4, col. 2).

As Fanny Beers (1888) noted at that time: "evening drills at the camp-grounds were [attended]by hundreds of ladies. So enthusiastic were these, so full of pride and admiration for the braves who had come to defend their homes and themselves, so entirely in accord with the patriotic spirit which burned in every heart" (pp. 14-18).

On July 13th, the 6th North Carolina volunteers commanded by Colonel Charles F. Fisher reached the city and paraded on Capitol Square in a review for President Davis and General Robert E. Lee (Enquirer, Jul. 16, 1861, p. 4, col. 7). The review, watched by hundreds, showed the bearing, training, and readiness of the unit as it left for Manassas, Virginia, on July 14th. Richmonders would learn ten days later that Colonel Fisher had been killed in action at the Battle of First Manassas.

From early in the war until the end, Richmonders enjoyed the marching, drilling, or parading of Confederate forces in the city. It gave them an emotional sense of security and a conviction toward Confederate nationalism.

Even though vastly outnumbered nearly three to one, the South entered the conflict with its vaunted military tradition. Nearly every state, prior to the war, had a state military academy such as the Virginia Military Institute. The Southern military tradition trained many White men from childhood in horsemanship, hunting, and the use of firearms. Even with some previous training, the Confederate common soldier in the camps around Richmond still had to receive training in firearms, drills, maneuvers, and tactics.

Generally, the typical training routine began with the morning drill. Regimental dress parade and inspection were held at the end of the afternoon. It was these parades that men and women came to watch and enjoy. After supper at 6:30 p.m., men would be assigned to picket duty. Those not on duty would have free time before lights out at 9:00 p.m. (Robertson, 1984, p. 52). As George Cary Eggleston (1905) observed in the Richmond camp: "The drilling, of which

there was literally no end, was simply funny. Maneuvers of the most utterly impossible sort were carefully taught to the men. Every amateur officer had his own pet system of tactics, and the effect of the incongruous teachings, when brought out in battalion drill, closely resembled that of the music at Mr. Bob Sawyer's party, where each guest sang the chorus to the time he knew best" (p. 64).

One of the activities that the soldiers and the citizens found time for was letter writing and reading--intellectual activities that promoted literacy.

One of the important educational leisure activities of the Confederate soldiers in Richmond and other camps was writing and receiving letters. Dr. Bell Irvin Wiley (1984), author of many Civil War books, including the Life of Johnny Reb about the composite Confederate soldier, concluded from his vast research on letter writing and reading:

Never in the history of the South has there been such a tide of letter writing as that raised by the Confederate War, for on no other occasion has so large a proportion of the people been away from home so long a time. Letters written by soldiers were more apt to be preserved than those received in camp, and these faded missives, are now reposing by thousands in private possession and in public depositories, constitute a valuable and largely neglected source for the South's social history (p. 192).

Beginning early in the war and until the end, most Confederate soldiers wrote an average of three letters a week with each letter usually three pages in length (p. 200). "Everybody is writing who can raise a pencil or a sheet of paper," said a Confederate Virginia soldier in July 1861 (cited in Robertson, 1984, p. 71). Dr. James I. (Bud) Robertson, Jr., believes the letter writing "was a note of self-examination-a probing of one's own resources of courage and commitment" (p. 71). Many Richmonders, like Fannie Beers and Judith McGuire, read and answered letters for sick soldiers. As Beers (1888) proudly recalled: "It was my daily business during the war to read and answer letters to sick soldiers" (pp. 22-23).

While the men availed themselves of their military training, the women of the city took on a number of new public roles, some requiring training.

With the influx of wounded and the sick soldiers from the Battle of First Manassas in late July 1861, the Enquirer made a special appeal to the ladies:

Any noble, kind and generous acts will and apply who are every foremost in every good and charitable work. We trust by this time the ladies have succeeded in organizing their corps of nurses. If so, there is immediate for work them. What say you, ladies? We think we know your answer in advance. That answer is-it must and shall be done (Enquirer, Jun. 20, 1861, p.1, col. 8).

For Richmond women, the traditional role that they occupied was homemaker, taking care of the children and the home. This role was ingrained deep in the Southern culture. Now, the Confederate cause provided them a socially acceptable way to step out of their traditional role as homemaker to a public role in nursing, writing, and other activities. In the hour of need, the ladies of Richmond came forth. Virtually none of them had any medical experience or training in nursing. They learned the rudiments of medical care through on-the-job training. The care and spirit they brought to the task of caring for the wounded and sick became one of the highlights of this tragic period in the city. The gore and deprivations they experienced toughened their spirit and emotions to aid the wounded, the sick, and the helpless. Some nurses like Sally Tompkins and Phoebe Yates Pember, not only set the example, but would become famous through their experiences and exploits in managing large Confederate hospitals in Richmond. Some women now had found a role that they could make significant contributions in, even though their training was essentially on-the-job. The women did it for the men in gray. As Fannie Beers (1888) noted: "These boys in gray were strangers to none. Their uniform was a passport to every heart and every home. Every man who wore it became ennobled in the eyes of every women" (pp. 5-8).

Dr. Talmadge, the president of Ogelthorpe University in Georgia, provided a "most eloquent sermon" at the First Presbyterian Church (present site of City Hall) (Enquirer, Jul. 30, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). At the end of his sermon, he expressed his appreciation for "their { women } extreme kindness" to the wounded soldiers from Georgia. According to the Enquirer, Dr. Talmadge was "deeply and tenderly affected by the services rendered by the ladies of Richmond" (Enquirer, Jul. 30, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). The women, with only on-the-job experience and training, had made a difference and would continue to do so. Lessons learned and applied were the tenets that they seemed to employ in their nursing services. As Fannie Beers (1888) noted: "During every hour of the day, gentle women ministered untiringly to the sick...bringing books and better than all, smiles and pleasant words" (p. 42).

The Dispatch saluted the untiring efforts of the ladies of Richmond in their devoted caring of the wounded soldiers in crowded hospitals and homes. "What should we do without them?" the Dispatch asked (Dispatch, Aug. 6, 1861, p. 2, col. 5). By mid-September 1861, there were 17 hospitals in the city--a four-fold increase within one year. (Enquirer, Sep. 17, 1861, p. 3, col. 2). At the end of July 1861, the Enquirer appealed to the ladies to join the Soldiers Aid Society whose purpose was to dispense articles needed by the wounded and sick soldiers (Enquirer, Jul. 30, 1861, p. 3, col. 2). Also, the society would "engage competent nurses" and help find and train others (Enquirer, Jul. 30, 1861, p. 3, col. 2). The Soldiers Aid Society was one of the first formed to deal with the pain and suffering of the soldiers. Others would be formed over the next year or so. The newspapers supported and publicized such organizations.

To keep the citizen's spirit high and motivated, the Enquirer in their editorial comments entitled, "One Cause-One Destiny-One People," said:

From the Potomac to the Rio Grande the cause is one, the people are one and the fight is one. Let our speech be one. Let us have nothing but kind

words for each other, and hard blows the foe, until peace and independence shall crown the Confederate banner (Enquirer, Jun. 20, 1861, p. 2. col. 1).

Two days later, the Enquirer continued its motivational encouragement to the Confederate cause by stating:

We should make the Northern soldiers dread us. We should teach them to look upon us as men who fight to whip, and who will fight until they do whip: fight desperately, as some would say, but fight till the enemy is conquered or runs (Enquirer, Jun. 22, 1861, p. 2, col. 1).

As the newspapers made their appeals, they also reported that the behavior of some of the residents had changed.

By June 1861, the behavior of some segments of the population was notably changing for the worst. By late June 1861, the Enquirer reported an increase in drunkenness and disorder (Enquirer, Jun. 27, 1861, p. 1, col. 4). Several cases had been brought before the Mayor's Court. This type of public behavior continued to increase over the next three and one-half years. With the defeat of the Union forces at Manassas, the public became euphoric. Fannie Beers (1888) noted in her diary:

Who that witnessed and shared the wild excitement which, upon days immediately following the victory at Manassas, throbbed and pulsated throughout the crowded capital of the Southern confederacy can ever forget? Men were beside themselves with joy and pride-drunk with glory (p. 25).

Religious Education

In early July 1861, the people were in a joyful mood. Even the influx of the wounded from Manassas did not deter them. The educational leisure activities continued unabated. The Religious Herald encouraged churches and Sunday schools to collect small Bibles and send them to the Baptist Depository so that they could be placed in the hands of Baptist colporters who would deliver them to the soldiers in the camps (Religious Herald, Jul. 4, 1861, p. 1, col. 6). The Baptists at this time could not obtain any Bibles from the North and publishers in the South had not geared up yet to print the Bible. The Baptist used their periodical, the Religious Herald, to get the news and inspirational messages out to its readers. After the Battle of First Manassas, it offered the following tenets entitled "Christian's Duty in Times of Trouble":

1. Let those whom God calls into the actual conflict are manfully and hopefully, for he will speed the right.

2. Let every Christian, whether on the battlefield or abiding at home, strive to suppress all unholy and revengeful feelings, remembering God's own word: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." Let each one maintain a forgiving and fraternal spirit, even towards enemies, for the spirit of Christ.

3. ...Let prayer be offered incessantly, importantly, that the God of peace would bring to a righteous speedy and perpetual end to the desolations of civil, fratricidal war. (Religious Herald, Jul. 4, 1861, p. 1, col. 5).

One of the Baptist colporters, Brother H. Madison of Richmond, reported on the religious introspection of soldiers in camps: "I have been laboring three weeks at the various encampments around Richmond. I found that, almost without exception, the soldiers are religiously inclined, and hundreds are not members of any church" (Religious Herald, Jul. 11, 1861, p. 1, cols. 5-6). As the war went on, religious education in Richmond and the surrounding camps intensified through the distribution of Bibles, printing and distribution of tracts and sheets of hymn music, and days of fasting and prayer.

On July 18th, three days before the Battle of First Manassas, the publication board of the Baptist General Association had available for distribution 10,000 copies of the New Testament that had been printed in Richmond (Religious Herald, Jul. 18, 1861, p. 1, col. 6). Previously, they had to rely on donated Bibles because Southern printers had not tooled their presses to print the Bible. The Bible was the most widely read book in the Confederate camps, including those around the city. Church leaders and chaplains realized the importance of the distribution of religious educational materials. The churches employed special agents called colporters. The colporters delivered and, with the assistance of the chaplains, distributed the material. Usually, these materials were provided free, but occasionally a small fee was charged. A Captain in the 12th Georgia Infantry Regiment and his company raised sixty dollars to contribute to the regimental fund for Bibles and religious material (Wiley, 1984, p. 179). The distribution of religious and educational materials continued throughout the war for all Confederate camps including the Richmond camps.

All these instructional activities supported the religious themes of spirituality and salvation. These themes often augmented the patriotic themes put forth by the city newspapers.

Newspapers--Patriotic Appeals and Themes

The newspapers in Richmond during the Summer 1861 continued to bombard its 80,000-plus readers with strong, virtuous, self-serving editorial comments to foster patriotic support. For example, the editorial that appeared in the extra edition of the Enquirer entitled "A War of Rapine and of Savage Barbarity" is a representative example.

No! Lincoln is forcing us upon a policy, whether we will or not. By his army of robbers he forces us to stand for our property, and to destroy what we cannot defend. By his threats of violence, he forces to stand for our lives, and to fight with the energy of men whose only alternative is victory. We will not count odds, and we will not extricate sacrifices. No abandoning of property to the enemy! No retreating gave under compulsion! Resistance at every step, and resistance to the death! This will be our spirit, and the sooner we rise fully up to it the better (Enquirer, Jul. 13, 1861, p. 2, col. 1).

Educational Activities--A Mid-Year Assessment and Summary

By mid-July 1861, the residents reveled with enthusiasm and determination. The Dispatch provided a glowing appraisal of what life was like in the city at that time:

If the Northern President could take a peep at Richmond some fine day he would think he had not yet made progress towards "subjugating the South." The streets and parks are thronged with cheerful faces, and groups of soldiers everywhere lounging and laughing. Let him peep at the hotels of an evening and listen to the music and mirth within and serenades without. Let him gaze upon the well stocked tables, and visit the markets, and he will be inclined to give up the task as hopeless. Above all, let him hear a few sentiments expressed by some of our servants, and he will find his own starving poor, more worthy of his chivalry! (Dispatch, Jul. 15, 1861, p. 2. col. 5).

This exuberant appraisal was reflected in the increase of educational activities available to the residents: the theaters were booming with a variety of productions, music was in the air every day, the reading of newspapers, books, and religious materials took on a different intensity, "danceable teas" continued unabated, the private primaries and academies were open, and the Medical College of Virginia, Southern Female Institute, and the Richmond Female Institute stayed open. The only educational school that had closed its doors was Richmond College which became an artillery training center. Soldiers in the camp continued to be organized and drilled into precision Confederate units. Writing and reading letters reached a dimension and meaning as people recounted their observations and tried to motivate each other. The first seven months of 1861 showed that adult education in a crowded, industrial, military, medical, and government center had a role in contributing to the morale and spirit of the people. Adult education activities provided the opportunities to be kept informed, to be influenced and motivated, and to be educated. For the next five months, the pace continued, even though social and living conditions deteriorated.

In mid-July, for the first time since the troops and Confederate government arrived, Richmond was quiet: an absence of many intoxicated people on the streets, particularly due to a recent ordinance that prohibited the sale of liquor on Sunday (Enquirer, Jul. 16, 1861, p. 3, col. 6). The Enquirer noted that "those persons who have been so much accustomed to their drams and toddies as to find it difficult to dispense with them, were puzzled at not being able to indulge" (Enquirer, Jul. 16, 1861, p. 3, col. 6).

Near the end of the Summer 1861, Fannie Beers (1888) provided the following observation about the morale and spirit of Richmonders:

The hum of conversation, the sound of careless, happy laughter, the music of a band playing outside, soon brought us down from the heights of enthusiasm to the delightful realities of the present. For, spite of battle and death and perplexities, even certain trouble ahead, Richmond was gay, hopeful, and all went merry as a marriage ball (p. 32).

Women, like Fannie Beers, continued to take on more public roles, such as nursing, working in the factories, and serving as adult educators by reading and writing letters for convalescing soldiers. Their efforts did not go unrecognized.

Informal and Leisure Education

Shortly after arriving in Richmond, President Jefferson Davis, wanted to meet as many of the residents as possible, and had weekly receptions--educational forums--for the public. According to Edward M. Alfriend (1891), "these [receptions] continued until nearly the end of the war" (p. 231). Davis, who had been to the battlefield at Manassas, returned to Richmond on July 23rd, and gave a short address on the battle at the Spotswood Hotel, a favorite meeting place (Dispatch, Jul. 24, 1861, p. 2, col. 6). The public was anxious to see him and learn the results first hand. They crowded him for news. He said that "400 to 500 had been killed" and that "our Army has captured an immense amount of stores, prisoners to last 50,000 soldiers a considerable time" (Dispatch, Jul. 24, 1861, p. 2 col. 6). Many crowded into the Spotswood drawing room to hear battle accounts from Colonel James Chestnut, Jr., Mary Chestnut's husband and an aide to General P. T. Beauregard at Manassas (Chestnut, 1981, p. 108). The people thrived on these accounts by government officials and officers in staying informed. However, the more times these accounts would be passed on to others, the more they would be embellished and the truth distorted.

For many residents, the terrible price of the victory was not really felt until two days later when they read a listing of the dead and wounded in the newspaper (Enquirer, Jul. 26, 1861, pp. 2-4, col. 6). Many were shocked to see the names of some prominent officers who had been killed: Brigadier General Barnard Bee, who before his death, immortalized Jackson and his brigade by his famous "stonewall" assignation; Colonel Francis S. Bartow of Georgia; Colonel Charles F. Fisher of North Carolina; and Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin J. Johnson who was almost elected governor of South Carolina in 1860. Just a week or two earlier, citizens had given each of these officers, along with others, a festive welcome to the city. Now their bodies, along with other dead and wounded, were being brought to Richmond. As Margaret Sumner McLean noted in her dairy:

While like a passage in the minor key in some brilliant piece of music, I heard at a distance the "Dead March," and knew that the bodies of General Bartow and General Bee were being escorted to the state capitol. I left the parlor feeling that, war bring what it would, I would always hear the accompaniment of that sad note (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 76).

Citizens quickly realized the price of war. For many, educational leisure activities provided them an emotional release and transformation that would make each of them a more caring and informed individual. Other than adult education, they had no other activities available to contribute and enhance their knowledge, emotional well being, and personal development. Adult education served that role despite mounting social and economic difficulties.

Richmonders received good news when it was announced that the Southern Literary Institute had reopened on September 15, 1861, under a Mrs. Diggs (Enquirer, Sep.15, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). The Institute provided the residents the opportunity for various literary programs and reading materials. In addition, a Confederate Reading Room was opened on 11th Street, two doors North of Main Street (Examiner, Sep. 19, 1861, p. 3). The room had on file all city newspapers and "newspapers from every state, city, and town of the South" so that soldiers and strangers could obtain news about their hometown (Examiner, Sep. 19, 1861, p. 3). The room also provided writing paper free of charge. According to the Examiner, the rates of admission were as follows: 10-cents, single admission; 50- cents, admission for a full month; and a \$5.00 fee for a year's admission (Examiner, Sep. 19, 1861, p. 3).

The reading rooms afforded individuals the opportunity to keep themselves informed about the war news but more importantly advanced their personal knowledge and development. The rooms became learning resource centers for the residents and soldiers. Even the sewing rooms became learning resource centers.

The Army Committee of the YMCA collected "cut materials" to make into uniforms for desiring military companies (Dispatch, Sep. 2, 1861, p. 1 col. 7). As Thomas C. DeLeon (1907) watched and noted: "There were sewing circles, at which the assistants enjoyed the talk of brainy and refined women and cultured men; there music, improvisation and ever dancing filled intervals of busy work" (p. 63).

Dozens of patriotic compositions were being put forth by music publishers like Johnston of Richmond and Blackmar of New Orleans. The most popular compositions were "Jeff Davis," "President's," "The Confederate March," and "Beauregard's March" (Bill, 1946, p. 110). By early Fall 1861, General Pierre G. T. Beauregard was acknowledged as the "Hero of Fort Sumter" and one of the heroes of the battle of First Manassas. As it would be for many other Confederate heroes to come, Beauregard's exploits were recognized in a musical march tone.

Beauregard's March
Oh, the North was evil started
When she met thee, Beauregard!
For you fought her very hard
With cannon and petard, Beauregard!
Beau cannon, Beauregard!
Beau sabeur, beau frappeur, Beauregard!
Beau sabeur, beau frappeur, Beauregard!
(Bill, 1946, p. 110).

The women of Richmond who were not involved in nursing or sewing learned their lines to put on concerts and plays for the benefit of wounded and sick soldiers and their families. Thomas C. DeLeon (1907), a Richmond gadfly, attended many of these productions. He noted: "There were many, and some really excellent amateur concerts, charades, and tableaux by most

modest and sometimes ambitious amateurs, all for the same good end" (p. 63). As Maria Mason Hubard noted in her diary on October 16, 1861, "enjoyment today is living over the past with friends" (Hubard Diary, Virginia Historical Society). Music, either listening, singing, or playing it, augmented by professional productions and private theatricals and concerts, sustained and uplifted the spirits and morale of Richmonders. Even though the gaiety of early Spring had started to diminish, music continued to be one of the educational leisure activities that Richmonders used to refresh and rejuvenate their patriotic spirits and morale. As John B. Jones (1866), the Confederate War Clerk, lamented on October 9th: "Never was there such a patriotic people as ours! Their blood and their wealth are laid upon the altar of their country with enthusiasm" (p. 84).

A highlight of the music season was the benefit concert for the First Maryland Regiment at the African Church on Thursday, October 17, 1861. The Torriani Musical Associates from South Carolina provided "a programme of decided popular interest" (Enquirer, Oct. 17, 1861, p. 3, col. 4). This was to be the group's final concert in Richmond. The Dispatch encouraged its readers to see this South Carolina group: "Brilliant audiences have listened with rapture to their sweet melody....this affords our citizens an opportunity of contributing to a cause of real benevolence" (Dispatch, Oct. 17, 1861, p. 3, col. 2). Five-to-six hundred dollars was contributed to benefit the First Maryland Regiment (Dispatch, Oct. 26, 1861, p. 2, col. 2). Down the street, at the Metropolitan Hall, the Partington Sisters were performing in an Ethiopian burlesque with solos, choruses, and dancing (Dispatch, Oct. 26, 1861, p. 3, col. 5). Admission to see the Partington Sisters was 25-cents with reserved seats going for 50-cents (Dispatch, Oct. 26, 1861, p. 3, col. 5). The Dispatch believed that "nothing more beneficial than a hearty laugh and no better way of getting rid of the weight of care than by visiting this entertainment" (Dispatch, Oct. 28, 1861, p. 2, col 2).

For some newspapers like the Dispatch, serenading music was taking its toll. It reported that "serenading is played out" and added: "While it might be soothing to the feelings of the invalid soldier to listen to the strains of music in a long and weary night, the same investment in substantial comforts would unquestionably be more acceptable" (Dispatch, Oct. 18, 1861, p. 2, col. 3). The Dispatch believed the citizens needed to enjoy their sleep without "serenading music". Of course, all Richmonders did not agree. In fact, the Richmond Philharmonic Association, which had been absent from the musical scene for about a year, was conducting rehearsals with the Armory Band for a benefit concert for the Maryland volunteers (Dispatch, Oct. 18, 1861, p. 2, col. 4).

While many people were uplifted by music, others turned to reading the myriad of religious materials, books, and the Bible.

Religious Education

The Religious Herald continued to provide poignant messages and articles for its readers, including the soldiers. One theme that they continued to emphasize was the turning to Christ as the Lord and Savior. On October 17th, its article entitled "Efforts for the Salvation of Soldiers"

was read with feeling and contemplation by the soldiers in Confederate camps, including the Richmond camps (Religious Herald, Oct. 17, 1861, p. 1, col. 5). Reverend A. E. Dickinson, General Superintendent of the Colporters, provided the city's military camps with "circulating libraries" of religious materials, books, New Testaments, and magazines (Dispatch, Oct. 26, 1861, p. 2 col. 4).

As many of the soldiers in the Richmond camps improved their personal development and strengthened their religious beliefs, their fellow citizens learned how to operate machines to make their uniforms.

Industrial Training

The Crenshaw Woolen Company, adjacent to the Tredegar Iron Works, employed principally foreigners from England, Ireland, and Germany (Enquirer, Oct. 17, 1861, p. 4, col. 5). The workforce numbered 130 of which 25 were females and several children from the ages of 10 to 12, all paid \$7.50 a week. Crenshaw had a government contract to make regulation cloth for uniforms, blankets, and stocking yarn (Enquirer, Oct. 17, 1861, p. 4, col. 5). Workers had to be trained on the operations of broad looms, carding machines, and spinning jacks by "experienced overseers from England" (Enquirer, Oct. 17, 1861, p. 4, col. 5). Colonel Abraham C. Meyers, the Confederate Quartermaster Chief, had contracted with Crenshaw to produce cloth for uniforms. Additionally, he then trusted the sewing to produce the uniforms to 2,000 women in Richmond, 3,000 in Atlanta, and thousands throughout the South. Even though this cottage industry produced thousands of uniforms, they remained in short supply throughout the war (Thomas, 1979, p. 206). Needless to say, the training received by the workers in the war industries, like Crenshaw's, was thorough and fast and provided by an experienced craftsman. The training sustained them as semi-skilled and skilled workers during the war. However, once it was over, many would seek employment and training in Richmond's flour and tobacco industries.

Summary: May 1861 to October 1861

During this five-month period, Richmond had experienced some of the inconveniences of war: overcrowdedness, sick and wounded soldiers, increased prices for goods, increased crime, and new public roles for women. Educational activities and programs continued without interruption.

October 1861-December 1861

Richmond continued to be the bright and lively symbol of the Confederacy. Schools and colleges opened for the yearly academic sessions. The Examiner reprinted in its November 18th edition a New York Herald article, "Notes of a Recent Tour in the South" (Examiner, Nov. 18, 1861, p. 1). The Herald reporter observed the following in his tour of Richmond: "Still the sidewalks are crowded with pedestrians and on the whole, Richmond may be said a gay city" (Examiner, Nov. 18, 1861, p. 1). The reporter also observed that "there may be 8,000 to 10,000 soldiers around Richmond, viewed as apprentices, conquering their initiating lessons in military

life. They are, therefore, constantly on the move; those who have the advantage of five or six weeks training giving place to new hands" (Examiner, Nov. 18, 1861, p. 1).

Schools and Colleges

For most students, October 1st normally signaled the beginning of a new school term for many of the schools and colleges.

On October 1st, the school year started for the Richmond's Free Schools. The city had nine free schools with an average attendance of 1,326 students. The average daily attendance of each student was 80 days (Examiner, Oct. 19, 1861, p. 3). It cost the city three-cents a day for the tuition for each student (Examiner, Oct. 19, 1861, p. 3).

Dr. Charles H. Winston, President of the Richmond Female Institute, and 15 instructors greeted 175 students for the nine-month academic term which started on October 1st (Dispatch, Jun. 19, 1862, p. 1, col. 6; Religious Herald, Feb. 13, 1862, p. 2, col. 6). The Institute, under the auspices of the Baptist Church, was built to accommodate 250 students (Moore, 1978, p. 54). It offered the following subjects: a) Moral Science and Ancient Language, b) Mathematics and Natural Sciences, c) English Literature, d) Evidences of Christianity, e) French, f) Spanish and Italian, g) English, h) Music--Singing, Piano, and Guitar, and h) Drawing and Painting (Religious Herald, Feb. 13, 1862, p. 2, col. 6). Its fees were the following: a) Preparatory English-\$30, b) Collegiate English-\$50, c) Ancient and Modern Languages-\$20, d) music or piano with vocal music-\$50, e) use of piano to practice-\$5, f) guitar-\$40, g) drawing-\$20, e) oil painting-\$50, f) board-\$100, and room-washing, lights, fuel, and towels-\$40 (Religious Herald, Feb. 13, 1862, p. 2, col. 6).

Dean Levin S. Joynes and faculty members of the Medical College of Virginia welcomed 67 students for the 1861-62 academic term (MCV Catalog, 1861-62, pp. 4-6). The fee schedule was the same as it had been for the 1860-1861 term (p. 6). The term started on November 4th and ended on March 1st, 1862. Forty-three students were from Virginia, 14 from North Carolina, four each from South Carolina and Georgia, and one each from Alabama and the District of Columbia (pp. 4-6). The one faculty change since last year saw Dr. Isaiah H. White replacing Dr. Marion Howard as the Demonstrator of Anatomy. There were "new illustrations" in every teaching department and a newly constructed hospital was in operation with General Assembly funding approved last year (Enquirer, Oct. 15, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). In addition, to encourage scholarship and academic excellence, the college announced it would award two cash prizes of \$50 each to the member of the graduating class for the best essay pertaining to the theory or practice of medicine and the best essay on the subject of surgery or obstetrics (Enquirer, Oct. 15, 1861, p. 3, col. 3).

For the year ending December 31, 1861, Dean Joynes reported a total distribution in 1861 of \$2,176.83 which included \$700 divided among the faculty members on April 8, 1861. Cash on hand at the end of the year was \$2,176.83 (Dean's Report, 1861). While some of the adults returned to school, other adults attended the horse races at Old Fairfield. The Dispatch reported

"such of excitement not unlike those we want to witness in the palmy days of racing...considerable money changed hands" (Dispatch, Oct. 26, 1861, p. 2, col. 2).

Lecturing and Educational Leisure

One of the interesting educational activities that the people enjoyed was attending lectures. Many of these lectures were provided in Richmond churches, public halls, schools, and private homes. Some targeted a specific audience, such as the Germans. For example, on November 7th, a Mr. Krupsky, a master of pharmaceutic arts at Behringer's School on Fifth Street in Richmond, gave a lecture in German on Chemistry (Dispatch, Nov. 7, 1861, p. 2, col. 2).

Richmond had a number of fraternal organizations and associations involved in educational and community service activities, such as the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. The Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons held its annual commencement meeting at Masonic Hall on December 9th, (Enquirer, Dec. 3, 1861, p. 2, col. 8). Masonic activities, including their candidate instructional programs, continued throughout the war years in Richmond. There would be monthly stated lodge meetings by the various Richmond lodges. The announcements of these meetings would be placed in the ad section of the Richmond newspapers, just like they are today.

In mid-November, to continue the patriotic themes, the New Richmond Theater offered a new drama entitled Thee Scouts, O'the Plains of Manassas (Dispatch, Nov. 12, 1861, p. 2, col. 3). This was John Hill Hewitt's attempt to dramatize for Richmonders the gallant Confederate victory at Manassas. That same evening, other residents were treated to a concert by the Richmond Philharmonic Association at Franklin Hall for an admission fee of 50-cents (Dispatch, Nov. 12, 1861, p. 2, col 3). The musical program ended with the playing of the "Southern Anthem" (Dispatch, Nov. 12, 1861, p. 2, col. 3).

In mid-December, the French Zouaves entertained an overcrowded Franklin Hall, next to the Exchange Hotel, with a musical and comical extravaganza (Enquirer, Dec. 13, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). It included pantomimes, French farces, and operettas. The Enquirer expressed some concern about how their performance may be perceived by the public (Enquirer, Dec. 13, p. 3, col. 3). The public seemed to enjoy the soldier's performance considering the theater was filled beyond capacity.

Many women performed in amateur shows for the benefit to aid some Confederate units. In mid-December 1861, Maria Hubard noted in her diary: "for the first time in my life I appear upon stage in public!" (Hubard Diary, Dec. 15, 1861, VHS). She appeared in the chorus of a charitable musical event at the First Presbyterian Church to aid the women and children of the Virginia volunteers. Many women, without formal acting or musical training, learned their musical lines through repetitive practice. Although not of the professional quality that Richmonders enjoyed at Hewitt's New Richmond Theater, the musical efforts of these ladies were consistently recognized in the Richmond papers. For nearly all, it was a true experiential learning activity.

As Richmonders enjoyed patriotic music, the Southern Churchman, an Episcopalian periodical, moved its operations to the city.

Southern Churchman and Religious Education

With Federal occupation of Alexandria, Virginia, the religious periodical Southern Churchman relocated its operations to Richmond in late November 1861, informing its subscribers that "the difficulty of getting paper, has caused delay even here" (Southern Churchman, Nov. 22, 1861, p. 2, col. 1). It went on to say "for the present, we can only promise our readers a half-sheet...Printing and press-work have advanced so much, that it costs us nearly the same to issue this sheet as it did in Alexandria, to publish a whole sheet" (p. 2, col. 1). Essentially, the Southern Churchman was starting over. Within a few weeks, it had a supply of paper that would last six months (Southern Churchman, Dec. 6, p. 2, col. 1). In its December 6th issue, it offered the readers three poems, "The Guiding Hand," "Learn of Me," and "I Want to Go Home" and a prayer for the Confederate States (Southern Churchman, Dec. 6, 1861, p. 2, col. 1). Each conveyed a message of consolation of the spirit and soul.

On December 13th, the relocated Southern Churchmen recognized the demand for religious materials in the Army camps. It believed that its publication had much to offer to the soldiers in Confederate camps, including those in Richmond. It stated: "They stand in need of religious readings; and such is the dearth of all kinds of reading, they would gladly welcome a religious paper" (Southern Churchman, Dec. 13, 1861, p. 2, col. 1). The Southern Churchman sent the paper anywhere for an annual subscription of \$3 (p. 2, col. 1).

By the end of 1861, religious magazines, like the Southern Churchman, had become an instrument for the diffusion of knowledge about spirituality, salvation, and prayer.

Through congenial encouragement, the Southern Churchman requested that all residents "find opportunities of usefulness, if they only desire to do something for Christ...such as religious instruction" for the wounded and the sick (Southern Churchman, Dec. 20, 1861, p. 2, col. 2). By the end of the first year of the conflict, many of the Richmond churches, coupled with denominational associations, saw a great need not only to provide religious materials, but have their volunteers read and provide instruction to the wounded soldiers. As the Southern Churchman said: "It will be found pleasant work" (Southern Churchman, Dec. 20, 1861, p. 2, col. 2).

Educational Leisure and Recreation

By December 1861, there had been a large increase in Black gatherings. Such gatherings were unlawful but never enforced by city authorities. Now, the gatherings were frequent and disturbed city officials. Mayor Joseph Mayo announced that the laws would now be rigidly enforced (Enquirer, Nov. 25, 1861, p. 3, col. 5). Such gatherings would now be limited to "Negroes of good character" upon their master's lot or at their homes (Enquirer, Nov. 25, 1861, p. 3, col. 5). Mayor Mayo believed that "indulgences have been abused" necessitating enforcing the law.

Down at the New Richmond Theater, Manager Hewett had his hands full dealing with the rowdyism and fights and riotous conditions occurring between patrons of the upper deck with patrons of the lower decks (Enquirer, Dec. 31, 1861, p. 3, col. 7). There had been almost nightly disturbances at the theater for some time. The Enquirer placed the blame on "communications between the lower and upper parts of the house" (Enquirer, Dec. 31, 1861, p. 3, col. 7). The Enquirer believed that with the "bars closed and the High Constable in attendance" that there would be "no more riots" (Enquirer, Dec. 31, 1861, p. 3, col. 7).

For many years, Richmond had been the home of the Virginia State Library. Having no city library, the residents made maximum use of the holdings at the State Library. By late December 1861, much of the library had been converted into a Confederate governmental committee room, an auditing office, and storage area. Much of the library's archives and book collection had been pushed aside. Noting the library's condition, the Enquirer stated that the collection "should be put under lock and key and opened only to the inspection of those who know and appreciate the values, instead of being kicked about on the floor, or mutilated by the sacrilegious hands of the infamous or vandals" (Enquirer, Dec. 24, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). The extent the public used the State Library during the war is not known.

End of Year--Educational Activities

The day before Christmas 1861, the Enquirer observed: "Luckily, as we have said, for the reputation of Richmond, the times are peaceful" (Enquirer, Dec. 24, 1861, p. 3, col. 3). The Enquirer offered a poem entitled "I Think of Thee" by an anonymous source. The poem served to think of those during the Christmas season that were away from their love ones. The last verse read:

And if we never meet again,
It will be a weary life to me;
And yet again there's peace for some
But still I'll think and dream of thee
(Enquirer, Dec. 24, 1861, p. 4, col. 1).

As the year drew to a close, local stores, particularly book and music stores "vied with each other in the sale of The Skirmisher's Drill and Bayonet Exercise, The Trooper's Manual, Hardee's Infantry Tactics, and Instructions in Field Artillery" (Bill, 1946, p. 48).

As 1861 ended, Mary Chestnut (1981) reminded herself of the first anniversary of secession: "...the reality is not as dreadful as the anticipation. I have seen not half as much as I dreaded of fire and sword-bad as it is" (p. 267).

Thomas C. DeLeon (1890) summarized his thoughts of the mood of Richmonders which seemed to represent the views of many residents:

The people had at first held up their hands in holy horror at the mere mention of amusement! What! With a war in the land must people enjoy themselves?

Never! It would be heartless! But human nature in Virginia is pretty much like human nature everywhere else (p. 148).

As Alfriend (1891) recalled from first hand observations: "Entertainment was given freely and very liberally the first year of the war...Richmond was extremely gay, bright, and happy city" (p. 229). John B. Jones (1866) observed: "Some of our officers on furlough complain of the dullness of the war. The second year will be different" (p. 102).

By the end of the first year, Richmonders still participated in the many different adult education activities. According to Kimball (1976), the people felt that the "score was definitely in their favor-great victories and some defeats" (p. 92). Prices had gone up, but most Richmonders could still manage: they were optimistic.

Summary

The genteel way of life in Richmond during 1861 was inexorably altered as the social, educational, industrial, and governmental center of the Confederacy at war. At the beginning of 1861, most Richmonders opposed secession. This attitude was reflected in the newspapers, diaries, and personal narratives. However, the Richmond newspapers, through their fiery editorials, sent preparatory warning messages to its readers: the war is coming so be prepared. But once Fort Sumter was fired upon, Richmond became awash in emotions for secession and there was no turning back, and Virginia seceded from the Union. Richmond now took center stage as the South's social, educational, industrial, and governmental center. By mid-summer, the city's population doubled. Adult educational activities and events continued unabated through the remainder of the year.

Theaters overflowed with patrons of Richmond society, including servants. Dramatic plays, musicals, pantomimes, and comedies were presented, usually with a poignant educational message or patriotic theme. The social elite provided private theatricals in their homes. The residents enjoyed outdoor band concerts in Capital Square, on Gamble Hill, and in the camps. "Danceable teas" and games like charades were daily and weekly highlights for many socially minded residents. Blacks enjoyed daily story telling and conversations and attended minstrels and musicals, while others sang in the work place and in the home. Richmonders had a large appetite for reading materials, such as newspapers, periodicals, letters, and religious materials. The Confederate Reading Room opened and catered to the reading needs of the soldiers. Colporters delivered religious educational materials called tracts to the Richmond camps.

Richmond's private primaries, academies, and colleges remained opened, except Richmond College which closed for the duration of the war. It became a hospital and an artillery training site.

The Mechanics Institute, long a center for lectures, night school, and discussions on agricultural and industry, became the office building for the Confederate War Department.

Training in the Richmond factories and mills, like Tredegar Iron Works and Crenshaws's Woolen Company, provided apprentice and craftsman training by experienced English supervisors.

Despite their traditional roles in the home, women in Richmond took up and assumed many roles: nurses, letter writers, readers, and amateur entertainers. The women of Richmond dedicated their efforts and themselves to the Southern cause. Through song, writing, and other expressions of patriotism, the ladies of Richmond, as they were referred to, pushed themselves to public intervention outside the home. Newspapers helped recruit them for some of the activities and then followed up with an abundance of praise for them.

Camp life in Richmond afforded the common soldier training in military tactics and maneuvers, reading and writing, and leisure educational activities.

Poetical expressions and individual poems were made available to the residents of Richmond on a daily basis by the newspapers. The poems helped to rally and bolster the spirit and morale of Richmonders. New books, particularly histories and biographies, were read by the residents. The Bible was the most read book.

Despite an increased in hardships, educational activities, whether they were planned or unplanned or organized or unorganized, continued to be available to the residents. As the year went on the themes of many of leisure activities took on a patriotic flavor. Educational programs at the Richmond Female Institute and the Medical College of Virginia continued without interruption. Private primaries and academies, particularly those for young girls, kept their doors opened. Private tutors provided a variety of music, math, and technical training.

Despite wartime conditions and hardships, adult education activities had provided Richmonders the opportunities to enhance their cognitive and social skills and further their emotional development. This was important to sustain their support of the Confederacy. By late December the mood of the city residents was gay but they had more daily miseries-crowded conditions, wounded and sick soldiers, increased prices, and an increase in rowdyism and drunkenness. However, adult education had provided them an opportunity to help shape and fortify their attitudes and opinions and sustain their morale. Would it be different in 1862?

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AMIDST DEPRIVATION--1862

The citizens of Richmond entered the new year with optimism and hope. The Dispatch extended their greetings to the people and said "that twelve months hence, the South will be among the nations of the earth..." (Dispatch, Jan. 1, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). The Christian Advocate expressed hope for the people of the city to come together: "Let the winter of 1862 be distinguished for reformation--not quarreling and evil surmisings among ourselves" (Christian Advocate, Jan. 16, 1862, p. 2, col. 1). The year 1862 presented Richmonders two enormous challenges: war right at the city's doorsteps, and mounting deprivation. Despite these challenges, adult education opportunities, both planned and unplanned, continued to be available to the residents. However, some minimal interruptions in educational activities occurred, particularly in leisure activities.

January 1862 to May 1862

During the first three months, the people's concerns increased. Many residents had counted on a short war but now it looked like the tragic conflict would be a long term affair. On February 22nd, Jefferson Davis was formally inaugurated as President. By mid-March, the people's attention was drawn to the battle of Hampton Roads between the C.S.S. Virginia and U.S.S. Monitor, the first ever between two ironclad warships. The Richmond newspapers reported the losses at Fort Donelson and later Shiloh. The Confederate Army moved to block General McClellan's Army move up the peninsula to Richmond. The gaiety experienced in the city in 1861 had subsided and was replaced with mounting deprivation. Women continued their patriotic and community activities. The social, economic, and psychological setting had changed.

Social, Economic, and Psychological Setting

Women continued to take on more public roles. On January 3rd, the Dispatch ran a front page story entitled "Our Ladies-Their Patriotic Efforts" (Dispatch, Jan. 3, 1862, p. 1, col. 3), praising the Ladies Ridge Benevolent Society for their relief efforts and caring for dependent families of absent soldiers. The article reported that the ladies "gave an exhibition [to raise money] of tableaux and charades, which gave great satisfaction to the audience, and in judgment of all present was decided success" (Dispatch, Jan. 3, 1862, p. 1, col. 3). The performance was a first for each of the ladies: "none of them ever appeared before, and but a few had seen such exhibitions; and yet all the pieces showed excellent skill and dignity" (Dispatch, Jan. 3, 1862, p. 1, col. 3).

Since her arrival in the city, Judith McGuire had administered to the needs of wounded and sick soldiers in the hospitals by reading the Bible to them. She recounted her experience of March 7th:

I returned to my post by the bedside of soldiers. Some of them are very fond of hearing the Bible read; and I am yet to see the first soldier who has not

received with apparent interest any proposition of being read from the Bible. Today, while reading, an elderly man of strong face sat on the side of bed, listening with interest. I know why you read that chapter; it is to encourage us, because the yankees armies are so much bigger than ours: do you believe that God will help us because we are weak? No, I said but I believe that if we pray in faith, as the Israelites did, that God will hear us (McGuire, 1867, p. 97).

Sara Rice Pryor, another women who spent much time tending wounded soldiers, said that "to be cheerful and uncomplaining was the unwritten law of our hospital. No bad news was ever mentioned, no foreboding or anxiety" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 132).

Women, like Judith McGuire and Sara Pryor, serving the role of adult educators, read to the soldiers, wrote letters for them, and conversed with them to uplift their spirits and emotions. Emotional development and stability had important psychological effects for both soldiers and residents.

Yet, when they finished their educational activities, they left for their homes to face the deprivation of increased food prices and lack of certain food products.

By early January 1862, food prices had risen significantly. For example, butter was 50-cents a pound, bacon 25-cents a pound, and beef had risen from 13-cents to 30-cents a pound. A cord of wood sold for \$8 (Jones, 1866, p. 104). John B. Jones (1866), the Confederate War Clerk, noted in his diary that food had gone up but "flour is abundant, and cheap enough to keep us from starving" (p. 104). By March, coffee sold for \$1.50 a pound, turkeys, \$4 each, apples, \$20 a barrel, a quart of ice cream, \$9, and salt, \$1.40 a sack (Furgurson, 1996, p. 100).

Even with these economic difficulties, educational activities, programs, and events flourished.

With educational and social activities abounding, the mood of Richmonders in late January was still optimistic toward the war effort even though the crowdedness and deprivations in the city continued to increase. As Judith McGuire (1867) noted for her February 6th diary entry: "Spent this day walking from one boarding-house to another, and have returned fatigued and hopeless. I do not believe there is vacant spot in the city" (p. 88). The Dispatch believed the issuance of 25 marriage licenses during January indicated "evidence of the healthy state of public opinion when we see so many venturing...with love and hope" (Dispatch, Jan. 30, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). As a comparison, there were 221 marriages in 1860 and 173 in 1861 (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). Since hostilities began, 158 marriages had been consummated (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1862, p. 2, col. 4), and by early February 1862, the war had only slightly depressed the number of marriages in the city.

Although marriages declined slightly, educational leisure and amusement activities increased. The Dispatch observed that "we have at this time a greater variety than was used

during the gay season in former days, and the quality we are pleasant to say, is good enough to satisfy public desire. Thus, it will be seen there is no lack of agreeable recreation, and every one can select to suit himself" (Dispatch, Jan. 31, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). However, the Dispatch reported four days later that some soldiers in the hospitals had been neglected and that "the matter should be attended to without delay" (Dispatch, Feb. 4, 1862, p. 3, col. 1).

In early February, the Southern Churchman provided its assessment on the state of the Confederacy:

We have confidence in the skill of our officers and the bravery of our men.

Still we must remember that nations with the same justice on their sides, as we have on ours, have been found to retreat. So that it is not impossible, but we may be made to feel the bitterness of defeat-Man proposes; God disposes (Southern Churchman, Feb. 7, 1862, p. 2, col. 2).

Although the mood of the people remained optimistic, some residents formed clubs to socialize and exchange their views and observations on the state of affairs. One such club was the Mosaic Club.

In early 1862, one of the most interesting educational and social centers established was the Mosaic Club (Dabney, 1976, p. 179). The club--an informal meeting of congenial individuals--had no fixed location or membership or schedule. Members just back from the war front shared their observations and experiences with the other members over coffee or some other drink. Major Innes Randolph, a member of General J. E. B. Stuart's staff, sang the first draft of "The Good Old Rebel," a song he wrote at the Mosaic Club (p. 179). These informal meetings stimulated intellectual curiosity and the sharing of experiences about events and activities. They proved invaluable in keeping members current on the events and topics of the day.

Educational Leisure and Recreation

By the fourth hour of the new year, fire had destroyed one of the city's major educational and cultural centers, the Richmond Theater. Built in 1819 by Major Christopher Tompkins, the theater had hosted some of America's greatest actors: Edwin Forest, Charlotte Cushman, John Drew, Joesph Jefferson, and Edwin Booth (Dispatch, Jan. 3, 1862; Moore, 1978, p. 83). It had previously been known as the Marshall Theater named after John Marshall, longtime Supreme Court Chief Justice and Richmond native. Deliberately set by an arsonist, the fire left only portions of the walls standing. John Hill Hewitt, the theater manager, was burned severely about the face and right arm as he and his assistant, Richard D'Orsey Ogden, escaped the inferno. Lost in the fire were sheet music, manuscripts, musical instruments, costumes, stage scenery, and oil portraits of a number of the actors, such as Edwin Forest and Edwin Booth (Enquirer, Jan. 3, 1862, p. 3, col. 5). The loss of the Richmond Theater represented the second major curtailment of an educational operation since the closing of Richmond College in August 1861.

Over the years, the Richmond Theater had provided its patrons a variety of educational amusements and events, such as Shakespearean plays, comedies, pantomimes, and musicals. The

theatrical menu provided diversity in themes and types of productions. The Dispatch reported "a general expression of regret at the loss of that "popular institution, the theater" (Dispatch, Jan. 3, 1862, p. 3, col. 5).

Hewitt and Ogden moved their productions to the Richmond Varieties Theater, South side of Franklin Street between 14th and Mayo Streets, and opened there on Monday, January 6th with Comedy of the Rivals (Dispatch, Jan. 7, 1862, p. 2, col. 6). By mid-February, under the management of Hewitt, the Richmond Varieties Theater played to over flow crowds. The Dispatch reported that "this little box has been literally crammed and we are glad to say with quiet and attentive audiences" (Dispatch, Feb. 10, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). The rebuilt Richmond Theater reopened as the New Richmond Theater on February 9, 1863 (Enquirer, Feb. 3, 1863, p. 3, col. 8).

Although the theater fire attracted a large crowd to view the ruins, President Jefferson Davis went on to hold a presidential reception from 12 to 3 o'clock that day to greet the people who were not preoccupied with the fire (Dispatch, Jan. 1, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). Other Richmonders had an opportunity to start the new year off by reading a sermon that Reverend Dr. Thomas Moore had earlier provided at the First and Second Presbyterian Churches. Dr. Moore emphasized three major points for the citizens to reflect upon: a) "War is part of the agony by which God disciplines nations," b) "The proper resort of a people in time of war is to God," and c) "We should then gird ourselves for this conflict, in the hope that God will maintain our cause" (Dispatch, Jan. 1, 1862, p. 2, col 3).

The Dispatch endorsed Dr. Moore's message and themes by stating: "No patriot can read without being moved to do, to dare, and to die for his country!" (Dispatch, Jan. 1, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). This patriotic theme, along with others, continued the emphasis for support of Confederate nationalism. To support this spirit, Richmonders read with deep interest Edward A. Pollard's The Southern Spy, and a speech by the Honorable Beverly Tucker at the Southern Convention in Nashville, Tennessee (Dispatch, Jan. 1, 1862, p. 3, col. 5). Both offered the readers the underlying justifications for the Confederate cause. Other residents, including soldiers in the city's hospitals and training camps read with interest religious material prepared and distributed by the tract societies.

Many societies and groups had been formed in the city to meet the personal and educational needs for particular residents. On January 2nd, the Dispatch announced that the Maryland Society had established a reading room in Richmond, similar to the Confederate Reading Room, for invalid soldiers and refugees from Maryland and the District of Columbia (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). Opened 12 hours a day (8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.), the room had a variety of reading materials available, including newspapers, journals, and books. The Maryland Society met for the first time on August 21st in Metropolitan Hall (Dispatch, Aug. 21, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). Three distinguished Marylanders addressed the crowded hall: Commodore Franklin Buchanan, first superintendent of the United States Naval Academy and now the senior Confederate naval officer, Jones H. Franklin, and former governor K. Louis Lowe (Dispatch,

Aug. 21, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). The patriotic speeches raised the spirits and morale of displaced Maryland residents toward the Confederate nation. Many availed themselves of the material in the reading room. One of the most popular books read was Cause and Contrast on the American Crisis by T. W. MacMahon (Dispatch, Jan. 7, 1862, p. 3, col. 8).

On February 1st, for Marylanders living in Richmond, the Dispatch printed a poem entitled "Old Maryland My Home" by W. H. H. Smith with the last verse as follows:

Old Maryland through far away
I ne'er have ceased to think
But that I am some far future day
Our hearts again will lie
And oh! When comes the blissful day
How happy the I'll be
To dwell with those I fondly love
Dear Maryland, with thee (Dispatch,
Feb. 1, 1862, p. 3, col. 1).

In mid-January 1862, it seemed everyone in Richmond had access to reading materials: reading rooms had been established in just about every city church, the YMCA, and other appropriate locations. Recognizing that more residents had availed themselves of all types of reading materials, the Southern Churchman offered "Rules for Reading," an instructional tutorial primer. The rules emphasized the following:

Read much, but not many works. We read not for the sake of reading, but we read to the end that we may thrive. Reading is valuable only as it may supply to us the materials which the mind itself elaborates. The only profitable kind of reading is that in which we are compelled to think, and think intensely. But the amount of vigorous reading is easily in the inverse ratio of multifarious reading (Southern Churchman, Jan. 17, 1862, p. 1, col. 4).

Even though food prices had increased, the Dispatch and Enquirer reported that residents continued to attend various educational leisure activities, such as the theater, concerts, reading rooms, and exhibitions in large numbers (Dispatch, Jan. 9, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). Concerts abounded in the city in January 1862. For example, four benefit concerts were given at the Second Baptist Church to benefit the wounded and sick soldiers of a Kentucky regiment and their families over a four-day period (Dispatch, Jan. 10, 1862, p. 2, col. 3; Jan. 29, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). The admission fee was \$1.00 (Enquirer, Jan. 14, 1862, p. 2, col. 7). A brass band performed national and patriotic songs free every night between 7:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. in front of the Metropolitan Hall (Whig, Jan. 10, 1862, p. 3, col. 3).

Blind Tom, a Black musical prodigy, gave a series of patriotic concerts to the delight of hundreds at the African Church (Dispatch, Jan. 21, 1862, p. 2, col. 3; Jan. 29, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). General admission was 50-cents and for children and servants 25-cents. Born blind and mentally

impaired near Columbus, Georgia, in 1849, Tom said: "And music, what is it, and where does it dwell? I sink and rise with its cadence and swell. While it touches my heart with its deep thrilling strain, till pleasure, till pleasure is turned into pain" (cited in Jordan, 1995, pp. 152-153). At the Metropolitan Hall, the Harmonians performed with songs, choruses, and comical burlesque (Dispatch, Jan. 27, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). A week later the audience at the Metropolitan became violently excited during a shooting in the gallery while the leader of the Harmonians was singing "My Maryland" (Dispatch, Feb. 4, 1862, p. 2, col. 3).

The themes for most of these musical shows were patriotic, motivational, and educational, designed for self-introspection and emotional development. Most people left the activity uplifted about themselves and the Confederacy despite mounting deprivations (Dispatch, Jan. 9, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). The music seemed to set aside their physical wants for their spiritual and emotional desires.

While music uplifted feelings, lectures enhanced knowledge. In late January and February 1862, a series of lectures provided interested citizens an opportunity to learn about a variety of topics. Cost of admission for a lady and gentleman was \$5 while a single ticket was 50-cents. Lectures benefited sick soldiers and their families and were delivered in the lecture room of the Broad Street Methodist Church (Whig, Jan. 27, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). The Whig reported to its readers that the "room is large and comfortable one but we advise all who desire to obtain good seating get there early" (Whig, Jan. 30, 1862, p. 3, col. 3).

Reverend Dr. Thomas V. Moore delivered the opening lecture, "Recreation Among the Dictionaries" (Whig, Jan. 30, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). He presented the singularities of the English language "in its etymology and changes of significance, with a evident purpose to combine instruction with amusement" (Whig, Jan. 30, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). The Whig reported that Dr. Moore "was alternately didactic and entertaining" (Whig, Jan. 30, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). Reverend Dr. John C. McCabe presented the second lecture entitled "Popular Preaching, Popular Preachers, and Average Hearers" (Dispatch, Jan. 28, 1862, p. 3, col. 4). The Dispatch said of Dr. McCabe's lecture: "That it will be intellectual entertainment of a high order, we have every assurance" (Dispatch, Jan. 30, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). John R. Thompson presented the third lecture, "Genius and Character of Edgar Allan Poe." In late February, Oliver P. Baldwin, one of the most popular lecturers, provided a lecture on "The Battle of Life" (Dispatch, Feb. 27, 1862, p. 2, col. 2). Once again the Dispatch endorsed this lecture: "Aside from the patriotic motives which should prompt a full attendance, we can assure the public of a rich intellectual part" (Dispatch, Feb. 5, 1862, p. 2, col. 3).

By March 1862, the lecture program had gained favor as "intellectual entertainment" and, "in proportion, are detracting from the villainous theatricals and disgusting pot-house performances endeavoring to thrive in this city" (Dispatch, Mar. 4, 1862, p. 1, col. 2). The lectures "furnished material for such study and after thought" (Dispatch, Mar. 4, 1862, p. 1, col. 2). These lectures comprised a course and continued until the course was completed.

By late February, the educational and cultural centers bristled with different offerings for their patrons. The Richmond Varieties offered the plays, Retribution and State Secret, while at the Metropolitan Hall, one of the South's favorite, Harry McCarthy, author of "Bonnie Blue Flag" and "Stars and Bars," entertained with his musical production of patriotic songs. Ticket prices at the Metropolitan were 50-cents for general admission, 25-cents for children and servants, and 75-cents for a reserved seat (Dispatch, Feb. 25, 1862, p. 3, col. 5). Blind Tom entertained residents at the African Church. A Grand Ball held on February 25th at the City Arms Hall on Wall Street drew a large crowd (Dispatch, Feb. 25, 1862, p. 3, col. 5). For those adult residents interested in vocal or instrumental instruction, a Professor DeConiel provided musical education for a moderate fee at his studio on 1st and Grace Streets (Dispatch, Feb. 5, 1862, p. 3, col. 5).

In early March, residents enjoyed soprano Louisa Clyde at the "cozy" Richmond Varieties (Dispatch, Mar. 6, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). The Dispatch reported "that good order prevails, and everything goes like clockwork" (Dispatch, Mar. 6, 1862, p. 2, col. 6). The Enquirer reported that "the good fortunes of this cozy popular resort continues to be unaffected by the excitement or depression of the times. Crowded audiences attend each performance, and hearty applause endorse the professional efforts of the hard working company engaged here" (Enquirer, Mar. 7, 1862, p. 3, col. 6). With the exception of one actor, the actors at the Richmond Varieties were foreigners and not liable for military service. However, they organized "in military style and hold themselves in readiness to do their part towards expelling the invader" (Dispatch, Mar. 17, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). At the Metropolitan Hall, Harry McCarthy continued to play to large and enthusiastic audiences with his patriotic songs, such the "Bonnie Blue Flag," "Volunteer," and "Birth of the Confederate Flag" (Dispatch, Mar. 8, 1862, p. 2, col. 2). The Dispatch said that McCarthy's music is "rendered with a spirit which excites his audiences to the highest pitch of enthusiasm" (Dispatch, Mar. 8, 1862, p. 2, col. 2).

For many, reading poetry served to inspire and provide comfort despite the mounting intolerable conditions. In the spring of 1862, as the Union Army launched its campaign to capture Richmond, the Enquirer printed the poem, "Song of the South," to raise the spirits of the people (Enquirer, Apr. 8, 1862, p. 2, col. 8). The poem extolled the battles to date with praise for Magruder and Beauregard and lamentations for the loss of Bartow, Bee, and Burt at Manassas (Enquirer, Apr. 8, 1862, p. 2, col. 8). Since the fall of 1861, the newspapers provided fewer poems than in the spring and summer of 1861, devoting the space to war coverage. Further, most poems now printed in 1862 had basically patriotic and Southern themes.

By mid-March, many of the lecture rooms in the city served two purposes: educational and industrial. Most of these rooms were crowded with sewing machines as the women of Richmond made sand bags for the fortification of Yorktown and Richmond (McGuire, 1867, pp. 107-108). Participant Mrs. William Lyne (1928) later recollected her thoughts:

As I look back from my eighty years of retrospection to the years of suffering and the agony of four years of invasion...I see my contemporaries sewing for the soldiers, scraping lint and making sand bags for fortifications, knitting and weaving, and nursing the sick and wounded-which they deemed their privilege

and duty as they interpreted the Constitution (cited in Confederate Veteran, 1928, p. 11, col. 2).

As Union forces moved closer to Richmond, Lee Mallory's war illustrations and dioramas drew large crowds at Metropolitan Hall. On Friday, the 2nd of May, before the curtain opened, a lecture on the fall of New Orleans was provided (Enquirer, May 2, 1862, p. 3, col. 7). An illustrated map of New Orleans painted for the lecture highlighted the comments of the lecturer (Enquirer, May 2, 1862, p. 3, col. 7). Mallory used mechanical illustrations to simulate action, reinforcing the illusion for educative purposes. Two weeks later, Mallory provided a patriotic benefit to aid the Randolph Cavalry in buying horses (Dispatch, May 13, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). The Dispatch praised Mallory's new style of imitating "as a work of illusory art" (Dispatch, May 21, 1862, p. 2, col. 3).

Religious Education and Music

To provide spiritual sustenance for the soldiers, the General Tract Society had published 600,000 pages of tract materials (Dispatch, Jan. 1, 1862, p. 4, col. 4). The periodical Southern Churchman reported that since September 1861 the tract agency had circulated 1,259,840 pages at a cost of one dollar for 1,500 pages (Southern Churchman, Jan. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). Three tracts had special appeal due to the message they conveyed: "Come to Jesus," "Your Soul--Is It Safe?" and "A Call to Prayer" (Southern Churchman, Jan. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). On January 10th, the Southern Churchman reported that its circulation had doubled from 3,000 to 6,000 copies in the six months since it relocated from Alexandria to Richmond (Southern Churchman, Jan. 10, 1862, p. 2, col. 1). All types of religious materials became available to the city residents and camp soldiers and more was on its way.

Supporting the religious theme in early January 1862, the Franklin Hall presented to the residents the Queen Sisters, supported by the Palmetto Band, in a musical entitled May God Defend the Right (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). An extract of a letter from a Southern lady appeared in the Dispatch on the 2nd of January which further emphasized the spiritual theme: "I love the true soldiers of the South. I have three everywhere...yet, I will never forget to ask the ever merciful Father, from his high throne in Heaven, to guide their every step...and when the monarch's magisterial crown with his go" (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1862, p. 1, col. 3).

At the same time, the Colportage Society had published 10,000 hymnals--the first hymnals published in the South since the formation of the Confederacy (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). On January 2nd, the Dispatch reported that the Society planned to publish another edition of 25,000 copies (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). The Richmond Presbyterian Committee of Publications issued a pocket size hymnal of 191 hymns called The Army Hymn Book (Wiley, 1984, p. 186). According to Civil War scholar Dr. Bell Irvin Wiley (1984), the favorite hymns were: "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name," "Amazing Grace, How Sweet the Sound," "How Firm a Foundation," "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," "Just As I Am, Without One Plea," "Nearer My God to Thee," "O Happy Day," "Rock of Ages," and others (p. 186). Camp hymns provided the soldiers an outward expression to reflect upon their inner thoughts and feelings. These hymns

sustained the emotions and morale of the common soldier in the camps around Richmond and throughout the Confederacy.

Music uplifted both soldiers and citizens alike. An example of how music influenced the heart of a soldier from Mississippi as he reflected upon his home and family 1,000 miles away was seen one night in the Richmond Varieties Theater. The soldier sobbed loudly as Mademoiselle Boisvert sang the song, "Home, Sweet Home" (Whig, Jan. 20, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). The Whig reported that he sobbed so loudly it attracted the attention of everyone in the theater who watched him without saying a word. Unaware that hundreds of people were watching him, he "vociferously called for encore, offering \$5 if the lady would sing it over again" (Whig, Jan. 20, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). After the encore, he stood up and explained to the audience: "I was a child just now but now I am a man-Hurrah for Jeff. Davis and the Southern Confederacy!" (Whig, Jan. 20, 1862, p. 3, col. 3).

March 1st served as a Fast Day, a religious day of prayer and reflection. This type of day provided citizens with an opportunity to suspend their businesses, close their stores, and curtail their normal activities in order to worship, reflect, and renew their minds, spirit, and morale. According to the Dispatch, the day was "universally observed" and churches were "generally filled" (Dispatch, Mar. 3, 1862, p. 3, col. 1). In addition, the YMCA sponsored a Daily Union Prayer meeting, attended by pastors and city congregations (Dispatch, Mar. 3, 1862, p. 3, col. 1).

The following day, Sunday, March 2nd, the largest church assembly in the history of Richmond took place at the First Baptist Church. Designed by Thomas U. Walter of Philadelphia, the large edifice which had a basement, a main floor, and upper galleries had nearly 2,000 people in attendance for a prayer meeting (Dispatch, Mar. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 2). The Dispatch reported that "the meetings were solemn and deeply earnest...the whole scene was beautifully illustrative of patriotism, piety, and Christian union" (Dispatch, Mar. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 2). That evening another prayer meeting was held at the Second Presbyterian Church, followed by another one the following Saturday at the United Presbyterian Church (Dispatch, Mar. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 2).

On April 13th, a large assembly of Christians from all denominations gathered at Grace Street Baptist Church to hear reports of the colporters and their distribution of religious materials to the military camps (Enquirer, Apr. 15, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). Reverend Dr. Robert Ryland, President of Richmond College and Pastor of the African Church, gave a report about his experiences as a colporter in city hospitals. He carried 25 religious papers every day and found soldiers eager to receive reading materials, including copies of the Methodist Christian Advocate, the Southern Churchman, the Presbyterian, and the Religious Herald (Enquirer, Apr. 15, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). Doctor Ryland believed the good effects of his efforts were "the welding together of the hearts and hands of Christians of different evangelical churches" (Enquirer, Apr. 15, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). At the same meeting, Confederate Attorney General Thomas H. Watts, who had been in the field for seven months as a regimental commander, testified to the educational value of the religious materials:

The mind must have something to feed upon. The colporter cause proposes to remedy this great evil, by giving them something to occupy their leisure hours, to place in their hands books and tracts by which their souls must be stirred to noble resolve to urge upon them the most ennobling and holy truths to which man's attention has ever been called (Enquirer, Apr. 15, 1862, p. 2, col. 5).

Professor Dr. Lewis Minor Coleman provided his observations to the large assembly about the literature read in the military camps around Richmond. The Enquirer summarized his comments by stating that Dr. Coleman did not find "any vicious literature" in the camps (Enquirer, Apr. 15, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). "They read simply and solely what is sent them" (Enquirer, Apr. 15, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). The Enquirer provided its views on the reading in the camps: "when one's emotions are most intense than they are more susceptible of impressions--and nowhere do we find the intellectual and moral when the great issues of life and death are constantly rising up before them" (Enquirer, Apr. 15, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). The colporters and the chaplains laid the seeds for the spiritual revivals that would follow.

Nine days after Dr. Coleman spoke on reading materials in the camps, the Religious Herald reported that the "literature is not altogether of wholesome tendency. We have seen several instances in which youths of the city have been commissioned by troops to buy novels for them" (Religious Herald, Apr. 24, 1862, p. 1, col. 3). The demand for novels kept the stocks in booksellers exhausted. The Herald believed that "the overwhelming mass of novels can have no other effect than to swell the tide of demoralization in the camps" (Religious Herald, Apr. 24, 1862, p. 1, col. 3). Religious materials competed with non-secular materials such as novels and newspapers. But the various Christian denominations, with the help of the tract societies and the colporters, continued to provide the soldiers as much educational and religious materials as possible.

In mid-March, a Soldiers Tract Society was formed in the office of the Richmond Christian Advocate to distribute religious materials and books to the soldiers in the camps and field (Religious Herald, Mar. 20, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). Tract societies promoted adult education reading activities in Richmond to its fullest potential and benefit throughout the war years.

For many residents, religious events and activities served to provide a spiritual renewal and uplifted their hearts and minds despite rising obstacles and difficulties.

Informal Education--New Books and Reading Rooms

In early February, to add some gaiety and humor, West and Johnson published Mozis Addums to Billy Irvin "to do drive dull care away" (Whig, Feb. 5, 1862, p. 3, col. 2). According to the Whig, this publication had created so much enjoyment and laughter that West and Johnson reprinted it to lift the spirits of people who needed a boost (Whig, Feb. 5, 1862, p. 3, col. 2). Another Richmond publisher and bookseller, J. W. Randolph, had a variety of new reading materials available for various groups of residents, such as Poems by Theodore H. Hill, the Angel of Prayer-Catholic Prayer Book, Prescience by Beverly Tucker, and Confederate States Army

Regulations (Enquirer, Feb. 7, 1862, p. 2, col. 6). Other books that people read were Howison's History of Virginia, History of the Valley of Virginia, and De Heiss's History and Indian Wars of Western Virginia (Dispatch, Feb. 10, 1862, p. 4, col. 5).

The purification of Northern literature in the Confederacy, especially in Richmond, was one of the benefits the Dispatch saw in the fight for Southern independence, stating: "The certainty of a refined literature for the Confederate states, to take the place of the demoralizing effusion of Northern penny-a-liners, is perhaps among the encouraging facts of the present struggle for independence" (Dispatch, Mar. 7, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). In March 1862, Richmond's largest book publisher, West and Johnston, planned to release a new novel that embraced history and romance "as well as truthfulness" (Dispatch, Mar. 7, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). In two and one-half months, T. W. MacMahon's Cause and Contrast on the American Crisis sold 10,000 copies (Dispatch, Mar. 7, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). The Dispatch said "it is not only the best, but the most charming Southern book ever printed" (Dispatch, Mar. 7, 1862, p. 3, col. 3).

One of the adult education sponsors that stocked its reading room and library with such books for its membership was the Young Christian Men's Association (YMCA).

In June 1861, the YMCA, a major adult education sponsor, relinquished its quarters in Goddin's Hall to the General Post Office Department and relocated in a building at 10th and Bank Streets (Whig, Feb. 8, 1862, p. 3, col. 2). In February 1862, its library room contained 2,500 books and periodicals, including secular and religious newspapers, magazines, and other literature. The YMCA allowed two items of reading material to be drawn at any one time (Whig, Feb. 8, 1862, p. 3, col. 2). Members of the YMCA contributed \$2 annually and used the facility free of charge, and non-members who used the facility paid a \$5 annual fee (Whig, Feb. 8, 1862, p. 3, col. 2). Although the annual fee kept some potential visitors away, the reading room was always crowded.

Higher Education

Despite the crowded city conditions and deprivations, higher education continued unabated. In February 1862, the mid-point of the eighth term of the Richmond Female Institute was completed. The Institute started its eighth session in October 1861 with 175 students and 15 instructors (Religious Herald, Feb. 13, 1862, p. 2, col. 6).

As the women completed their mid-term examinations, the Episcopal Church established a city mission for educational and fellowship purposes. The Episcopal Diocesan Missionary Society supported a mission in Richmond for wounded and sick soldiers, providing reading materials, counseling, and fellowship (Southern Churchman, Feb. 14, 1862, p. 2, col 1).

On Thursday, March 6th, the Medical College of Virginia held its annual commencement at the African Church (Dispatch, Mar. 7, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). Thirty-five students graduated in the class of 1862, including Dr. Simon Baruch, the father-to-be of Bernard Baruch, later a distinguished financier and adviser to United States presidents (MCV Bulletin, 1963, p. 30).

Bernard Baruch always enjoyed quoting his father's amazing ability "at being sent out to do major surgery without ever having lanced a boil" (p. 30). Of the 35 graduates, 19 were from Virginia, 10 from North Carolina, two from South Carolina, and one each from Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and the District of Columbia (Whig, Mar. 7, 1862, p. 3, col. 3). Confederate Congressman Charles Wells Russell, a member of the college's Board of Visitors, gave the graduation speech. Dr. Levin S. Joynes, the MCV Dean, reported that the college had on hand as of March 31, 1862, \$328.67 (Dean's Financial Report, 1862).

As new doctors left for duty in the city and field hospitals, Richmond faced growing social and economic problems, including anti-Semitism.

Social Temperament, Martial Law, and Morale

In January 1862, the Dispatch touted the fact that there had not been a single addition to the city jail in a 24 hour period and that "it is evidence of the onward march of mood reform" (Dispatch, Jan. 10, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). Within a month's time, by the middle of February, the mood of some of the people resulted in serious behavioral problems. Hundreds of free spirited soldiers on leave from the Richmond camps caused riotous disturbances around two Richmond taverns, Wendlinger's Eating Saloon and McDonald's Saloon (Enquirer, Feb. 11, 1862, p. 3, col. 5). Free from the crowded, deprived conditions of camp life the outbreaks manifested themselves in an emotional and physical activities, resulting in major disturbances. The Enquirer said that the only "consideration is that these outbreaks are not of more frequent occurrence" (Enquirer, Feb. 11, 1862, p. 3, col. 5).

The Dispatch expressed pleasure that whiskey had gone up by 200 percent to \$50 a gallon, and that "it would be all the better for the community...for very few would then aspire to `the luxury of a drink'" (Dispatch, Feb. 10, 1862, p. 2, col. 2). At the same time, the Dispatch reported serious disorder in the gallery of Metropolitan Hall with "brazen women" and unprincipled men" yelling and cursing each other and also, the "discharge of deadly weapons" (Bill, 1946, 103). Youths as young as 10 years old committed petty larcenies on unsuspecting patrons at the Richmond Varieties Theater (Enquirer, Feb. 4, 1862, p. 3, col. 5). Mayor Joesph Mayo issued orders to an Officer Gentry to visit the Varieties and "arrest all boys whom he may catch there unattended without parents or family members" (Enquirer, Feb. 4, 1862, p. 3, col. 5). Spirited Union sympathizers painted "treasonable" slogans on fences and walls, such as "Now is the time to rally around the Old Flag" and "God bless the Stars and Stripes!" (Bill, 1946, p. 109).

The temperament and mood of the city had changed so much over the past four months that the City Council voted to place the city under martial law on March 1st (Chesson, 1981, p. 31). A proclamation of martial law in the city and an area ten miles around was issued by Jefferson Davis on the March 1st, and Brigadier General John H. Winder was appointed Provost Marshall of Richmond (Dispatch, Mar. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 1). The Dispatch cited three reasons for the proclamation:

1. ...Demoralizing effects of dissipation in the metropolis were highly injurious to the army.
2. The free and unrestricted access of Federal spies to this city.
3. The existence of some hostility in this city-among persons residing here-to the Southern Confederacy...to plot treason and fan the embers of disaffection (Dispatch, Mar. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 1).

The Dispatch believed the application of military rule "will give increased confidence to the citizens, and strengthen the means for the preservation of order and discipline in the army" (Dispatch, Mar. 3, 1862, p. col. 1). On March 3rd the armed police and the local public guard went on duty for the first time (Enquirer, Mar. 4, 1862, p. 3, col. 5). As months went by, Richmonders rankled over the abuses in the administration of the martial law by General Winder and his self-appointed police chief, Samuel Maccubbin of Baltimore. By March 1862, the mood and dispositions of some citizens had changed because of the wartime conditions. As Robert G. H. Kean (1957), a Confederate government official, observed: "...there seems to me to be a general feeling of despondency prevailing at this time than ever before since the war began" (pp. 21-22).

The Dispatch reported that the city was "as quiet as a lamb" on Sunday, the 9th of March and ..."the atmosphere was never more delightful, and the temptation to locomotion nearly irresistible" (Dispatch, Mar. 10, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). The next Saturday, March 16th, gangs of young boys disrupted the congregation of the German Hebrew Synagogue engaged in worship with "disrespectable behavior" (Dispatch, Mar. 17, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). The newspaper recommended that authorities take swift action to deter its occurring again (Dispatch, Mar. 17, 1862, p. 2, col. 4).

The Southern Churchman assessed the times, the morale, and character of the people within its edition of February 21st:

These are times, in which the character of men is being treated. Patriotism is being tried; honesty, morality, temperance, and religion are all being tried, to see of what stuff our various virtues and principles are composed of. These are times in which men are being tried; in which we and you are being tried. Shall we be burnt up as drones, or out purified as the published gola? Who can say? (Southern Churchman, Feb. 21, 1862, p. 2, col. 1).

In early March, the Dispatch appeared to be more optimistic in its appraisal with a stirring article entitled "The Enthusiasm of the South" (Dispatch, Mar. 5, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). The Dispatch through its rhetoric tried to stimulate the hearts and minds of the citizens with the following message:

The whole population is offering itself en masse for the defence of the country. It is said that nothing like the universal are fervid awakening of the people to the inglorious of the war. And it is, the prayers of mothers, wives, and daughters, were sent up increasingly to Heaven in behalf of the case of the

cause, that is giving strength even to the cause of old age, converting boys into veterans, and even the weak and timid into heroes. In such a spirit, and with humble reliance on heaven, our independence is as sure as the rising of tomorrow's sun (Dispatch, Mar. 5, 1862, p. 2, col. 3).

By the end of April 1862, tensions mounted as the Union Army moved closer to Richmond. Judith McGuire (1867) expressed concerns about the new Union offensive: "If Richmond is invested...the families (except the gentlemen) will remain here to protect the property as best they may" (p. 112). Two days later, she continued her concerns: "The anxiety of all classes for the safety of Richmond is now intense, though a strong faith in the goodness of God and the valor of our troops keeps us calm and hopeful" (pp. 112-113).

Even as the tensions increased in the city, educational activities, both planned and unplanned, continued unabated. On May 14th, the YMCA held its weekly meeting in the lecture room of the United Presbyterian Church which consisted of singing, praying, and reading the Bible (Dispatch, May 15, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). According to the Dispatch, based on the ratio of membership to the city population, the largest YMCA in the Confederacy, in terms of membership, was the Richmond YMCA (Dispatch, May 15, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). It not only had an on-going lecture series on different subjects but also had one of the largest libraries in the city with 2,500 volumes. The YMCA was one of Richmond's educational centers that continued its operation unaffected by the war.

Summary: January 1862 to May 1862

From January 1862 to May 1862, intolerable conditions continued to mount: increased food prices, disturbances in the streets, rising crime, crowded conditions, and large influx of refugees and wounded and sick soldiers. Even with such difficulties and the war on the city's doorstep, adult education activities flourished.

May 1862 to July 1862: War on the City's Doorstep

The period May 1862 to July 1862 brought Union forces to the city's doorstep. In early May 1862, General McClellan advanced his forces toward Richmond. By mid-May, Confederate forces under General Joseph E. Johnston moved back across the Chickahominy River, closer to Richmond, and some of the residents left the threatened city, including Jefferson Davis' wife and children. Major fighting occurred at Drewry's Bluff, eight miles south of Richmond. By the end of May, Union and Confederate forces engaged in major fighting at Fair Oaks and Seven Pines, the outskirts of Richmond. For a 30-day period there occurred major fighting on Richmond's doorstep. The city faced a crisis as the tensions mounted.

On May 16, 1862, the Southern Churchman provided its assessment on the state of the country: "We are surrounded on all sides, though the enemy is able to do but little apart from his fleet" (p. 2, col. 1). President Davis, in response to a legislative committee, announced that the

city would be defended. John B. Jones (1866) observed that "a chill of joy electrifies every heart, a smile of triumph is on every lip...the ladies are in ecstasies" (p. 127). The Examiner agreed: defending Richmond "is worth a year of random skirmishing in other quarters. In a moral point of view, its holding at this hour is all-important-equal to the sacrifice of an hundred thousand men and demolition of the city itself" (Examiner, May 26, 1862, p. 2). On May 27th, the city was quiet. There appeared to be an absence of the excitement of the people that had been the case over the past ten days. The Dispatch said that "a deep-seated and all prevailing excitement has given place to a calm determination to do or die in defence of our rights" (Dispatch, May 28, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). On May 30th, Governor John Letcher proclaimed that city stores would be closed at 2:00 p.m. to allow the local militia to drill daily at 3:00 p.m. (Dispatch, May 30, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). The Dispatch agreed with the proclamation: "Let the people forego the pleasure of money making ever'r brief period and all will be well" (Dispatch, May 30, 1862, p. 2, col. 3).

By the end of May 1862, the Confederacy appeared ready for her burial. Union forces pressed on all sides throughout the Southern nation. Kentucky was lost, along with most of Tennessee and Missouri. New Orleans had been captured, and Northern forces occupied the outer islands of Georgia and the Carolinas. McClellan's 100,000 man army had proceeded northward in the Peninsula Campaign and was on the outskirts of Richmond and the Eastern Confederate Commander, General Joseph E. Johnston, had been severely wounded at Seven Pines. With his nation facing possible extinction, Jefferson Davis turned the army over to General Robert E. Lee.

As the battle raged outside of Richmond, hundreds of citizens flocked to the heights near the capital building and the presidential mansion to watch the artillery duels. As John B. Jones (1866) noted at the time: "... but no one doubted the result. It is only silence and inaction we dread" (p. 138). More fighting meant that wounded and injured would be brought to Richmond for care. This time the casualties numbered 20,000 (3,000 dead and nearly 17,000 wounded) (Long, 1971, p. 235). Again, the resources of Richmond were tested. Sallie Putnam (1867) wrote: "Every family received the bodies of the wounded or dead of their friends, and every hour was a house of mourning or private hospital. Death held a carnival in our city" (p. 151).

Over the next 30 days, Lee, through some bloody battles at Allen's Farm, Mechanicsville, Gaines Mill, Savage Station, Frayser Farm, and Malvern Hill, forced the Union forces to withdraw to Harrison's Landing on the James River, ending the campaign to seize Richmond. The city had been saved.

Nursing Education, Leisure Education, and Higher Education

Now, Richmonders turned their attention to the care of thousands of sick and wounded soldiers, continuing to sustain itself under extreme conditions through its institutions and the programs provided by them. As Emory Thomas (1971) concluded: "institutions which buttressed the moral force of the resistance-churches, schools, and press continued and flourished in Richmond during the war" (p. 130). The women of the city, belonging to different denominations, met in the lecture rooms of their churches every day at 10:00 a.m. to receive

instruction on caring for sick and wounded soldiers (Dispatch, May 31, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). By July 1862, hospital accommodations had become extremely limited. Sallie Putnam (1867) observed: "Almost every house in the city was a private hospital, and almost every woman a nurse" (p. 65). By June 1862, 40 hospitals, including the largest hospital named Chimborazo, were in operation with 18 of them recently opened (Dispatch, Jun. 6, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). Franklin Hall, home of the Richmond Varieties Theater, had been judged unsuitable for a hospital and stayed as an educational amusement center (Dispatch, Jun. 7, 1862, p. 2, col. 3).

Out of respect to the sick and wounded, the educational amusement centers closed for a week in early June 1862 (Dispatch, Jun. 7, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). During the first week of June, Jewish citizens celebrated the Festival of Weeks or Pentecost for three days in the city's synagogues (Dispatch, Jun. 7, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). The Enquirer reported that the city resembled a deserted town with stores closed and a few "solitary horsemen" and "stragging pedestrians" (Enquirer, Jun. 13, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). Within a week, Romeo and Juliet played at the Richmond Varieties and Poor Girl's Diary and Paddy's Troubles at the Lyceum (Dispatch, Jun. 19, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). At Saunders Hall, a Grand Ball was held (p. 2, col. 3). The educational leisure activities were back to normal.

Even during the heaviest fighting around Richmond, the Richmond Female Institute stayed in session, but completed its academic term early on June 5th with 175 students and 8 graduates (Dispatch, Jun. 19, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). Examinations and graduation were accelerated ahead of schedule because the Institute's building, by agreement with school officials, had been turned over to Confederate authorities to be used as a hospital. The hospital became known as the Baptist Institute Hospital or General Hospital Number 4 (Moore, 1978, p. 55). The Institute relocated to a large, elegant building owned by John Caskie and began its ninth session on the October 6th (Dispatch, Oct. 1, 1862, p. 2, col. 5).

Summary: May 1862 to July 1862

The realities of war came to Richmond during the months of May and June 1862. They heard and saw the artillery shells and intense fighting from various observation points in the city. Wounded and sick streamed into the city. Yet, despite the bloody and deadly aftermath of the battles, educational activities, except for a few days in late May and early June, were unaffected. Richmond Female Institute moved to another facility as its school building became a Confederate officers hospital.

July 1862 to December 1862

The victorious Confederate Army camped near the city, allowing residents to visit the camps. Confederate heroes, General Robert E. Lee and General Stonewall Jackson, appeared in the city to the delight of the residents. In late July 1862, most of the army moved North, marching through the city before enthusiastic crowds. City residents and soldiers had to possess a pass to avoid arrest. The police patrolled the streets picking up stragging soldiers and suspicious

looking civilians and examining their papers. Even with this slight inconvenience, the city was in a jubilant mood over the success in the Peninsula Campaign (Jones, 1866, p. 144).

As the months went by, the residents learned of Confederate victories at Cedar Mountain, Second Manassas, Chantilly, Harpers Ferry, and Fredericksburg. In September, the Battle of Sharpsburg (Antietam) proved to be a setback. But in December, the Confederates triumphed at Fredericksburg. Victories stirred the emotions and by the fall, educational programs, activities, and events returned to normal. Despite the intolerable deprivation, the strain of war had created a bond among the residents to help each other. The availability of social and educational activities contributed to that spirit.

For soldiers on furlough from the camps or just passing through the city, the Confederate Reading Room served them as an adult education learning resource center.

Educational Leisure and Recreation

At the Confederate Reading Room soldiers and civilians alike found time to read "Yankee" papers captured in the battles around the city. For many, these papers presented many stories about the Confederate forces and their leaders that the soldiers found most interesting. In fact, the Enquirer endorsed for every one to read these papers: "Those who wish to indulge their curiosity in the investigation of the nightlies of mendacity, are recommended to go to the Confederate Reading Room" (Enquirer, Jul. 4, 1862, p. 2, col. 5).

Since its opening on September 9, 1861, the reading room, located at Main and 11th Streets, had become an educational center not only for reading but writing activities. Periodically, the newspapers printed an announcement on the new material that arrived almost daily. As the citizens and soldiers took advantage of the reading material available there, the Christian Advocate in its July 7th edition provided some advice on "our mental power decay" for the people to reflect upon as they become older adult learners (Christian Advocate, Jul. 7, 1862, p. 1, col. 2).

Our mental power do fade as the leaf. A life of impertinence is a continued wasting away of the spiritual power of man...Education and culture may counteract, to some extent, this decay, but the seeds of death are there if the man do not to waste away his power prematurely by the corroding effects of dissipation, he will find them failing under the withering blight of sickness, or the gathering frosts of age (Christian Advocate, Jul. 7, 1862, p. 1, col 2).

To strengthen fraternal ties, on July 21st, Bee's Lodge of Masons hosted a masonic celebration on the first anniversary of the Battle of First Manassas at Dill's Farm (General Whittings's Headquarters) (Dispatch, Jul. 25, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). The various city lodges attended. A few weeks later members of the St. John's Lodge No. 38 met in the hall of Capitol Lodge No. 184 on Marshall Street (Dispatch, Aug. 12, 1862, p. 2, col. 1). Degree candidates took their proficiency examinations for the three major degrees: entered apprentice, fellowcraft, and master mason. Other candidates continued their instruction in freemasonry with their appointed teachers.

In August 1862, one of the most popular books read by the residents was The Partisan Leader, a celebrated novel written by Beverly Tucker in 1826. Richmond publishers, West and Johnston, reproduced this classic with the present edition edited by the Reverend Thomas A. Ware (Dispatch, Aug. 14, 1862). The novel inspired Richmonders because it had direct application to the current events. Sensing the mood of the people, publishers tried to provide the residents books, both fiction and non-fiction, that inspired and uplifted the citizens. Based on newspaper ads and commentaries, the city residents preferred books on histories, biographies, English novels, and references.

As people read, others participated in prayer meetings and educational activities at churches and the YMCA.

Religious Education

Churches and denominational groups sponsored the various tract societies, except one. The only non-denominational tract society in Virginia in early July 1862 was the Evangelical Tract Society, comprised of Christians of many denominations. With its headquarters in Petersburg, its primary mission was the distribution of tracts to the soldiers in the camps and the hospitals. By 1861, most soldiers incorporated the reading of tracts into their daily routine. As the war continued, the tract societies accelerated their distribution activities, influencing the religious revivals in 1863. The distributors of tract material, the colporters, distinguished themselves for the religious educational materials they made available. One-hundred and twenty-two tracts and five million pages had been distributed (Christian Advocate, Jul. 17, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). Reverend F. B. Converse wrote at the time his observations and value of the work of colporters: "May God's blessing accompany their distribution by the thousands and may the fruits of these efforts be recognized in eternity, should be the prayer of every Christian" (Dispatch, Jul. 10, 1862, p. 1, col. 3).

For those residents whose spirits were at a low ebb, the Enquirer published a poem in its July 18th edition designed to uplift spirits and emotions.

Always look on the sunny side,
And never yield to doubt
The ways of providers are wise,
And faith will bear you out,
If you but made the maximum yours,
And in its strength abide,
Believing all is for the best-
Look on the sunny side
(Enquirer, Jul. 18, 1862, p. 2, col. 8).

Since the start of the Pensinula Campaign in March 1862, the Southern Churchman believed that city residents seemed to pray more (Southern Churchman, Jul. 18, 1862, p. 2, col. 1). After the Battle of First Manassas (July 1861) prayer seemed to cease. The Southern Churchman hoped the residents would not make the same mistake again. It wanted prayer to be

of a continuous nature in order for the people to replenish and nourish their spirituality (Southern Churchman, Jul. 18, 1862, p. 2, col. 1). To assist in this endeavor, the Right Reverend John McGill, Bishop of Richmond, wrote a tract entitled "The True Church" (Enquirer, Jul. 25, 1862, p. 3, col. 7). The tract, 60 pages in length, covered the merits of Reformation and refuted the doctrines set forth by the Reformed Church. The purpose of the tract was to present an inquiry that the reader could reflect on and strengthen one's belief in Roman Catholicism (Enquirer, Jul. 25, 1862, p. 3, col. 7).

Throughout the war, the YMCA sponsored daily prayer meetings, lecture series, reading rooms, and special projects, such as collecting goods and foodstuffs for the wives and dependents of soldiers away in battle. Normally, the locations of the daily prayer meetings rotated among the churches. For example, the Centenary Methodist Church on 411 East Grace Street hosted the prayer meeting on the 19th of August (Dispatch, Aug. 19, 1862, p. 2, col. 1). Just weeks earlier, Major John S. Walker, who had been the Superintendent of Sunday school at Centenary Methodist Church, was killed in the battle of Malvern Hill (Moore, 1978, p. 44). Many attending prayer meetings throughout the city were Maryland refugees.

By October 1862, with nearly 11,000 soldiers in Richmond hospitals, the Southern Churchman testified that to the "desire our soldiers have for religious instruction, and how gratefully they receive every tract and book and word spoken to them" (Southern Churchman, Oct. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). The tract societies and the churches continued to provide the soldiers and citizens religious materials, tracts, and books: all aimed to make the individual a better person and a believer in the tenets of the Christian faith.

For most soldiers in the camps around Richmond, reading religious materials, particularly tracts, became an everyday activity. The material emphasized spirituality: coming to know the presence of God and the salvation plan. This theme seemed to transcend all religious materials. Acting as a colporter for nine months in the Richmond camps, Reverend Dr. Robert Ryland reported in the Central Presbyterian: "...since the battle of Seven Pines [June 25-July 1, 1862], I have conversed with probably five hundred, who having passed through the recent bloody scenes either unhurt or wounded, have told me, with degrees of emphasis, that they have resolved to lead a better life" (Central Presbyterian, Oct. 30, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). With over 250,000 copies issued, one of the most popular read tracts was "Mother's Parting Words," published by the Baptist, Methodist, and Evangelical Tract Societies (Central Presbyterian, Oct. 30, 1862, p. 4, col. 4).

Since the war began, religious materials and their distribution had increased threefold. Chaplains begged for more. They sensed that reading of this religious material was having a positive effect on many soldiers, culminating in religious revivals in 1863. The Christian Advocate believed that it was important not only to have religious literature available in the camps, but "secular literature which seems to be specially adapted for the times...which illustrate patriotism and kindle zeal in the cause of liberty" (Christian Advocate, Feb. 20, 1862, p. 2, col. 2). Books on the life of Washington and the history of the American Revolution met the criteria. "The books of about a century old are the very best we could have for circulation now. They are

pithy, condensed suggestive-they are thought books" (Christian Advocate, Apr. 1862, p. 2, col. 1).

Schools and Colleges

The months of September and October each year signaled the start of the school year for schools and colleges. The September 4th edition of the Dispatch had 23 advertisements for various educational programs and activities, ranging from school programs to individual vocal and instrumental instruction (Dispatch, Sep. 4, 1862, p. 1, col. 7). The growing deprivations in the city seemed to have no effect on their availability. Professor Deconiel instructed adults in his studio at First and Grace Streets on the harp, piano, guitar, organ, and singing, qualifying individuals to become teachers (Dispatch, Aug. 28, 1862, p. 2, col. 6). Professor C. W. Thilow's music school reopened in early October (Dispatch, Oct. 6, 1862, p. 1, col. 6).

On October 6th, the Richmond Female Institute began its ninth session, in a new facility owned by John Caskie at Clay and 11th Streets (Dispatch, Oct. 1, 1862, p. 2, col. 5; Religious Herald, Oct. 9, 1862, p. 2, col. 7). The course of studies ranged from the lowest to the highest collegiate studies with a corps faculty of 10 to 12 instructors. Charles H. Winston continued as the Institute's president. The tuition terms for the nine months program, half payable on October 6th and the remainder on February 6th, were the following: English in the Preparatory Department, \$40; English in the Collegiate Department, \$60; French, Latin or other languages, \$25; music (two half hours a week, \$60; and Drawing and Painting, \$5 (Religious Herald, Oct. 9, 1862, p. 2, col. 7).

The Southern Female Institute re-opened its doors on October 1st (Enquirer, Sep. 9, 1862, p. 3, col 7). The 10th session of the select Schools for Boys began on October 1st and culminated on July 10, 1863 (Dispatch, Oct. 6, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). This school prepared young men for college or business with an academic program including reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. Terms for the session, payable quarterly, were the following: English, \$60; English classics, \$80; and French, \$20.

On November 3rd, the Medical College of Virginia began its 1862-63 academic term with 110 students (MCV Catalog, 1862-63, pp. 5-8). The Dean of Faculty, Dr. Levin S. Joynes, had tried to keep the academic term to five full months with the full medical curriculum program. However, the increase in patient load at the College's hospital and the activities of the eight member faculty in treating the wounded and sick necessitated that the term be reduced to four months. As Dean Joynes said: "It is not intended by the faculty to abandon permanently the customary session of five months; but it seemed to them advisable in consideration of the state of the country and the increased expenses of living, to reduce it for the present four months. Course conducted on same plan with the same advantages to the student" (Dispatch, Oct. 6, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). Fees for the session were the following: professor tickets, one each for \$15; demonstration of anatomy, \$10; matriculation, \$5; and graduation, \$25 (Dispatch, Oct. 6, 1862, p. 1, col. 6). The Dean's Financial Report to the State Auditor showed a balance of \$625.27 at the end of 1862 (Dean's Financial Report, 1862).

Even as the educational schools began a new session, sick and wounded came to the city seeking medical assistance, exacerbating already extremely crowded conditions for treating the wounded. By June 1862, the facilities of two colleges, Richmond College and Richmond Female Institute, had been turned over to Confederate medical authorities to be used as hospitals. But the wounded and sick kept coming putting additional pressure on the use of other educational facilities and the type of educational activities to provide to convalescing soldiers. The low mortality rates at the hospitals indicated that the on-the-job training that women received in their roles as nurses and administrators had been successful and invaluable.

Educational Leisure and Recreation--Fall 1862

Even as the tribulations and deprivations increased, the intellectual amusement centers continued to make available to the residents a variety of different activities.

In early October a brass model of the Confederate ironclad, C.S.S. Virginia, along with "Yankee" illustrations, had been put on display for the residents from 9 in the morning until 10 at night (Dispatch, Oct. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 6). At the Richmond Varieties, the classic drama Othello, played, followed by the singer Jenny Lind (Dispatch, Oct. 3, 1862, p. 2, col. 6). The following day Varieties Stage Manager R. D'Orsey Ogden presented and starred in the production, All That Glitters Is Not Gold, followed by the comedy Lordly Bumpkin. Two weeks later, the Green Bushes, and Black-Eyed-Susan headed the offerings (Enquirer, Oct. 17, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). In early November, Ogden staged a variety of shows for all types of theater goers: London Assurance, Happy Man, and Paddy Murphy (Irish songs) (Dispatch, Nov. 4, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). The Broad Street Theater offered a comedy, entitled Honey Moon, followed by the farce Rough Diamond (Dispatch, Oct. 4, 1862, p. 2, col. 2). In mid-October, the theater presented two light hearted comedies, Green Success, and Black-Eyed Susan" (Enquirer, Oct. 17, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). At Metropolitan Hall, Buckley's Southern Nightingales (musical songs and dances) and a Negro Burlesque played to standing room crowds (Enquirer, Oct. 17, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). In early November, these two shows played before overflowing crowds at the Metropolitan Hall.

Educational and cultural theaters continued their operations unaffected by the wartime. They presented different themes, ranging from dying over a sweetheart (Othello) for the sophisticated societal members to Irish heritage songs and music for the Irish immigrants in the city. There appeared to be something for everyone. The management of the New Richmond Theater offered a \$300 prize for the "best original and appropriate address" to be delivered at its grand re-opening on February 9, 1863 (burned on January 1, 1862 and rebuilt) (Dispatch, Nov. 8, 1862, p. 3, col. 2). For the Confederate officer and his lady, grand balls and suppers provided an evening of dancing and conversation. These type of events offered the participants an opportunity to socialize and share war stories and experiences, thus increasing their knowledge of the state of affairs of the nation. Such balls not only continued on a regular basis, but would increase in 1864, even in the face of severe food shortages and spiraling costs for wood (\$16 per cord), blankets (\$25 a pair), and sheets (\$15 a pair) (Jones, 1866, p. 155).

On Friday, October 24th, the largest group of Masons met in Masonic Hall (Enquirer, Oct. 24, 1862, p. 2, col. 4). The meeting was a called meeting of eight lodges, numbers 10, 11, 14, 19, 56, 61, 58, and 90. In 1862, there appeared to be more stated or called meetings than in 1861. Despite the battles outside Richmond, master masons continued to provide new candidates the instruction needed for their degree work.

In late November, at Chimborazo Hospital, Dr. James B. McCaw, the hospital director and also a faculty member of the Medical College of Virginia, sought contributions of books and reading materials: "All persons who will kindly aid me in the collection of a library for the sick and wounded in the hospital, can send their contributions of books and literary magazines and newspapers to my residence on 5th Street" (Dispatch, Nov. 26, 1862, p. 1, col. 1). Reading rooms and libraries throughout the city became true adult education resource centers, providing the reader a variety of reading material to satisfy one's need, curiosity, and leisure.

By the Fall 1862, conditions in the city continued to deteriorate as the people prepared for a cold winter: high, inflationary prices for food and scarcity of some food staples and other household products. John B. Jones (1866), President Davis' war clerk, realized the seriousness of the increasing deprivations: "...and our people, who ask for prices for wood and coal, may contribute to produce a reign of terror. The supplies necessary for existence should not be withheld from the suffering people. It is dangerous" (p. 164).

Literary Periodicals--Educational Resource Materials

As the educational, social, and cultural center of the Confederacy, Richmond had only one literature periodical, the Southern Literary Messenger. This periodical published under the editorship of Dr. George William Bagby from June 1860 to its last issue in June 1864, succumbing due to a lack of manpower as a result of the draft law (Moore, 1978, p. 86). On September 13th, the Southern Illustrated News, a literary weekly, appeared under the stewardship of Ayres and Wade. A month later, on October 11th the Magnolia Weekly appeared under the proprietorship of Charles Bailie (Magnolia Weekly, Oct. 11, 1862, p. 1). The Magnolia Weekly, known as a Southern Home Journal, featured articles containing tales, histories, biographies, poetry, and general news. The first edition featured an Indian story entitled "The Death Blanket" (Magnolia Weekly, Oct. 11, 1862, p. 1). Cost of this new periodical was 10-cents weekly or \$2.50 for the year. Its third edition had the poignant story, "The Southern Cross" by Susan Archer Talley. After a few months in operation, it built up a circulation of a couple hundred subscribers. For sophisticated Richmonders, the Magnolia and the Southern Illustrated News filled a need, providing the reader first class literary journals. Each week the themes varied, but it appeared that they were aimed at the women of Richmond, especially the poetry and short stories. The poetry and stories highlighted a woman's role in supporting her husband, the family, and the Confederate nation. In fact, by 1863 the Magnolia became unofficially known as the ladies literary magazine. Reading rooms across the city, including the Confederate Reading Rooms, had copies of these periodicals (Dispatch, Nov. 5, 1862, p. 2, col. 3).

Military Training

In late September 1862, the military continued its dress parades of troops in the city to check their precision and proficiency. Normally, 1,200 to 1,500 new recruits assembled at the Soldiers Home on Cary Street and paraded in review on Dock Street to the delight of the residents (Dispatch, Sep. 30, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). Martial music and parades seemed to elevate the spirits of the citizens. Despite overwhelming deprivations, including those in late 1864 and early 1865, Richmonders never abandoned its support of the soldiers in the field and their refugee families in the city.

Parades were one means to check the proficiency and readiness of the soldiers. For specific leadership positions, such as artillery officers for ordnance duty, written examinations were given. Over a four-day period spread over ten days, candidates demonstrated their knowledge of algebra, plain trigonometry, mechanics, chemistry, English, and the Field Manual (Dispatch, Oct. 1, 1862, p. 3, col. 2). Colonel Thomas S. Rhett, Board of Examiners President, stipulated in addition to the examinations already mentioned, that the candidate had to provide "satisfactory testimonials, as to sobriety and moral worth, to complete successful examination" (Dispatch, Oct. 1, 1862, p. 3, col. 2).

Industrial Training

Industrial training took on greater significance during the year in the city factories. Throughout 1862, the newspapers ran daily advertisements, placed by the factories and mills for laborers. Being the South's major industrial center, many of the city's manufacturing concerns, such as Tredegar Iron Works and Crenshaw's Woolen Company, had to increase their production output to meet military needs. In so doing, plant superintendents and their supervisory staffs had to provide on-the-job training on the operation of the machines, such as rollers and pickers, and the production process for new laborers, many of whom were slaves. Effectiveness of the training can be determined by the results: Tredegar made the majority of Confederate cannons, gun carriages, and armor during the war. Until a fire destroyed its main building in 1863, Crenshaw's produced the majority of woolen clothing for uniforms.

The Year Comes to a Close

As the year closed, the Christian Advocate provided a poignant perspective: "We have laid the foundation of a New Confederacy—we are fighting as we build it...we are not fighting for the formation of the government; that has been done. We fight for the rights and independence of States...holy religion...will grill the passions, correct the errors, remove the prejudices, and prevent the follies" (Christian Advocate, Dec. 18, 1862, p. 2, col. 1).

Yet, as this message reached the people, the Richmond Varieties offered the residents, James D. McCabe, Jr.'s three-act play entitled The Guerrillas; or the War in Virginia (Brockett and Lenyth, 1955, p. 233). The play, written 18 months after the campaign in Northwestern Virginia, served as background to foster Confederate nationalism among its viewers. To close out the year at two educational amusement centers, the Metropolitan and the Broad Street Theater presented rousing musicals, featuring Buckley's Southern Nightingales and Harry

McCarthy and Lottie Estelle in concert (Dispatch, Dec. 31, 1862, p. 2, col. 3). The Magnolia Weekly liked the variety of shows available: "in saying they are industrious, we scarcely do them justice for such a continuous stream of attractions-a nightly change of programs, consisting of tragedies, comedies, drams, and farces, of the most difficult class, and nightly placed upon the boards, in a manner satisfactory to the thousands who witness them" (Magnolia Weekly, Nov. 1, 1862, p. 18, col. 1).

The Christian Advocate raised serious concerns about the Conscription Act, which drafted for three years all White males between 18 and 35 who were not legally exempt, on education and the schools:

1st. It disorganizes our corps, and closes the Colleges greatly to the damage of the educational interest of the whole country, in view of the protracted war which is before us.

2nd. The act is singularly inconsistent in this, that whilst it closes the Colleges of the Confederacy by conscripting all their advanced students, it still leaves their Professors, for whom there is but little, if any use, as exempts. Let the Conscription Act be modified (Christian Advocate, Sep. 18, 1862, p. 2, col. 2).

In 1862, the Conscription Act had little effect on the teaching faculties of the city's schools and colleges. However, by late 1863 and early 1864, the Conscription Act caused some principals of Richmond primaries and academies to be called to militia or defense force duty in and around the city. The Act had no effect upon the faculties of the Medical College of Virginia and the Richmond Female Institute.

The Whig expressed joy at the year's departure: "year 1862 left us in an angry mood, howling dismally to the very close of its existence. Retrospection furnishes saddening reflections, and nobody with a soul as big as a gnat's eye can help thinking over the darker shades of the year; but the future is bright with hope, and we shall welcome the New Year with joy, let the weather today be as vile as it may" (Whig, Jan. 1, 1863, p. 2, col. 5).

The Dispatch offered a view on the state of affairs: "Let us have faith in God and in our cause and country. May the next Christmas smile upon a land from which the deluge of war has subsided, and the Dove of Peace returns from the dreary waste to bring a green leaf of beauty to our affairs, and consolation in our hearts" (Dispatch, Dec. 25, 1862, p. 2, col. 1).

By the end of 1862, conditions had worsened in the city: there were two classes of residents, the haves and have-nots. The number and availability of adult education activities increased, each having its own sponsor, theme, and participants. Except for a few days, all educational amusement centers kept their doors opened. Richmonders, regardless of social or

economic class participated in the activities. The adult education activities continued unabated despite increasing deprivations and tribulations.

Summary

Richmond residents faced the challenge head on during the Peninsula Campaign which brought the war right to the city's doorstep. Conditions continued to deteriorate in the city: hospitals overcrowded with the sick and wounded, streets filled with refugees and families of soldiers, price gouging, factories employing two shifts to meet the demands of the army, and the beginnings of starvation among some of the residents. Even with these deplorable conditions and the Union forces on the outskirts, Richmonders continued to participate in all kinds of adult education activities in record numbers.

The loss of the Richmond Theater due to a devastating arsonist's fire in January dealt adult education a temporary setback. It re-opened 13 months later on February 9, 1863 as the New Richmond Theater. The other educational amusements centers, the Metropolitan, the Broad Street Theater, Richmond Varieties, and Corinthian Hall, continued to provide Richmonders the type of shows, particularly comedies, musicals, and farces the people liked. Even though the people daily faced increased hardships, they continued to flock to these centers in large numbers to enhance and strengthen their emotional development.

For the social elite, they opened their homes to private theatricals which became a popular form of intellectual amusement during the war. In addition, the "danceable teas" held in private residence continued as a form of social stimuli and conversational education, particularly for the ladies. The periodic Grand Balls for the government and Confederate Officers seemed to take form in 1862 and by 1864, balls became frequent events, serving as emotional transformations for both the gentlemen and ladies, who during the day coped with all the tribulations that war brought. Although primarily social in nature, these balls provided the participants an expansive educational value, improving their knowledge on a variety subjects and issues and developing a network to continue to share information and ideas on a mutual basis.

The city churches, the YMCA, and the tract societies all sponsored adult education programs and developed instructional materials. All increased their efforts in 1862. Nearly all the churches had reading rooms filled primarily with religious materials. Throughout the year, the churches and the YMCA sponsored lecture programs on a variety of subjects, some over a six week period and called them courses. Additionally, through their reading materials, these organizations promoted literacy. By the end of 1862, these organizations, through their adult education activities, started to have a major impact of the mind and spirit of hundreds of soldiers in Richmond's 42 hospitals and the camps around the city. These organizations had assumed a major educational role, with the clergy, chaplains, and colporters serving the role of adult educators.

The Confederate Reading Room, established in September 1861, continued to offer newspapers, books, magazines, and writing material to soldiers on leave or passing through the city. The Governor took measures to protect the State Library and Archives housed in the capital building from pillage and destruction. The Secretary of the Commonwealth, who had responsibility for the library, permitted Confederate governmental officials and their staffs to use the library. The Mechanics Institute, which housed the Confederate War Department, also housed the Literary Society's Library.

The Medical College of Virginia, the Southern Female Institute, and the Richmond Female Institute continued their academic programs uninterrupted by increasing pressures of war. The Southern Female Seminary, along with a number of other private primaries, academies, and vocational schools, kept their doors opened and their programs going. At these schools, teaching went on despite rising operational costs, military duties imposed on faculty members, and battles that could be seen from the schools' buildings.

Newspapers continued to be the main means by which Richmonders kept themselves informed on the campaigns, state news, and local news. Editorials provided emotional, rallying messages to the people, encouraging their support of the war effort. The number of poems in the newspapers significantly decreased while the number of advertisements increased. The literary magazines provided serial features, along with poetry and biographies.

The citizens continued their daily jaunts out to the camps to watch soldiers training and parading. According to newspaper accounts and dairies, they returned to their homes with their spirit and morale about the Southern cause renewed or replenished.

Martial music and band concerts in Capitol Square, on Gamble's Hill, at Drewery Bluffs, and in the camps provided the inspirational and emotional stimuli for the people. The people hummed the music in the factories, in their home, and on the street.

For 1862, the deprivations and tribulations continued to mount. The hospitals overflowed with the wounded and the sick. More refugees and soldiers families flocked to the city. Disease brought to the city by the soldiers became a problem. Crime increased. Prices continued to go up with some shortage of food products. The citizens faced the combat reality of the war right on the doorsteps of the city. Yet, even in the face of deteriorating conditions, adult education activities, both planned and unplanned, continued to be available. The only slight impact occurred with the loss of the Richmond Theater and the closing of the theaters and halls for a week when fighting occurred in the suburbs of the city. The three higher education institutions provided full semester terms to its students and concluded the terms with commencement exercises.

Despite the deprivations, organizations continued to make adult education programs available to the residents. These organizations developed and distributed reading and instructional material. The exact number of city residents involved or engaged in these activities by the end of 1862 cannot be precisely determined. However, based on newspaper accounts, dairies, and

personal diaries, it is estimated more than one-half of the city residents, including wounded and sick soldiers in the hospitals, and soldiers in the camps, participated in some adult education activity daily. For many in 1862, adult education had contributed to making a difference in their lives--mentally, socially, spiritually, and emotionally.

CHAPTER IV

TRAGEDY, HIGH TIDE, AND EDUCATION-1863

The year 1863 presented the residents hope, tragedy, two stunning battlefield defeats, and an economic and social revolution. The demands for military products continued at a rapid pace. Improvisation became the norm in the development of consumer goods. Shortage of food and housing and increased prices continued to add to the severe discomforts experienced by most residents. Crime became a serious problem, particularly thefts, robberies, and even murders. Castle Thunder, the city prison that housed the most serious offenders, overflowed beyond its capacity.

By late January, a white flag on many houses signaled that a case of smallpox occurred there (Dispatch, Jan. 23, 1863, p. 1, col. 6). A new ordinance passed by the City Council mandated that all housekeepers must display the flag or risk a fine of \$10 (Dispatch, Jan. 23, 1863, p. 1, col. 6). With a smallpox epidemic and severe deprivations mounting daily, adult education faced its toughest challenges, getting unskilled women, displaced refugees, and Blacks the skills and knowledge to take on new job and support tasks.

Since the beginning of the war, the various governments--national, state, and city--had no policies or overall educational plans for the city residents. No over-arching plan or strategy had ever existed for adult education. Like the previous two years, adult education sponsors, like the churches, YMCA, schools, associations, amusement centers, military, and factories, promoted and provided adult education based on needs for the Confederate nation, the city, and their pocket books. For many, improvisation became the process for learning new skills and knowledge, and the process for city residents for dealing with the increased shortcomings.

The message to Richmonders for 1863 was succinct and tough: "We know not what further trials may be in store for us; but this we know, the public mind of the South is prepared for every affliction, for death itself, rather than submission to the greater evil...involving degradation and shame of Yankee domination" (Dispatch, Mar. 2, 1863, p. 2, col. 1). Thus, 1863 began with challenges and would end with increased challenges and problems.

January 1863 to June 1863

The first four months brought shortages of food and crowded conditions. People improvised to get by. Women developed unexpected skills in nursing, factory work, making soap, and writing poetry. In early March, women and boys rioted over food prices. Adult education sponsors provided the people the activities, programs, and events that seemed to have appeal and met the people's needs. The YMCA continued as a major educational sponsor. For other residents, attending one of the amusement centers became a favorite pastime to meet their social and intellectual needs.

Educational Leisure and Recreation

Educational amusement centers continued their intellectual leisure activities unabated. As the Magnolia observed: "The penchant of a people naturally give to the encouragement of intellectual amusement, under even the most rational circumstances of opposition, will not be a stumbling block to the gratification of their wishes" (Magnolia, Jan. 17, 1863, p. 62, col. 1).

The rebuilt Richmond Theater re-opened its doors on February 9th with a dedication by Walter Keeble, an actor, reading Henry Timrod's prize poem (Magnolia, Feb. 14, 1863, p. 78, col. 1). The theater, renamed as the New Richmond Theater, had R. D'Orsey Ogden as its new stage manager with a staff of 10 full time employees (Enquirer, Feb. 6, 1863, p. 3, col. 1). The drama company had 11 actresses, 12 young ballet ladies, and 20 men who comprised the chorus and ballet (Enquirer, Feb. 6, 1863, p. 3, col. 1). The theater put advertisements in all the city newspapers announcing the admission prices for the three floor levels and circles and rules and regulations governing conduct. In 1862, there had been a number of disturbances in the theater and the theater management wanted to ensure that their patrons this year knew that the new rules would be rigidly enforced (Enquirer, Feb. 6, 1863, p. 3, col. 1).

In early February, the Broad Street Theater presented a lively musical, featuring Harry McCarthy, Lottie Estelle, Sally Bowman, and a grand corps de ballet of 40 ladies and men (Dispatch, Feb. 7, 1863, p. 2, col. 7). The two main features presented were an illustration of "Bonnie Blue Flag" by 13 ladies and Ireland as it is with national dances and songs (Dispatch, Feb. 7, 1863, p. 2, col. 7). Both these features had strong appeal, particularly with the Irish.

With regards to the types of shows and their intellectual value, the Magnolia concluded that "amusement is the life of thousands who now swell the population of this city, and while it is true that, following the natural impulse, they will take in the rough, if it can do no better" (Magnolia, Jan. 17, 1863). Anita Dwyer Withers expressed a similar view after attending the New Richmond Theater: "went to the theater much to my dislike. The house is much prettier than I expected to find-the performance too tolerably good. They played the Carpenter of Rowen" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 157).

In mid-March, the Broad Street Theater encountered a rarity for city theaters: a less than full house (Magnolia, Mar. 14, 1863, p. 96, cols. 2 and 3). This allowed the theater to fill the empty seats with soldiers, when many city civilians tired of some of the shows (p. 96, cols. 2 and 3). The Magnolia concluded: "take away the war and soldiers, and the theater would not be half filled nightly, and a beggarly account of empty benches would soon square accounts with the Treasurer" (Magnolia, Mar. 14, 1863, p. 96, cols. 2 and 3).

During February and March, all theaters put on different types of shows with different themes. There seemed to be more musicals than dramatic plays. The biggest attraction, based on the glorification of the fighting Virginia horsemen, was a three act musical entitled Virginia Cavalier, followed by Duel in the Dark or Lesson for Husbands (Dispatch, Mar. 20, 1863, p. 2, col. 2)). Pocahontas rounded out the productions at the New Richmond Theater in March

(Dispatch, Mar. 20, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). Both the Metropolitan and Richmond Varieties featured musicals. The Magnolia reported that "Negro minstrels had died out in Richmond" (Magnolia, Mar. 14, 1863, p. 96, col. 3).

Educational amusement centers continued to be a source of educational leisure and recreation, providing a full range of activities, dramas, musicals, comedies, and pantomimes. The Magnolia noted that "All...seem to enjoy a lively run of customers, affording as they do a continued source of recreation to tarrying soldiers and variety-loving citizens" (Magnolia, Apr. 25, 1863, p. 144, col. 4).

In late March 1863, under the management of R. D'Orsey Ogden, the New Richmond Theater featured the classic dramas and comedies, such as the five-act play Love's Sacrifice, Mischief Makers, and the comedy The Romance of a Poor Young Man (Enquirer, Mar. 21, 1863, p. 3, col. 7; Apr. 21, 1863, p. 3, col. 7). Lee Mallory's War Illustrations of General Lee's Army, illusory art, at the Metropolitan Hall provided residents a moving pictorial of battle scenes (Sentinel, Mar. 27, 1863, p. 2, col. 4). Regarding Mallory's show, the Dispatch observed that "This last show is very popular with women and children" (Dispatch, May 9, 1863, p. 1, col. 6). This form of art served to educate the public about some of the battles that had occurred--a patriotic theme. Starting in March, Harry McCarthy, a Richmond musical favorite, played to packed houses at the Broad Street Theater for more than 16 weeks (Enquirer, Mar. 17, 1863, p. 2, col. 5).

Balls were held frequently as social and conversational activities, while others provided dance students from the dancing academies to demonstrate their proficiency after much training and practice. In April 1863, Professor J. St. Maur Bingham sponsored balls at the Monticello Hall for his students and the general public, charging \$10 which included refreshments (Dispatch, Apr. 8, 1863). Normally, the Armory Brass Band provided the music (Dispatch, Apr. 8, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). On other occasions, Bingham sponsored practicing parties and charged \$1 (Dispatch, May 14, 1863, May 14, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). The May balls at Monticello Hall became known as "Beauregard Socials," in honor of Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard (Dispatch, May 2, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). The New Market Hall at the corner of 6th and Marshall Streets was another location for balls and promenade concerts (Dispatch, May 2, 1863, p. 2, col. 3).

Some of the newspapers took exception to some of the productions being provided that had morbid and death scenes. The papers felt that the city had enough sickness and death that it should not be glorified on the stage, and by fall, productions reverted back to the serious classics. For example, the Dispatch found that the quality of theater shows had suffered due to wartime and offered the following commentary on the educational amusement centers: "Our citizens find in three places of amusement now open every night an ample refuge from...the present state of affairs. In the theater, if the performances are not as good as one could wish, they have the consolation of knowing that the times afford no better" (Dispatch, May 21, 1863, p. 1, cols. 5 and 6). The Magnolia offered its thoughts about the quality of shows: "in short, amusements at the Capitol may be rated at low ebb, and not much doing in a dramatic way. The autumn may bring a

revival, but the summer will not witness it" (Magnolia, Jun. 27, 1863, p. 216, col. 4). On the other hand, the Enquirer found that the "city is now favored with fun...doing thriving business"--the burlesque troupe at Metropolitan Hall (Enquirer, Jun. 2, 1863, p. 3, col. 7). Of course, not all residents went to the theaters and balls. Some availed themselves of amusements that enhanced their personal skills such as in fencing and pistol shooting.

A Captain Eragomier provided instruction in small sword and broad sword fencing at his Drill and Fencing Room on 10th Street over Capp's Pistol Gallery (Dispatch, Jan. 3, 1863, p. 2, col. 7). In addition, he taught a five-hour block of instruction on cavalry and artillery sword exercise. This type of training, classified as "grand military amusements," resulted in some new or enhanced skills in drill and sword fighting for all participants (Dispatch, Jan. 3, 1863, p. 2, col. 7). For many, it could be classified as skill training; for others, refresher training.

For informal, leisure education, the YMCA lecture programs for the past two years proved to be popular and successful, with overflowing lecture and meeting rooms the norm. Because of their success, the YMCA and churches undertook a lecture program, starting in late January. At the Broad Street Methodist Church, the Rev. Dr. Joseph C. Stiles provided the first lecture for the year, "National Rectitude the Bible basis of National Prosperity" (Whig, Jan. 27, 1863, p. 2, col. 5). Three weeks later in late February, Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry of Alabama, a member of the Provisional Confederate Congress, lectured on "Selfhood" at the First Presbyterian Church (Enquirer, Feb. 24, 1863, p. 3, col. 1). Curry, a popular speaker, always drew capacity crowds to his lectures. After the war, Curry established state normal schools for Blacks and Whites in 12 Southern states, a system of public schools in every town and city, and the dissemination of vast amounts of educational material (Warner and Yearns, 1975, pp. 67-69). George Peabody and the Slater Fund sponsored his activities. When he died in 1903, Curry "had no superiors in the field of general education and few, if any, peers" (p. 69).

In mid-March, Hugh W. Sheffey, Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, provided the third lecture in the series (Dispatch, Mar. 9, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). John R. Thompson, former editor of The Southern Literary Messenger, delivered the fourth lecture at the Broad Street Methodist Church on "The Ocean and Mountains and Sources of Inspiration" (Dispatch, Apr. 7, 1863). In mid-April, Oliver Baldwin gave the next lecture, entitled "Fast and Slow People" at the Second Baptist Church (Dispatch, Apr. 13, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). Newspaper accounts indicated Baldwin was the most popular lecturer during the first two years. His 1863 lecture received high marks because it was intellectual and amusing (Dispatch, Apr. 13, 1863, p. 2, col. 2).

On May 9th at the First Baptist Church, John Randolph Tucker, the Attorney General of Virginia, lectured on "The Southern Church justified in its support of the South in the present war" (Dispatch, May 19, 1863, p. 2, col. 1). The last lecture in the YMCA series was provided by Daniel B. Lucas at the United Presbyterian Church (Dispatch, May 25, 1863, p. 2, col. 1).

The YMCA Lecture Committee expressed satisfaction that the lecture series had provided YMCA members and the public at large stimulating, thought provoking subjects (Sentinel, Jun. 4,

1863, p. 4, col. 6). It typified the YMCA's involvement in the community's intellectual improvement through its lecture series, library and reading room, Soldiers Bible Classes for convalescing soldiers, and special projects for the needy (Sentinel, Jun. 4, 1863, p. 4, col. 6). The YMCA's role in adult education also extended into small, group discussions which met regularly. By mid-1863, the YMCA had become one of the primary sponsors and providers of adult education activities.

Providing books and reading materials to the various city reading rooms and the soldiers in the city hospitals and camps became a project for many groups and associations, such as the Ladies Defense Association, which brought books from their homes to the lecture room of the First Presbyterian Church on January 15th (Dispatch, Jan. 26, 1863, p. 2, col. 2).

The Confederate Spelling Book, published in January 1863 by George L. Bidgood, a Richmond publisher and book seller, found its way into many libraries and reading rooms in the city (Christian Advocate, Dec. 11, 1862, p. 2, col. 5). The Southern Churchman's review of the 160 page book found that "the book is very neatly got out, considering the times and is admirably adapted for the object" (Southern Churchman, Apr. 24, 1863, p. 2, col. 1). Now the schools had available an instructional reference guide that presented words that formed the very core of Southern vocabulary.

As residents browsed this book, others read two poignant new poems in the local newspaper, the Whig.

The poems promoted Confederate nationalism: "The Battle of Fredericksburg" by Mrs. M. S. Whitaker, and "The Empty Sleeve" by Dr. George William Bagby, the editor of the Southern Literary Messenger (Whig, Jan. 1, 1863, p. 2, cols. 2 and 4). The empty sleeve, in the poem, signified the loss of an arm in battle and for many, a badge of honor.

Richmonders lost the artistic talents of Alexander Galt when the renown sculptor and artist died of smallpox on January 20th (Dispatch, Jan. 21, 1863, p. 1, col. 5). The residents admired Galt's works because he faithfully portrayed the features of his subjects, such as Stonewall Jackson, Jefferson Davis, and Governor John Letcher, with high artistic quality (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1863, p. 1, col. 4). The displays of Galt's work gave the citizens an opportunity to personalize their knowledge about their heroes, even if they had never seen the individuals.

Portraits also conveyed that inner feeling and personal perspective for the individual observer. The February 7th issue of the Southern Literary Journal featured the portraits of Commodore Duncan Ingraham and William Gilmore Simms, the South's most prolific writer (Enquirer, Feb. 6, 1863, p. 2, col. 4). An art exhibition held in late March at Trinity Church drew large crowds to witness paintings and illusory art and moving figures by mechanical devices of various Southern scenes (Dispatch, Mar. 26, 1863, p. 2, col. 5). Scenes depicted included Charleston Harbor, the Mississippi River, Village of Belmont, Chink's plantation south of Memphis, and Capitol Square in Richmond (Dispatch, Mar. 26, 1863, p. 2, col. 5). It seemed that

the literary magazines devoted more emphasis to portraits, poetry, and serial stories than they had in the past. Literature and art provided the people popular instruments for learning.

The first few months of the year saw a number of new books published, many written to improve skills and knowledge. Richmond publisher, A. Morris, published Crozet's Arithmetic for Colleges and Schools, Crozet's First Lessons in Arithmetic, and Goodright's Series of Readings, Numbers 2, 3, 4, and 15 (Enquirer, Feb. 20, 1863, p. 2, col. 6). Other books read at this time were Les Miserables by Victor Hugo, The Guerrillas by James D. McCabe, Jr., Partisan Ranger by R. D'Orsey Ogden, and Infantry Tactics (Enquirer, Feb. 17, 1863, p. 2, col. 6). West and Johnston, Richmond's largest publisher, had over 2,000 individual books for sale, such as No Name by Wilkie Collins, Greenway Count by John Eston Cooke, and Instructions for Field Artillery (Enquirer, Feb. 17, 1863, p. 2, col. 6; Sentinel, Mar. 16, 1863, p. 2, col. 6).

The Enquirer in an editorial in its February 20th issue recognized that there had been "a considerable mass of volumes published in Richmond" (Enquirer, Feb. 20, 1863, p. 4, cols. 1 and 2). However, due to shortages in ink and paper, most of Richmond's publishers confined themselves to works on military tactics and defenses. The Enquirer believed that readers read to be amused; "they do not have the trouble of thinking or canvassing" (Enquirer, Feb. 20, 1863, p. 4, col. 1). The newspaper believed that the Union blockade had shut "us out from the movement of intellectual Europe" (Enquirer, Feb. 20, 1863, p. 4, col. 1). The Enquirer believed that the South should have its own literature "for our interpretation, the grand mystic volumes of nature" (Enquirer, Feb. 20, 1863, p. 4, col. 2). The Enquirer summarized its editorial with a prediction: "Fear nothing-after the war we shall have a literature and no second hand one either...Our country is now and henceforth enriched by a treasure of heroic memories-sad but proud" (Enquirer, Feb. 20, 1863, p. 4, col. 2).

A literature rage had taken over Richmond in 1863. Literary magazines, such as the Magnolia Weekly and the Southern Literary Messenger, became the reading choice of the upper middle class and the sophisticated elite. The popular Magnolia Weekly doubled in size to eight pages with its March 7th issue. Like the venerable, 30-year old Southern Literary Messenger, the Magnolia believed its mission was to provide its readers the finest in poetry, short stories, serials, reviews of shows at the educational amusement centers, and biographies. But the literature rage was limited only to a small segment of the population.

In March, the city added another newspaper to its rolls. The Sentinel, a Northern Virginia newspaper, operated out of Alexandria until Federal troops occupied the city in May 1861. After a two-year publication suspension, it relocated to Richmond and published a renewed first issue on March 1st (Christian Advocate, Feb. 19, 1863, p. 2, col. 5). The Christian Advocate informed its readers about the Sentinel by stating that "the Sentinel will have the good of the country as its controlling and animating aim; and will warmly sympathize with the happiness and prosperity of the people" (Christian Advocate, Feb. 19, 1863, p. 2, col. 5). The Sentinel located its operation in a brick building at the corner of Franklin and Governor Streets, opposite the Whig offices. Richmonders loved their newspapers, and the Sentinel added a welcome new voice.

Since the beginning of the conflict, the city newspapers became an educational instrument in the distribution of not only information, but more importantly knowledge. Through their vivid editorials, they stimulated thought, provoking discussions and reflection by city residents.

Shortly after the Sentinel printed its first newspaper in Richmond, it reported the explosion at the Confederate States Laboratory on the city's Brown Island which resulted in the deaths of 34 (all women except two men) and 39 injured (Sentinel, Mar. 16, 1863, p. 1, col. 7). The Laboratory employed 300 women in the manufacturing of ball cartridges and other small ammunition (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1863, p. 1, col. 4). The explosion which occurred between 11 and 12 o'clock on March 16th had a devastating emotional effect on the city (Enquirer, Mar. 17, 1863, p. 1, col. 8). Benefit concerts and military balls were held to benefit the families of those killed and injured (Enquirer, Mar. 20, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). Throughout the war, educational amusement centers, churches, YMCA, and other organizations, provided benefit shows and collection of food and clothing to help those residents that suffered or could not help themselves.

Religious Education

For the first two years of the war, churches and tract societies produced and distributed untold religious instructional materials to the soldiers in hospitals and camps and the general public. By 1863, the religious educational materials had reached a majority of the soldiers. A letter from a colporter at Chimborazo Hospital reported on the reception of this material: "I find that nearly all the soldiers are anxious for tracts, and reading material of almost any kind. I have been in receipt of 50 copies of the Advocate weekly, which I distributed, and which were truly acceptable to them" (Christian Advocate, Jan. 29, 1863, p. 2, col. 1).

The tract societies and churches faced increased costs of printing, and relied on donations to pay the costs. Fifteen cents paid for 15 pages while \$100 paid for 150,000 pages (Religious Herald, Feb. 26, 1863, p. 1, col. 6). Donations kept coming in and the newspapers printed the names of the donors and the amounts given.

Even with the increased printing costs, four new inspirational tracts became available in March: "A Tract for Soldiers," by Rev. J. A. Proctor; "The Soldiers Bible," by Rev. William M. Crumly, Chaplain of the Georgia Hospitals in Richmond; "The Soldier's Almanac," and "Bible Reading for the Soldiers," consisting of selections from the Old and New Testaments (Christian Advocate, Mar. 26, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). At the same time, the Soldiers Tract Association published The Soldiers Hymn Book with an address to the soldiers by Rev. J. C. Granberry, Chaplain, 11th Virginia Regiment (Enquirer, Feb. 13, 1863, p. 1, col. 1).

The Christian Advocate believed the churches could do more: "The influence of the church was deeply felt at the beginning of the war. It has also done much for the country all through the long, bloody months of the fierce contest. But it can do more" (Christian Advocate, Mar. 1863, p. 2, cols. 1 and 2). However, the mass distribution of the religious educational material brought forth the start of revivals.

Revivals in some of the city churches had started in late 1862. As Judith McGuire (1867) noted in her dairy entry for the January 19th: "we are very much occupied by our Sunday schools-white in the morning, and colored in the afternoon" (p. 185). According to Ervin Jordan (1995), "a visitor to Richmond's First African Baptist Church during the height of the war praised an all-black congregation as quiet, devotional, and having a good understanding of the Scriptures" (p. 108). By Spring 1863, the first of many religious revivals had started to take place among the Confederate forces in the hospitals, camps, and in the field, actually starting in General Stonewall Jackson's Second Corps in March. The reading of religious material and the Bible and the subsequent revivals deeply affected Jackson the devout Christian: "I don't know that I have enjoyed Sabbaths as I do this winter" (cited in Farwell, 1992, p. 488). On March 27, 1863, President Davis declared "a day of humiliation, prayer, and fasting" (p. 488). The following day, Jackson wrote to his father-in-law, Rev. Dr. Robert Hall Morrison, a Presbyterian minister who had been the first president of Davidson College, that in the Confederate Army, President Davis' call had received "a more generous response than I have seen on any similar occasion since the beginning of the war" (cited in Farwell, p. 488). Judith McGuire (1867) went to services at St. Paul's and noted: "...The Churches were all crowded with worshippers, who, I trust, felt the dependence on God in this great struggle" (p. 201).

Spirituality through Christian activities became rampant throughout the army, including in the city hospitals and camps. Stonewall Jackson clamored for chaplains of all denominations to come to the Confederate troops to minister to their spiritual needs and provide religious education. Thus, the efforts of the Richmond tract societies and churches had made a difference. As Judith McGuire noted on March 5th: "This morning we attended Dr. Minnegerode's prayer meeting at seven o'clock. It is a blessed privilege enjoyed by people in town, that of attending religious services so often, particularly these social prayer meetings, now that we feel our dependence on an Almighty arm, and need of prayer more than we ever did in our lives" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 151). Religious revivals in the city churches and camps continued periodically until the end of the war, for Richmonders and Southerners in general forever believed that God was on their side.

Higher Education and Evening Schools

The Medical College of Virginia continued its medical program without disruption. Faculty members not only provided instruction but administered medical care to patients in the college's hospital. One of the faculty members, Dr. James B. McCaw, was the commandant and surgeon in charge of Chimborazo Hospital. Sitting east from the downtown area of Richmond, Chimborazo opened its doors on October 17, 1861, and was one of the largest hospital complexes in the Confederacy (Moore, 1978, p. 63). By the end of the war, more than 76,000 men had been treated there (p. 63). McCaw split his teaching duties with running this hospital, along with Mrs. Phoebe Pember, the nursing administrator.

The college provided students a lecture program and hands-on training in its hospital and other city hospitals. When a student graduated, he had seen it all: treatment of gunshot wounds, amputations, bed sores, gangrene, treatment for all kinds of diseases, and the psychological effects

of the sick and wounded. Nothing prepared them better for field duty than to learn how to treat these different medical conditions and problems.

On March 6th, in the African Church, 46 graduates from seven Southern states (25 from Virginia) received their medical degrees in an impressive commencement exercise (Dispatch, Mar. 7, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). Even with extreme deprivations in the city, the Dispatch reported that the commencement "was a scene that forcibly mended the spectator of Richmond in by gone days" (Dispatch, Mar. 7, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). The Armory Band enlivened the occasion and "everything went off to the satisfaction of all concerned" (p. 2, col. 2; Sentinel, Mar. 11, 1863, p. 1, col. 4). Thus, forty-six new doctors joined the medical force in the city and in Confederate camps on March 7th.

As the new doctors began their medical practices in the city and field hospitals, other residents participated in various programs at the evening schools.

Richmond had no public evening schools, but did have evening schools sponsored and run by private individuals. These schools provided programs for young adults who worked during the day and supported the war effort. Newspapers, particularly the advertisement section, became the best source for the activities of the evening schools. The number of students engaged in evening school programs in the city during the war is unknown.

On July 20th, Mr. C. P. Burrows opened the summer session of his evening school on Mayo Street (Dispatch, Jul. 17, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). The session ran for 10 weeks and included a curriculum of arithmetic, penmanship, Latin, Greek, and French (Dispatch, Jul. 17, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). The cost of each subject ranged between \$1 and \$20. The faculty of this school consisted of Burrows and a Mr. Pierce (Dispatch, Jul. 17, 1863, p. 2, col. 3).

On Shockoe Hill, an evening school, under the administration of Mrs. M. G. Pendleton on 4th Street, opened on October 1st with the expressed purpose of preparing young men for admittance to the Virginia Military Institute (Dispatch, Sep. 14, 1863, p. 2, col. 5). Its curriculum specifically concentrated on math, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry (Dispatch, Sep. 14, 1863, p. 2, col. 5).

Dr. Joe Seth Muchard, a Main Street dental surgeon, provided an evening school for young men in the principles of geometry, trigonometry, and algebra (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1863, p. 2, col. 7). He guaranteed "a method calculated to ensure the most rapid and substantial progress" (Dispatch, Jan. 2, 1863, p. 2, col. 7).

The Fashionable Dancing Academy touted itself as the evening school of dance for ladies, men, and children of Richmond (Enquirer, Sep. 15, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). The academy, located in the Exchange Hotel, had Professor S. St. Maur Bingham as its administrator (Enquirer, Sep. 15, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). Instruction started at 4:00 p.m. for women and children and 8:00 p.m. for men with the days of instruction as follows: women-Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; children,

Tuesday and Thursday; and men-Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday (Enquirer, Sep. 15, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). Practicing dance parties called balls were held every Thursday at 8:30 p.m. (Enquirer, Sep. 15, 1863, p. 2, col. 3).

Evening schools in the city provided programs designed to prepare individuals for society, business, and college. These programs also provided instruction on educational leisure and recreational activities, such as dancing, pistol shooting, and fencing. Although their effectiveness cannot be determined, they were another means of meeting the adult needs.

Discomforts Mount--The Poor Get Poorer

By late March and April, living and social conditions continued to deteriorate. The number of marriage licenses issued fell in March (Dispatch, Apr. 1, 1863, p. 1, col. 5). The refugee families of the soldiers in the field felt the full force of increased prices, scarcity of some foodstuffs, and lack of shelter. As their loved ones fought for the Southern cause, their families in Richmond faced the ravages of poverty. On the morning of April 2nd, over 500 starving women and boys gathered to protest the food prices, breaking into food and other storehouses. The city militia came, and the crowd only dispersed when Jefferson Davis threatened to have the militia fire on them if they did not return to their homes. By April, the city had a social and economic revolution on its hands, and the situation had to be addressed. Under the auspices of the Union Benevolent Society, 48 men, two from each of the city's 24 districts, identified those that needed help and provided them tickets to obtain supplies at depots located on 6th Street at Clay and on Cary Street (Dispatch, Apr. 7, 1863, p. 2, col. 1).

By April 1863, there were principally two classes of people in Richmond: the haves and have-nots. The haves included the social elite, government officials, the military officers, and the profit privateers. The have-nots included the displaced families of soldiers in the field, slaves, low-and middle-income families, and low level government workers. For the latter, increased prices and profiteers had virtually stripped them of their buying power. Two-thirds of the city was in abject poverty, and starvation was a serious problem. By June, scarcity and high prices had reduced the "heretofore comfortable families to limited style of living" (Enquirer, Jun. 2, 1863, p. 3, col. 7).

Summary: January 1863 to June 1863

By the end of April 1863, even with miserable discomforts, adult educational activities continued to provide many residents, including the poor, with a release from their physical wants and desires to their cognitive and social wants. Then the death of Stonewall Jackson added to their psychological woes.

Stonewall Jackson's Death--Its Impact On Adult Education

In early May, Union forces under General Joseph Hooker poised to make another attempt to capture Richmond. General Lee's strategy, implemented in part by Jackson's 12-mile left flanking maneuver, drove Hooker back across the Rappahannock River near Chancellorsville. For Lee, the Battle of Chancellorsville is acclaimed as his most brilliant victory, but it came with a

terrible personal price. Jackson, accidentally shot by his own troops as he returned to his lines after making a reconnaissance at 9:00 p.m. on May 2nd, died on the 10th of complications of pneumonia. His funeral in Richmond was the largest ever held in the city. Educational amusement centers, businesses, and social events closed for two days (May 13th and 14th) to honor his memory (Sentinel, May. 16, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). Kate Mason Rowland noted in her dairy on May 12th: "The city is one house of mourning; the stores closed and crepe hanging from each door and window. Bells tolled mournfully as the body was brought in town" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 167). Judith McGuire (1867) noted on the evening of 12th of May in her diary: "The good, the great, the glorious Stonewall Jackson is numbered with the dead! Humanly, speaking, we cannot do without him; but the same God who raised him up, took him from us, and He who has so miraculously prospered our cause, can lead us without him. Perhaps we have trusted too much to an arm of flesh; for he was the nation's idol" (pp. 211-213). John Worsham (1987), a soldier under Jackson, believed that "the Army never recovered from the loss of Jackson" (p. 102).

The death of Stonewall Jackson cast a distinct shadow on the fortunes of the Confederacy. His death was not only a loss to the Southern cause but to his men and the public that idolized him. Yet, for adult education in the city, his death triggered numerous poems, stories, a biography, and a play entitled Stonewall's Way. The residents read everything they could about their idol Jackson. By July, a fund drive was undertaken to erect a statute of Jackson, and by October, more than \$4,500 had been contributed (Enquirer, Jul. 3, 1863, p. 3, col. 4; Oct. 13, 1863, p. 2, col. 4). A Jackson medallion by the artist Galt, and photos by Minnis about two weeks before Jackson's death went on display in J. W. Davis' bookstore (Enquirer, Jul. 3, 1863, p. 3, col. 4). His spirit and mystique continued to live in the hearts and minds of his fellow countrymen for many years.

After Jackson's body left the city to be buried in Lexington, Virginia, another tragic incident struck the city: the Crenshaw Woolen Company burned to the ground on May 15th (Sentinel, May 16, 1863, p. 2, col. 4). Crenshaw, a five-story edifice next to the Tredegar Iron Works machine and blacksmith shops, made the clothing for Confederate uniforms and blankets. The fire, started by friction in one of the picker machines, put 150 employees out of work. Crenshaw had been a leader in the employment of women, on-the-job skill training, and providing cloth that was needed by the soldiers. The machine and blacksmith shops of Tredegar sustained fire damage (Sentinel, May 16, 1863, p. 2, col. 4).

Adult Education--Mid-Year Assessment

By the end of May, the battered Richmonders still maintained their allegiance to Confederate nationalism. The adult education sponsors provided the residents all types of activities: leisure and recreation, literature and art, reading rooms with variety of materials, lecture series, church discussion groups, literary magazines, music, evening schools, and college education. The themes centered on the stalwart women and the soldiers, encouraging them to press on with their patriotic duties and roles. The death of Stonewall Jackson had a deep

psychological effect on the residents. However, adult education continued to influence the mind and shape the attitudes and emotions of many city residents.

June 1863 to December 1863

During June and early July, the Confederacy was at its zenith. But by July 4th, the Confederates had absorbed two major defeats: Gettysburg and Vicksburg. These defeats reverberated through Richmond. For the first time, people openly criticized Jefferson Davis and his administration. The Confederate Congress grew more divided. Problems of food shortages and prices worsened. By Fall 1863, hardships started to affect all social classes. But, all types of educational activities and programs continued unabated.

With the possible threat of another Union advance on Richmond, Governor Letcher, on June 30th, ordered the New Richmond Theater and Metropolitan Hall closed temporarily until the military threat against the city had passed (Dispatch, Jun. 30, 1863, p. 1, col. 6). The Dispatch agreed with the governor by stating, "Our people it is thought, will have amusements enough for a few days in capturing the Yankee Keyes and his hordes of abolition thieves now said to be advancing in the direction of Richmond" (Dispatch, Jun. 30, 1863, p. 1, col. 6). The threat proved to be a false alarm. Thus, the theaters re-opened a few days later and, for the rest of the year, continued to provide the Shakespearean plays, comedies, and musicals that Richmonders liked.

For those interested in religious education and fellowship, Trinity Church provided a variety of educational activities.

Religious Education

Trinity Church, known as the "Mother Church" of Richmond Methodism, had established a Sabbath School for scholars, teachers, and friends (Dispatch, Jun. 2, 1863, p. 1, col. 6). Singing, dialogues, and lecture addresses made up the school's program. On June 2nd it had an anniversary celebration which was well attended by many scholars and teachers. The Dispatch reported that the "celebration was highly interesting and entertaining" (Dispatch, Jun. 2, 1863, p. 1, col. 6). As the war continued, churches, like Trinity Church, provided thought provoking and interesting educational programs for its members and the public at large. Nearly all the churches had reading rooms for its members, filled with books, periodicals, newspapers, and tracts.

The Evangelical Tract Society, representing all denominations, reported at the Annual Virginia Conference of the Methodist Church in Richmond that more than 26 million pages of tracts had been distributed (Enquirer, Sep. 15, 1863, p. 2, col. 5). The educational and religious value of these tracts were attested to by the "numerous letters from chaplains, officers, and privates" (Enquirer, Sep. 15, 1863, p. 2, col. 5). The Society believed that the reading of the Bible, tracts, and religious periodicals, had influenced "the wonderful revivals which God is now blessing our armies" (Enquirer, Sep. 15, 1863, p. 2, col. 5). The most popular religious magazine read in the camps was The Army and Navy Messenger (Enquirer, Sep. 15, 1863, p. 2, col. 3).

In December 1863, the annual report of the Soldiers Tract Association of the Methodist Episcopal South for the year ending November 16th was released (Christian Advocate, Dec. 10, 1863, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2). The summary of the society's report indicated the following issuances: seven million pages of tracts, 45,000 Soldiers Hymns Books, 15,000 Soldiers Almanacs, 15,000 Bible readings, and 15,000 Holy Scriptures--Bibles, Testaments, and Gospels separately boxed (Christian Advocate, Dec. 10, 1863, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2). Since August 1st, the Tract Association had issued more than 50,000 copies of the semi-monthly magazine, The Soldiers' Paper (Christian Advocate, Dec. 10, 1863, p. 1, col. 2). In the summation of its report, the Soldiers' Tract Association said: "The great revival, which for twelve months has been widening its influence throughout the Confederate army, and which, perhaps, for depth and power, has never been surpassed, is greatly the result of this noble enterprise" (Christian Advocate, Dec. 10, 1863, p. 1, col. 2).

Revivals in the Fall took place at Grace Baptist Church, First Baptist Church, and in other churches (Enquirer, Oct. 27, 1863, p. 3, col. 5). The Dispatch reported in November and again in early December that religious revivals took place in various churches "every night" (Dispatch, Nov. 12, 1863, p. 1, col. 7; Dec. 7, 1863, p. 1, col. 5). The Dispatch said that the "pastor [Reverend Dr. A. E. Dickinson] of Leigh Street Baptist Church has committed a protracted meeting, and will continue as long as they are productive of good to his congregation" (Dispatch, Nov. 12, 1863, p. 1, col. 7).

Residents and soldiers read the various religious material. Based on the number of pages of tract material produced and the number of Bibles and New Testaments distributed, it can be assumed that more than half of the city's residents read or were exposed to the religious material put forth by the churches and tract associations. The material, mostly based on a theme of salvation, had become instrumental in bringing about the religious revivals that took place in the city churches and military camps, and by the end of 1863, religion had made a difference in the lives of many residents.

Lecture programs sponsored by the YMCA and churches had become popular as an adult education activity. In fact, the Magnolia complained there were "not enough lectures" (Magnolia, Nov. 28, 1863, p. 68, col. 4). It said that "a course of good lectures delivered here would be of infinite advantage, and need not interfere with the course announced by the [YMCA] Christian Association" (Magnolia, Nov. 28, 1863, p. 68, col. 4).

The Bethel School and Meeting House, 15th Street on Union Hill, had a lecture program and Sunday School under J. D. K. Sleight for convalescing soldiers that numbered 120 (Sentinel, Jun. 4, 1863, p. 4, col. 6). It had a series of lectures on "the war in its relations to the purpose of God, as revealed in scripture" (Dispatch, Jul. 17, 1863, p. 2, col. 1). The fourth discussion held on Saturday morning, July 30th had as its subject topic, "The Northern States of America the most likely location of the lake of fire and Brimstone in which the beast and false prophet will be terminated" (Dispatch, Jul. 31, 1863, p. 2, col. 1).

By September 1863, the United Presbyterian Church, under Reverend Dr. Charles H. Read, sponsored daily services and lectures for Christians of all denominations, normally attended by members of the State and Confederate legislatures, ministers, chaplains, and the public at large (Dispatch, Sep. 22, 1863, p. 2, col. 2).

Confederate Congressman Charles W. Russell, one of the most popular speakers, gave an address at the African Church on October 9th that the Dispatch endorsed before he had delivered it. "We know of no one thoroughly able to counsel the people at such a time as this than Mr. Russell," the Dispatch wrote. "His ability as a statesman, his wide knowledge of the state of the country, and his attentive eloquence, chain of his words [require] the general and serious attention of his fellow citizens" (Dispatch, Oct. 9, 1863, p. 1, col. 6).

In December 1863, Reverend Dr. Moses Drury Hoge, pastor of Second Presbyterian since its founding in 1844, lectured at the YMCA regarding his trip to Europe (Dispatch, Dec. 7, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). He had been asked by the Virginia Bible Society to go to Europe to get religious materials. After running the blockade, he returned with 10,000 Bibles, 50,000 New Testaments, and 250,000 Tracts (Moore, 1978, p. 43). The first in a series of lectures recounting his trip to Europe took place on December 10th (Dispatch, Dec. 7, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). Subsequent lectures on the 15th and 17th of December took place at the First Baptist Church (Enquirer, Dec. 18, 1863, p. 2, col. 5).

For many others, regardless of social class or race, including Richmond's free Blacks, they took advantage of the many educational and recreation activities.

Educational Leisure and Recreation

Since September 1861, the Confederate Reading Room had provided all types of reading material for its patrons. It obtained many Northern newspapers and periodicals, including Frank Leslie's Illustrated News, under a flag of truce (Dispatch, Jan. 27, 1863, p. 2, col. 1). In addition to books, newspapers, and magazines, it obtained portraits of senior Confederate commanders, such as Raphael Semmes and Stonewall Jackson, and artist panorama view of battles, such as the Battle of Fredericksburg (Dispatch, Jan. 27, 1863, p. 2, col. 1). In November, the room had available "Yankee Pictorials" profusely illustrated battle scenes in Virginia, Tennessee, and Charleston, South Carolina (Dispatch, Nov. 5, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). By November 1863, admission to the room had increased from 10-cents to 25-cents (Dispatch, Nov. 5, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). Any soldier on leave or passing through normally found his way to the Confederate Reading Room or one in a city church. These rooms not only provided a variety of reading material but were useful in improving the reading ability of its patrons through the educational appeal and value of the reading material.

Like the Confederate Reading Room, the Virginia State Library served as a learning resource center. In 1863, the library, located on the upper floor of the State Capital Building, had to share its space with a Confederate Meeting Room. The Confederate Government had no public library and archives (Senate Doc. No. 5, 1863, pp. 9-13). The Secretary of the

Commonwealth, George W. Munford, whose jurisdiction included the State Library acceded to the appeals of Confederate Department Heads and Clerks to use the library (p. 11). The Secretary in his report to the Senate expressed concern about "the extension of the privilege of using books...has greatly increased the labors of the secretary and his clerks and must tend to increase the injury to books" (p. 11). However, he believed the advantages outweighed the disadvantages and any inconveniences "therefore I have continued to permit it" (pp. 11-12). He went on to say that "unless otherwise ordered I shall pursue the same course in the future" (pp. 11-12).

When the Confederate Government moved into the Capital Building, the books had been placed in the attic to free up space for committee meetings but at the expense of possible depredation and leakage from the building's roof (p. 13). Consequently, Secretary Munford induced Governor Letcher to use some empty space over the building's portico for the library. After some construction to allow for ventilation and lighting, a large portion of the book collection was removed to this location in 1863. John R. Thompson, the Library committee chair, reported that "the books...are now properly arranged and safe," but the "room still insufficient to have additional shelves erected" (p. 13). He also reported a robbery of \$2,800 of library funds.

In September 1863, the Magnolia Weekly tried to encourage the State Legislature "to extend the privilege of using the library to such persons as are able to furnish satisfactory evidence of their honesty and need of such privilege" (Magnolia, Sep. 19, 1863, p. 312, col. 4). The Magnolia believed that such a privilege "would confer a vast amount of good upon the literary world--providing they pay a certain sum, to be devoted to the purchase of new books for the library, or to increase the salary of the librarian" (Magnolia, Sep. 19, 1863, p. 312, col. 4). The state legislature never extended the privilege of using the state library to the general public during the war, but it remained a learning resource and reference center for the Confederate Congress and the Virginia State Assembly. The general public used the libraries at the Confederate Reading Room, church libraries, and the Literary Society Library housed in the Mechanics Institute.

Thus, the reading rooms and libraries in Richmond served to enlighten the residents, including soldiers and governmental officials, and thereby, promoted and contributed to the growth of knowledge and personal development for a segment of the population.

Nearly eight weeks after the Battle of Chancellorsville and the death of Stonewall Jackson, the Confederate Army invaded Maryland and Pennsylvania to pressure the North and strengthen the growing peace movement in the Union. The Confederates hoped the invasion would relieve Union military pressure on Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, by forcing a withdrawal to meet the Confederate Eastern threat. But, the Confederates in July 1863 suffered two major defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and the war was turned against them. The Richmond newspapers refused to believe that General Lee's army had been defeated at Gettysburg. On July 13th, a week after the battle of Gettysburg, the Dispatch reported to its readers the following: "The battle of Gettysburg was, on our part a triumphant success--an overwhelming success. We best the enemy on all three of the days" (Dispatch, Jul. 13, 1863, p. 2, col.

3). Once the wounded filtered into Richmond and told the true story, the residents became dumbfounded and dispirited, testing their beliefs that God would not let them down.

Now, in late July 1863, they felt that Richmond might soon be lost, and many residents spoke openly about the impact of the two defeats, "The Confederacy was about gone up!" (Putnam, 1867, p. 228). The high tide of the Confederacy had come and gone. The effects of these defeats, coupled with the increased impoverishment and deplorable conditions in the city, caused the residents to speak out openly against their government and its leaders, questioning and blaming Jefferson Davis and the politicians for the state of affairs. Disagreement between the various states and the Confederate central government over the power between them, as defined in the Confederate Constitution, became a divisive issue. People became apprehensive about what to expect next, but as long as their loved ones were in the field fighting, the residents gave them their undivided support. The war went on for nearly two more years.

Despite the loss at Gettysburg, social and economic hardships, and sagging public morale, sponsors of adult education continued their endeavors to provide the people a variety of activities that they had grown accustomed to since 1861. For the remaining six months of 1863, educational amusement centers provided comedies, musicals, and drama, tract societies printed and distributed more religious materials, reading rooms stocked the latest periodicals and newspapers, concerts increased, evening schools increased in number, higher education institutions stayed opened, and literary magazines increased in number. Adult education opportunities had not diminished. In addition, discussions took place in Richmond about starting another state military academy, similar to the Virginia Military Institute, and the Confederate States Naval Academy opened its doors. From July to December 1863, adult education programs, both planned and unplanned, advanced intellectual growth and self-improvement for many residents. Music and songs stimulated the mind and enriched the heart.

Listening to and singing songs were favorite pastimes. Songs expressed the emotions, burdens, humor, and sentiments of the people, and provided an internal uplifting and emotional expressiveness. Since the beginning of the war, an assortment of music with different themes had been presented: outdoor concerts provided in Capitol Square, on Gamble's Hill, at Drewry's Bluff, in the camps, and in the educational amusement centers. Religious music and hymns provided in the churches and sung in the homes. The music seemed to center around the three basic themes of patriotism, sentiment, and spirit. Patriotic music rallied and fostered a love for the Confederate nation, sentimental music fostered a sense of nostalgia to the by-gone days of anti-bellum Richmond, and religious music presented spiritual vivacity or enthusiasm to replenish and uplift one's inner being and spirit.

To support patriotism, the third edition of The Confederate Flag Song Book, released in May 1863, included 80 pages of popular songs and ballads, highlighting humor, sentiment, and nationalism (Magnolia, May 7, 1863, p. 256, col. 3). The first two editions of this song book had sold over 30,000 copies (p. 256, col. 3).

George Dunn and Company of Richmond and Julian A. Selby of Columbia, South Carolina, published eight new songs during the summer (Dispatch, Aug. 25, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). The titles provided the message of the songs, such as "When the cruel war is over," "Harp of the South, Awake," "My Southern Soldier Boy," and "We have parted" (Dispatch, Aug. 25, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). "My Southern Soldier Boy" and "Annie of the Vale" came from the popular musical, Virginia Cavalier, sung by Sallie Partington at the New Richmond Theater (Dispatch, Aug. 25, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). The Dispatch reported that two of the eight songs, "When this cruel war is over," and "Annie of the Vale" are "the sort of music that will inevitably be whistled all over the city in less than a week-indeed the boys have already given it a start" (Dispatch, Sep. 11, 1863, p. 1, col. 6).

During the fall, for those that could pay the \$2 for a round trip, the daily trips to Drewry's Bluff on the steamer Schultz provided the passengers music and dancing (Dispatch, Sep. 18, 1863, p. 1, col. 7). On board, a celebrated Black fiddler and clarinet player named Bozeman, frequently provided Negro minstrel music. At Drewry's Bluff the passengers listened to an army band. These trips provided Richmonders the opportunity to spend a few hours away from the trials and tribulations of life in the city and listen to music that they enjoyed (Dispatch, Sep. 18, 1863, p. 1, col. 7). The Schultz made one round trip daily leaving the wharf at Rocketts Landing at 3:00 p.m. (Dispatch, Sep. 19, 1863, p. 2, col. 4).

Blacks in Richmond held song fests and dances "by invitation only throughout the war" (Jordan, 1995, p. 31). They sang in the factories, on the streets, and in the churches (p. 31 and 49). They seemed to like spirituals and minstrels. The religious music expressed their emotions, feelings, and concern (p. 31). According to Ervin Jordan, author of Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia, Frederick Douglas "asserted that the blacks sang not because they were happy or to forget their troubles but because they were sad about their bondage and wanted to be free" (p. 31). Also, the Blacks held "Negro balls" in the city throughout the war (Chestnut, 1981, p. 458). They also enjoyed going to the Richmond Theater and the Richmond Varieties Theater and sitting in the colored galleries for 50-cents to listen to Buckley's Southern minstrels, Burch's Nightingale Minstrels, and Olio Minstrel and Brass Band (Jordan, p. 151).

During September and October, benefit concerts for the poor and soldiers' families featured Madame Ruhl, a renown soprano, the New Orleans Cantatrice, and Charles Thilow, a well-known pianist of the times (Dispatch, Sep. 24, 1863, p. 2, col. 4). Concerts provided at the Exchange Hotel and the African Church. The Enquirer provided strong endorsements of these benefit concerts: "...only the indigent will suffer this winter, and acts of this kind will do far more to alleviate their wants than all the maximum legislature and brawling demagogues who have so recently illustrated their stupidity could effect in an eternity" (Enquirer, Oct. 23, 1863, p. 3, col. 6).

At the African Church, a Mr. and Mrs. Solman, musical performers, played a new musical instrument, called the Alexandria Organ, to the delight of the listeners (Dispatch, Mar. 26, 1863,

p. 2, col. 5). This new organ, heard for the first time in the city, brought a dimension and sound to the music it played--an emotional experience for many.

For the soldiers, the Richmond Presbyterian Committee of Publications provided a new hymnal entitled Army Hymn Book, consisting of 191 selections, in October 1863 (Enquirer, Oct. 13, 1863, p. 2, col. 5).

In mid-October, Professor C. T. DeCoeniel, a professor of music in Richmond, set to music the anthem, "God Save the South" (Enquirer, Oct. 23, 1863, p. 3, col. 5). This song, declared by DeCoeniel as "Our National Confederate Anthem," became a favorite theme song at concerts and other gatherings but never officially became the Confederate anthem (Enquirer, Oct. 23, 1863, p. 3, col. 5). But it served to instill in the listeners a sense of patriotism for the new nation.

In the Fall 1863, the "danceable teas" in private residences continued, but now they became known as "starvation parties" (Bill, 1946, p. 187; Alfriend, 1891, p. 229). Hetty Cary, a Richmond socialite, paid "\$30 for music and served neither drink or food" (Bill, p. 187). As E. M. Alfriend (1891) observed and later reported: "have music and plenty of dancing, but not a morsel of food or drop of drink was seen...and this form of entertainment became a popular and universal one in Richmond" (p. 229).

Music and dancing, reflecting the Southern culture, provided an emotional and social relief to many people, who learned new songs and hymns and sang them in homes and on the streets. Blacks sang them in the factories as they worked. Soldiers in the Richmond camps sang their favorites, "Home Sweet Home," " Lorena," and "All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight" (Wiley, 1984, p. 152). Music serenaded Kate Mason Rowland in her home in the early hours of the morning: "I was waked up this morning by the sweet music of band on Broad Street" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 172). Music also contributed to intellectual and character development, and religious music helped spur many revivals that took place. As an educational activity, music made a difference in the lives of citizens and soldiers alike. Other residents enjoyed the leisure and recreation at the educational amusement centers.

By mid-September, the Dispatch provided a re-assessment of its earlier view of the shows at the amusement centers and reported: "The performances of this place of amusement [New Richmond Theater] of late have been of an improved character, and are well worth the attendance of those who are fond of this kind of amusement" (Dispatch, Sep. 18, 1863, p. 1, col. 7). At the time, Romeo and Juliet, followed by singing and dancing, played at the New Richmond Theater (Dispatch, Sep. 18, 1863, p. 1, col. 7).

The Magnolia expressed its pleasure that the New Richmond Theater had "abandoned for a time productions of sensational plays, and is turning its attention to more legitimate pieces" (Magnolia, Sep. 26, 1863, p. 320, col. 4).

On December 31st, the New Richmond Theater concluded its season with a grand benefit for sick and wounded soldiers. The Metropolitan Hall closed its season with the Iron Clad Opera Troupe while the Third Grand Musical Festival drew a crowd to Concert Hall at the Exchange Hotel (Dispatch, Dec. 31, 1863, p. 2, col. 3). Other city halls, like the New Market Hall, held grand select balls to close out the year (Dispatch, Dec. 31, 1863, p. 2, col. 3).

Even as the people and soldiers enjoyed these educational leisure and recreational activities, military training and education continued without interruptions.

Military Training and Education

Military training in the city provided new units for Confederate services and kept the local militia in readiness. A dress parade, performed before politicians, generals, and residents, culminated the training cycle and displayed the unit's proficiency and preparedness. Since the beginning of the war, the citizens watched these dress parades with pride and enthusiasm, instilled with a spirited, patriotic feeling that these men would fight hard for the Southern homeland. For example, on May 1st, Major Walker's Battalion had a dress parade in the rear of the Libby Prison on Dock Street that was witnessed by Brigadier General John H. Winder, Richmond's Provost Marshall and many residents (Dispatch, May 2, 1863, p. 1, col. 4). The parade not only served to demonstrate the readiness of the unit but to impress the Federal officers imprisoned at Libby Prison.

Allen's Field in the West End of the city normally served as a parade ground for local and state troops. Reviews, normally witnessed by Governor John Letcher, took place at 12 o'clock on Saturdays (Enquirer, Oct. 6, 1863, p. 2, col. 5).

By early July, militia drills included local residents of all ages able to march and "compose an army in themselves sufficiently brave" (Dispatch, Jul. 1, 1863, p. 1, col. 6). The local militia drilled every day for two hours, training that the Sentinel believed had prepared the soldiers to defend Richmond (Sentinel, Jul. 27, 1863, p. 4, col. 6).

On August 13th, a pamphlet entitled General Instructions was reissued to ensure that the field and company officers instructed their soldiers on the firing tenets and formation alignment. The pamphlet detailed three fundamental instructions:

1. Field and company officers are specially enjoined to instruct their men, under all circumstances, to fire with deliberation at the feet of the enemy; they will thus avoid overshooting, and besides, wounded men give more trouble to our adversary than his dead, as they have to be taken from the field.

2. Officers in command must be cool and collected in action, hold their men in hand and caution them against useless, aimless firing. The men must be instructed, and required each one to single out his mark.

3. In the beginning of a battle, except by troops deployed as skirmishers, the fire by file will be avoided; it excites the men and renders their subsequent control difficult; fire by using company should be resorted to instead. During the battle the officers and non-commissioned officers must keep the men in ranks, enforce obedience, and encourage and stimulate them if necessary.

4. Soldiers must not be permitted to quit the ranks, or strip or rob the dead, nor ever to assist in removing our dead, unless by special permission, which shall be given whether the action is to drive the enemy from the field; the most pressing, highest duty is to win the victory (Enquirer, Aug. 13, 1863, p. 2, col. 5).

In September, discussions began on an idea, conceived by the State Treasurer, to start a military school similar to the Virginia Military Institute. The Enquirer presented its view on the idea by stating: "verily it is edifying to observe the pious innocence with which a pretense of patriotism is betimes made a guise under which to conceal a design in the Treasury or the gratification of ambition or a jealously rivalry Institute at Lexington is well conducted" (Enquirer, Sep. 18, 1863, p. 3, col. 6). The Enquirer, as did most in the State Assembly, believed that it was enough for the state to sustain one military college and "Lexington squarely ought to meet the requirements of the state of Virginia" (Enquirer, Sep. 18, 1863, p. 3, col. 6). The idea never came up again after the Enquirer reported it. However, the need for proper education for young naval officers resulted in the establishment of the Confederate States Naval Academy in the Richmond area.

On February 20, 1861, the Confederate Congress in Montgomery, Alabama, enacted legislation to establish a Confederate Navy Department. To head this department, Jefferson Davis selected an old friend, Stephen R. Mallory of Florida. Mallory had served in the United States Senate from 1851 until January 1861 when he resigned, as Florida seceded from the Union. While in the Senate, Mallory had been chair of the Senate Naval Committee from 1855 to 1861. Under the leadership of Secretary Mallory, the Confederate Navy became a small but remarkable force.

Even though 332 naval officers resigned from the United States Navy and returned to their Southern homes to join the Confederacy, a sizable core of manpower to equip a navy became a priority with Secretary Mallory. The Amendatory Act of April 21, 1862, increased the manpower authorizations for the navy, including those for officers. The need to educate and commission officers remained paramount, and a naval academy was authorized by the Confederate Congress on March 16, 1861 (Scharf, 1887, p. 773). However, it was not until 1863 that plans were undertaken to make the Naval Academy become a reality.

According to Dr. J. Thomas Scharf, a former Confederate officer, Mallory on March 23, 1863, "laid the foundations of the school by an order for the examination by a board of officers of the acting midshipmen...in seamanship, gunnery, mathematics, steam engineering, navigation, English studies, French, drawing, and drafting" (p. 773). On July 23rd, Commander John M.

Brooke, chief of the Confederate Naval Ordnance and Hydrography Department, who had supervised the establishment of the Naval Academy, "approved and recommended for adoption" the regulation and forwarded it to Secretary Mallory who concurred (p. 774).

The man that prepared the Naval Academy Regulation was Lieutenant William H. Parker, an 1848 graduate of the United States Naval Academy, who resigned his commission and joined the Confederacy in 1861 (Encyclopedia of the Confederacy, vol. 3, p. 1180). In the fall of 1863, Parker became the Superintendent of the Confederate States Naval Academy (Scharf, 1887, p. 773).

On October 31st, the Confederate States Naval Academy began instruction for 52 midshipmen on the school's ship, the C.S.S. Patrick Henry (Naval History Division Document (NHDD), 1971, p. III-151). In May 1862, the ship underwent alterations to accommodate its role as the "floating academy." (p. III-151). Although the ship's primary berthing location was at Drewry's Bluff, six miles south of Richmond, it regularly moved from there to the Confederate Navy Yard, which ran from Main Street to the James River (Moore, 1978, p. 54 and p. 96). While at the Navy Yard, the midshipmen received their infantry instruction, exercise, and recreation (p. 54).

In October 1863, the academy had an academic faculty and staff of 18. Lieutenant Wilburn B. Hall of Louisiana, who had graduated at the head of his class at the United States Naval Academy, became the commandant of midshipmen. From October 1863 until April 1865 with the collapse of the Confederacy, the faculty virtually remained intact. Hall, desiring to devote more time to teaching, was replaced by Lieutenant Oscar F. Johnston in the summer of 1864, and Lieutenant Benjamin P. Loyall replaced Johnston who returned to ship duty aboard the C.S.S. Virginia No. 2 (Scharf, p. 774). In 1864, Commander James Henry Rochelle was detailed as the school's commandant of midshipmen and then in 1865 as executive officer in 1865 (Scharf, 1887, p. 774).

Cadets were appointed by their congressional district representatives and by the president who selected cadets from across the Confederacy (p. 774). Confederate legislation in the spring of 1862 provided for the appointment of 106 acting midshipmen (NHDD, 1971, p. III-151). After passing physical and academic examinations, fifty-two cadets became acting midshipmen and began their instruction on October 31st (Scharf, p. 775). These midshipmen faced a curriculum that was modeled on the academic program at the United States Naval Academy. The academy, organized into six departments and 22 branches, provided for four courses with each class taking one of the courses (p. 775). Studies for the fourth class included the following: naval gunnery, artillery, and infantry tactics, practical seamanship, arithmetic, algebra I, English, and geography. Studies for the third class included seamanship, gunnery and artillery tactics, algebra, geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry, physical geography, history, and French. Studies for the second class included studies in seamanship and steam, naval gunnery and field artillery, astronomy, navigation, algebra application, plain and solid trigonometry, French, and political science. The first class studied seamanship, naval tactics, gunnery, infantry tactics, French,

Spanish, navigation, and surveying (Scharf, p. 775). The faculty academic board held examinations in June and December. The December examinations were attended by a board of visitors, composed of three captains and two commanders "who ascertained and decided upon the qualifications of the midshipmen for promotion" (p. 775). Due to fighting in and around Drewry's Bluff, the midshipmen had actual hands-on combat training.

The normal day for a cadet began at seven o'clock with breakfast served at 8:00 a.m. After breakfast and until 2:00 p.m., the cadets involved themselves in classroom studies and recitations. Dress parades and physical exercise took the remainder of the afternoon and into the early evening. The evening tattoo, call to quarters, took place at 9:30 p.m. followed by taps at 10:00 p.m. (p. 775).

Cabins were built near the batteries at Drewry's Bluff for the midshipmen who spent half their time on shore and the other half aboard the school's training ship, C.S.S. Patrick Henry.

In a report to Jefferson Davis, Secretary Mallory reported: "The officers connected with the school are able and zealous, and the satisfactory progress already made by several classes give assurances that the Navy may look to this school for well-instructed and skillful officers" (cited in NHDD, 1971, p. III-151).

During the next 18 months, in 1864 and 1865, the academy became involved in actual combat operations. Its climatic duty was serving as the guardian of the government train carrying the Confederate archives and treasury as the Confederate government left Richmond on April 3, 1865.

As the Naval Academy served the manpower needs of the Confederate Navy, the literary needs of the residents received a boost with new literary magazines and books.

Informal Education--Home Literature

Richmond's enterprising publishers tried to stay abreast of the literary age. The Union blockade had made it difficult to get European books and periodicals. The Enquirer believed that for current literature "a blockade may be good for our health" (Enquirer, May 29, 1863, p. 4, col. 2). The newspaper believed that "within the blockade...we have life itself, all glowing and burning with action and passion" (Enquirer, May 29, 1863, p. 4, col. 2). The Enquirer believed that maybe the Southern literature should "start afresh...and have a fresher wholesome appetite" (Enquirer, May 29, 1863, p. 4, col. 2). The Magnolia informed its readers on May 30th, that "literature, next to religion, is the great moral force which attracts society to improvement, and we have yet to learn that it cannot be popular and refined at the same time" (Magnolia, May 30, 1863, p. 184, p. 4).

The Magnolia Weekly came into existence to provide the fresh approach for literature that the Enquirer advocated. On June 3rd, the Magnolia emphasized its role: "We hold it to be our mission to bring out the literary sunshine of the land, to encourage established genuine to still

greater efforts, and stimulate pens of the unknown and obscure which laurels may be won" (Magnolia, Jun. 13, 1863, p. 200, col. 2). The Magnolia offered a \$500 prize for the best romance, not to exceed 250 pages (p. 200, col. 1). But the Magnolia experienced problems in mid-July in getting its periodical out to its subscribers. Due to emergency conditions, Governor John Letcher had called out the printers to serve in the militia, thereby delaying the July 18th edition (Magnolia, Jul. 18, 1863, p. 240, col. 4).

New books that Richmonders read with interest were Darrell Markham or Captain of Vulture by Miss M. E. Braddon, the author of Aurora Floyd and Lady Luck, and Stonewall Jackson by D. T. Cowell (Enquirer, Jul. 21, 1863, p. 2, col. 7). Cowell's book came out two-and-a-half months after Jackson's death.

Seizing upon the void in literary magazines, a new periodical, called the Southern Punch, came out on August 15th, providing wit, humorous stories, and cartoons. In its first issue, it attacked the Virginia legislature for imposing a 10-cent tax on each patron at an educational amusement center (Southern Punch, Aug. 15, 1863, p. 3, col. 4). The Southern Punch believed that a "highly civilized people have encouraged amusements, because they keep alive a taste for literature and art," and strongly advocated that these centers kept people from "brooding over the calamities incident to war" (Southern Punch, Aug. 15, 1863, p. 3, col. 4). "Amusements, aside from being enemies of the doctors, in a great measure prevent despondency by superinducing much exhilaration of spirits for hours together. While civilian and soldier keep light hearts, the victory is with us" (Southern Punch, Aug. 15, 1863, p. 3, col. 4). Thus, the first issue of the Southern Punch turned out to be a defense on the value and contributions of the educational amusement centers in keeping the people's spirits up despite the discomforts.

But within a couple of months the Southern Punch regularly published articles characterizing German Jews in the city as unpatriotic, greedy, and covetous. For example, in its October 10th issue, the Southern Punch suggested a new name for Richmond: "It has been suggested that a petition be presented to the General Assembly, now in session, to change the name of Richmond to Jew-rue-sell-em" (Southern Punch, Oct. 10, 1863, p. 5, col. 4). The Southern Punch was not the only periodical that presented to its readers anti-semitic stories, jokes, characterizations, and cartoons. The Southern Illustrated News and Southern Literary Messenger, two favorite periodicals of the city's upper class, also provided various discriminatory characterizations about the city's Jewish people. The Dispatch was the first to speak out about this printed anti-Semitism on February 6, 1864.

In the summer of 1863, the residents read with interest a biography titled Benedict Arnold: the Traitor and Drama in Essay by William Gilmore Simms (Magnolia, May 16, 1863, pp. 165-167). With spies and other Northern characters in the city, the reading of the biography caused residents to be more watchful and vigilant.

For its November and December issue, the Southern Literary Messenger had Howison's History of War as a serial feature, along with short stories entitled "The Anglo-Saxon Maniac,"

"The Dying Soldier," "Mr. Regirala's Brindled Dog," "Of the Jewish Nation and its History," "A Wall Digested Plan for the Relief of Richmond," and "A Prayer for Peace" (Enquirer, Dec. 4, 1863, p. 3, col. 3).

On December 12th, the Magnolia published a prospectus on a new literary periodical called The Age. The prospectus said that The Age intended to provide political and literary essays, novels, tales, biographical sketches, book reviews, educational essays and news, and other literary items, such as poems. The first issue was published on February 3, 1864 (Examiner, Feb. 5, 1864, p. 3, col. 6).

Southern literature and publishing lagged behind the North (Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron, 1959, pp. 518-528). The Magnolia attributed the problem not to a lack of native writers, but "for the lack of a reading public" (Magnolia, Nov. 7, 1863, p. 44, col. 3). Now that the South had separated from the North, the Magnolia advocated "a home literature" (p. 44, col. 3). The Magnolia said that "We must build it up, and the present time offers an excellent opportunity for doing so" (p. 44, col. 3).

At the end of 1863, Richmond had five literary periodicals: Southern Literary Messenger, Southern Illustrated News, Magnolia Weekly, Southern Punch, and The Record, a weekly started in June, 1863, by John R. Thompson, former editor of the Southern Literary Messenger. In addition, the city had five religious periodicals: Central Presbyterian, Christian Observer, Richmond Christian Advocate, Religious Herald, and the Southern Churchman. These 10 periodicals provided the residents a variety of literary and religious reading materials. The home literature concept, advocated by the Magnolia, had taken off to the delight of the people.

Despite intolerable conditions in the city, the new home literature had been established for the intellectual pursuits of the people.

City Conditions--July to December 1863

Conditions in the city continued to deteriorate rapidly. Food prices continued to climb and scarcity of food products triggered the onset of starvation. In the Fall 1863, a few relief societies, such as the Sydney Relief Society, began to "relieve the poor and suffering of the western and northwestern suburbs of the city and western part of Henrico county" (Enquirer, Nov. 24, 1863, p. 3, col. 7). The Southern Churchman said that they did not know "whether the scarcity here is owing to holding back supplies or to a scarcity in the country we do not know. The Lord means to try us in various ways" (Southern Churchman, Nov. 13, 1863, p. 2, col. 1). Street dogs became so much a problem not only in numbers and sanitation but in ferociousness that the Enquirer advocated killing them: "Let dogs delight to bark and bite. The general cry of men, women, and children is down with dogs. In the name of God kill!" (Enquirer, Jul. 28, 1863, p. 3, col. 5). By August 1863, Capitol Square which once had been a 15 acre show place had been taken over by "loungers" who destroyed the grass and flowers (Dispatch, Jul. 30, 1863, p. 1, col. 7). On Sundays it became a play ground for "rude, vulgar boys, and drunken men," causing "annoyances" outside the First Presbyterian Church (Dispatch, Nov. 2, 1863, p. 1, col. 7).

Drunkenness on the streets increased dramatically. Even though a drink of liquor which cost 5-cents four years ago now costs \$2, the Dispatch reported that it "is alarmingly on the increase in our midst" (Dispatch, Dec. 29, 1863, p. 1, cols. 5 and 6). The Dispatch recommended that bold action be taken to turn the situation around (Dispatch, Dec. 29, 1863, p. 1, col. 6).

By the Fall, newspaper prices rose sharply, with the Dispatch now costing \$20 a year (Dispatch, Sep. 11, 1863, p. 1, col. 1). Even though the Southern Churchman hoped that "the worst of the greedy spirit of extortion and avarice" was over, price gouging continued (Southern Churchman, Sep. 18, 1863, p. 2, col. 1).

The newspapers complained about the city's inequities and vices (Enquirer, Nov. 6, 1863, p. 1, col. 2). Yet, according to a large clothing merchant, "the ladies are more extravagant in their dressing now than at any former time within his experience" (Dispatch, Aug. 24, 1863, p. 2, col. 2). Things had gotten so bad with the thieves and pick pockets that the Dispatch said that "Every good citizen should dear himself a special policeman to look after the scores of thieves and pick pockets now infesting Richmond" (Dispatch, Jun. 5, 1863, p. 1, col. 6).

Even though the conditions worsened, their affect upon adult education activities was hardly noticeable.

The Year 1863 Closes

The year 1863 proved to be a watershed year for the Confederacy and the residents of Richmond. Two stunning military defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the death of General Stonewall Jackson, and the increasing burdens to deal with increased deprivation contributed to an escalating embitterness toward the Union. In Richmond, a social and economic revolution had started: the war profiteers made money while the middle class and well-established city families began to descend into poverty; two classes of residents had emerged, the haves and the have-nots. Auction houses had a booming business as the people in the older business section used them to auction their shops and businesses to have money to spend. Crime had some of the streets unsafe. The patriotic mood so enthusiastic just a year ago had lost some of its potency. Even with all these miseries and heartbreaks, adult education prospered.

Summary

The year 1863 proved to be an event-oriented year for adult education in Richmond. Despite severe economic and social conditions, adult educational activities increased in scope, availability, and influence.

Lecture programs sponsored by the YMCA and some of the churches had become quite popular, providing attendees a variety of subjects and discussion topics. The educational value of these programs had been an overwhelming success in providing the people new knowledge, enhanced knowledge, and in some cases, refreshing emotional entertainment.

The New Richmond Theater reopened after a devastating fire closed it on January 1, 1862, and, along with the other educational amusement centers, provided serious dramas, such as Macbeth and Julius Caesar, musicals, comedies, and pantomimes. By newspaper accounts, more than half of the audiences at these centers were soldiers, a dramatic change from 1861 and 1862. Overall, these educational centers provided the cognitive and emotional sustenance that enhanced the emotional development of its patrons.

By the end of 1863, Richmonders had available five literary periodicals, all providing short stories, serials, poetry, biographical sketches, news, cartoons, and sketches. These literary magazines became the reading material of the city's upper middle class.

Many new books became available with a Southern flavor: The Confederate Spelling Book, The Confederate Primer, books to prepare students for college arithmetic, grammar, and readings, and some classics like Victor Hugo's Les Miserables. The literature influence was designed to develop "a home literature" in the city, where the residents read literature stories written by Southern writers.

Art exhibitions featured paintings and illusory art on various Southern scenes which provided observers a visual learning experience.

The various church groups kept turning out their religious periodicals, filled with biblical stories, testimonies, poems, and prayers. By the end of 1863, Richmond was home to five religious periodicals, each sponsored by a particular church denomination.

The various tract societies and associations distributed millions of pages of tracts with spiritual messages, thousands of Bibles and new Testaments, and religious magazines.

Religious revivals had taken place in many city churches and military camps. The genesis of these revivals was in part due to the reading of these religious materials by citizens and soldiers alike.

Both the Medical College of Virginia and the Richmond Female Seminary graduated classes and started new academic terms. The Southern Female Institute remained opened. In October, the Confederate Naval Academy began its academic program to educate young men for commissioned duty in the Confederate Navy.

Evening schools, sponsored by private citizens, provided college preparatory instruction, specialized studies, and leisure and recreation training, such as dance, voice, and instrument instruction.

Patriotic slogans projected through poems, stories, religious services, and amusement center shows, encouraging the soldiers to fight on for the Southern cause. Other themes, through religious services and reading materials, concentrated on the individual's spirituality and salvation.

These adult education learning resource centers, including the Confederate Reading Room, provided its patrons all types of reading materials, including the latest books, daily newspapers (both North and South), periodicals and magazines, and poetry. These libraries provided the types of reading materials that the soldiers and citizens wanted.

The Secretary of the Commonwealth of Virginia, who supervised the State Library and Archives, took steps to safeguard the collection and also, authorized the use of the collection to Confederate Government officials and staffers.

Publishers provided new patriotic songs to stir emotions. Outdoor concerts conducted in Capitol Square, on Gamble's Hill, at Drewry's Bluff, and in the city's military camps uplifted the population. Musicals held at the educational amusement centers had a distinct Southern favor.

Themes of educational activities, programs, and materials centered around women, soldiers, personal development, and spirituality. For the women, the themes encouraged them to leave their homes to get involved, in nursing the sick and wounded, working in the factories and mills, visiting and writing letters for wounded soldiers, and performing in benefit theatricals. Women received the message and responded in large numbers.

The death of General Stonewall Jackson, a Southern icon in his own time, devastated and demoralized Richmonders. The people lost a hero. Yet, in death, Jackson lived on in poems, plays, books, and writings--the people wanted to learn about their lamented hero.

Conditions in Richmond had reached a point by March 1863 that starvation was a reality, and associations formed groups to aid the poor. The middle class by the end of 1863 slipped further toward poverty, some selling their home and furnishings. War profiteers kept getting richer. Crime including murders surged. Public drunkenness became a serious problem. Hundreds of dogs ran rampant in the streets, soiling, howling and biting people. Small pox epidemic hit in January. The social and economic situations got so bad that a food riot was halted only after being threatened by the Confederate president with the militia if they did not disperse. Throughout these extremely difficult times, Richmonders nevertheless endured through improvisation and resourcefulness, and made do in creative ways with what little they had.

Amazingly, the opportunities for adult education continued despite the obstacles. Richmonders participated in all kinds of educational activities such as leisure and recreation, reading and discussion groups, music and concerts, evening and Sunday schools, lecture programs, fraternal association programs, religious education, college programs, and home literature. Adult education had not yet felt the wrath of wartime.

The Christian Advocate summarized the year as follows:

The past year has been painfully impressive in many of its events...In light of its occurrences, 1863 is as long as the history of a decade of years in less momentous times...Its bloody records, to which every day has made sad

contribution, are deeply inscribed upon the hearts of our people. No prophet is amongst us to foretell the things of 1864. The sealed book is in the hands of the Son of God, and he alone can dispose its events (Christian Advocate, Dec. 31, 1863, p. 2, cols. 1 and 2).

CHAPTER V

TOTAL WAR AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES-1864

"God help my country" wrote Mary Chestnut (1981) in her dairy entry for January 1, 1864 (p. 519). Such an appeal was in line. Southerners from the beginning of the war thought God was on their side. Robert Hunter noted: "The parson tells every Sunday that the Lord is on our side, I wish, however, he would show his preference for us a little more plainly than he has been doing lately" (cited in Kimball, 1976, p. 160). As Mary Chestnut (1961) concluded: "Hope and fear are both gone, it is distraction or death with us" (p. 196). After escaping the full onslaught of earlier years, Richmond experienced total war in 1864.

The gaiety continued but Richmonders knew that the losses they sustained in casualties in 1863 would not be replaced to the levels needed to stop the Federal campaigns. The Union Army had a new commander, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, a man who believed in moving forward on the attack. Starting with the Battle of the Wilderness, followed by Spotsylvania, Beaver Dam, Yellow Tavern, North Anna, Enon Church, Bethesda Church, Cold Harbor, and the trenches around Petersburg, Grant attacked and advanced on Richmond. He stopped the prisoner exchange program, denying the Confederate Army sorely needed replenishment manpower. The Confederacy required a miracle to survive.

The additional deprivation and deplorable conditions created an untold strain on the city. The population rose to an estimated 128,000, a three-fold increase since January 1861 (Dabney, 1976, pp 182-183). Starvation became a serious problem among the poor. Profiteers made staggering profits. Crime soared. Prostitution was widespread. Sickness and disease still occupied the attention of the city's doctors and nurses. Efforts were undertaken to remove those residents, particularly women and children, that were not vital to the defense of the city. Federal prisoners were sent to Confederate prisons in North Carolina and Georgia. Factories and the mills continued to supply the Confederate army with the ammunition and supplies it needed. Yet, with all this extraordinary discomfort, astonishingly the public remained optimistic. As the Southern Churchman said: "The old year has gone; nothing now left the remembrance of many sad hours; but these have departed; as all of earth whether of joy or sorrow will depart" (Southern Churchman, Jan. 8, 1864, p. 2, col. 1). For large numbers of Richmonders, adult education activities provided the release, relaxation, and socio-cognitive input to keep their minds alert and their spirits replenished.

A new Virginia governor, William Smith, was sworn in on January 1st and received the public from 12:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. at the Governor's Mansion (Enquirer, Jan. 1, 1864, p. 3, col. 5). Governor Smith, who earlier had served as a Confederate major general, announced that he would make a practice of meeting with the public at the Governor's Mansion, starting at 8:00 p.m. on January 8th and every Friday after (Dispatch, Jan. 8, 1864, p. 1, col. 1). These public "levees" provided the people an opportunity to learn the latest on the war and state affairs as well as enter into a dialogue and discussion with the governor on various topics (Dispatch, Jan. 8, 1864, p. 1,

col. 1). The residents who took part in these levees found it to be rewarding educational experiences.

January 1864 to July 1864

During this period, religious revivals continued and church services overflowed with worshippers. The winter months were extremely cold and many people appeared in the streets begging for food. Some of the newspapers reduced their paper size by half due to paper shortages. Social events, such as balls and receptions, occupied the evenings for the social elite. Starting in May, General Grant started his push against Richmond by crossing the Rapidan River and attacking Confederate forces in the Wilderness. By early June, the Union Army had fought its way to the outskirts of the city, with the Confederate Army standing between them and the city. Total warfare had come to Richmond. City services were overwhelmed with the sick and wounded. Its streets crowded with army wagon trains and artillery units as they moved south to block Union advances on the city.

Despite the seriousness of the situation, educational activities, such as attending the amusement centers, provided residents and soldiers a welcome diversion from the rages of war.

Educational Leisure and Recreation

Despite the increased admission prices, the educational amusements centers provided the types of shows the people wanted. On January 5th, the Whig explained the importance of gaiety: "Why shall we not be gay? Confederate money is still abundant, and provisions, though costly, may be had in profusion by a manly outlay of funds. Whosoever will, let him eat and drink freely, for to-morrow we go into camp" (Whig, Jan. 5, 1864, p. 1, col. 3).

Professor Bingham presented the Children's Grand Fancy Ball at Concert Hall and "introduced several new and beautiful dances" (Whig, Jan. 5, 1864, p. 1, col. 3). At the New Richmond Theater, "a rare bill...of intellectual farce" included the Bride of Lammermoor, the Lady of Lyons, the Corsican Brothers, and Nothing to Nurse (Whig, Jan. 5, 1864, p. 1, col. 3). In January, the New Richmond Theater presented Charles II, Andy Blake, Angel of Death, Quiet Family, (Enquirer, Jan. 8, 1864, p. 2, col. 5; Dispatch, Jan. 12, 1864, p. 1, col. 2). Madame Ruhl and Professor Thilow provided benefit concerts, while the Iron Clad Burlesque Opera Troupe and Brass Band, in its third week, continued "to promote intellectual development by the stimulus of Confederate fodder applied to the organ of wit" (Whig, Jan. 5, 1864, p. 1, col. 3).

In mid-February, the Enquirer endorsed this educational leisure and recreational activity: "We know there must be recreation even in the midst of mourning and sorrow, and it is the duty of all to take recreation...those who can laugh and dance at such time should do so" (Enquirer, Feb. 16, 1864, p. 2, col. 1). These centers afforded soldiers passing through the city "innocent recreation" that "otherwise would be forced to seek amusement in the drinking houses, and even worse places" (Whig, Apr. 5, 1864, p. 1, col. 2).

In April, one of Richmond's favorites, Charles Morton, starred in the play Toodles at the Metropolitan Hall (Southern Illustrated News, Apr. 2, 1864, p. 104, col. 1). The New Richmond featured Roll of the Drum (the First Battle of Manassas) and Miscegenation, a play about a Virginian Negro in Washington (Dispatch, Apr. 13, 1864, p. 2, col. 4). In April, the Whig found that some of the theater performances were dull and attended by small audiences (Whig, Apr. 27, 1864, p. 1, col. 3).

Throughout 1864, Metropolitan Hall provided singing, dancing, and minstrels, including Birch's Celebrated Nightingales Minstrels, a favorite of the Blacks. The newspapers and literary magazines criticized the management of the New Richmond Theater for the horror dramas that were presented. As the Whig on May 7th noted: "in these dreadful times...we suggest...more lively plays than have played of late. People who go to the theater now want something cheerful and amusing...there are horrors enough in the daily walks of life without peoples going to a theater to see them" (Whig, May 7, 1864, p. 1, col. 3). The theaters closed for ten days from May 10th to May 20th due to Sheridans's Raid at Yellow Tavern, just north of Richmond. The city and its militia went on full alert.

All types of grand balls and social events took place, some at the New Market Hall, Magnolia Hall, Concert Hall (Exchange Hotel), and Fredericksburg Hall (Whig, Jan. 5, 1864, p. 1, col. 3; Dispatch, Jan. 12, 1864, p. 1, col. 2). These balls, numerous in number and sponsored by different groups and individuals, provided participants an opportunity to dress up, but more importantly put aside some of the daily discomforts for relaxation and socializing. For example, in April, grand balls, featuring Professor Bingham's Fashionable Soirees, delighted participants at Concert Hall (Dispatch, Apr. 13, 1864, p. 2, col. 4). The Whig noted that "one of the hopeful signs of the times is the prevailing mania for parties and frivolity in the city. There has never been a gayer winter in Richmond. Balls and parties every night! One night last week there were seven parties...Go on, good people. It is better to be merry than sad" (Whig, Feb. 10, 1864, p. 1, col. 2).

A week later on February 16th the Enquirer put the gaiety into its proper perspective: We know there must be recreation even in the midst of mourning and sorrow, and it is the duty of all to take recreation; nor would we have persons nursing sorrow-those who can laugh and dance at such time should do so; but there is neither propriety nor necessity with sumptions repast which, while unnecessarily consuming provisions, actually robs others of the bread and meat required for sustenance. It is not that people enjoy themselves that we condemn, but that in doing so they conserve the provisions required for the support of the Army and the poor (Enquirer, Feb. 16, 1864, p. 2, col. 1).

A poignant story illustrated the gaiety and sad syndrome in the city. E. M. Alfriend (1891), a city gadfly, recalled some years later that "dancing was at its height and everybody was bright and happy, when the hostess, who was a widow, was suddenly called out of the room. A hush fell on everything, the dancing stopped, and everyone became sad...told her son had been killed late that evening in a skirmish in front of Richmond, a few miles from his home" (pp. 230-

231). This story illustrated the roller coaster that many city people found themselves on, one moment enjoying self, and the next a heart-wrenching experience that crushed the inner spirit. But the people seemed to endure such experiences, hardening their resolve and determination to go on with the war.

In May 1864, the Christian Advocate, the religious magazine of the Methodist Church, found that educational amusement centers "are not the business of life, but interludes, recreations, refreshments thrown in at intervals to save us from being utterly broken down by unnecessary and perpetual toil...we have a right, may [be] it is our duty as well as our privilege, to give ourselves up, from time to time, to amusement" (Christian Advocate, May 26, 1864, p. 1, col. 5).

One of the most popular educational leisure activities was reading literary magazines and new books. By 1864, the literature rage had taken off in the city. The people now had six literary magazines with the addition of The Age which first appeared on February 3rd. Like the other literary magazines, it featured short stories, literary miscellanies, and an editor's table. Its first issue, 80 pages in length (6X8 inches in size), had 10 short stories, such as "Tracts of the Age," "After the Battle," "A Death-Best Promise," and "Phenomena of Missing" and "French's Friends" (The Age, Jan 1864, p. ii). The magazine cost \$8 for six months or \$2 for a copy, and was published by William M. Burwell and Ernest Lagarde (p. ii).

In its second issue in February 1864, the editors of The Age commented on the eclecticism of the magazine: "Age is the organ of no special theory or opinion, we will endeavor to make it a vehicle for the conveyance of ideas, the prevalence of which we conceive indefensible to a permanent establishment of our National Independence" (The Age, Feb. 1864, p. 169, col. 1). The Petersburg Register found The Age's "selected articles...interesting and attractive to that large class who look as much for amusement and instruction" (cited in The Age, Mar. 1864, p. 241). The Magnolia Weekly, a competitor periodical, applauded the efforts occurring with the new literary magazines: "Since the commencement of the war several undertakings have been established. They are all more or less successful, and we are now congratulating ourselves that we are on the highway to literary destination" (Magnolia, Jan. 23, 1864, p. 132, col. 3).

From the outset, The Age had difficulties in getting out its first two issues due to problems in getting paper and the "disorganized condition of labor" (The Age, Feb. 1864, p. 169, col. 2). By its third issue, the publisher changed the name to The Richmond Age and asked for understanding from its readers: "we hope we can rely upon the indulgences of our patrons,...we shall continue our efforts, notwithstanding all obstacles arising from the disjointed character of the times to effect an early approximation to the proper date of publication for the successive numbers of magazines" (The Richmond Age, Apr. 1864, p. 317).

The Southern Literary Messenger passed into the hands of a Mr. Wedderburn and E. M. Alfriend in January 1864. The thirty-year old magazine continued to present romantic stories, poetry, and literary criticism (Whig, Jan. 16, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). The serial on Howison's popular and interesting History of the War attracted many new readers (Whig, Jan. 12, 1864, p. 2, col. 1).

The Southern Illustrated News found the Southern Literary Messenger "the incongenet and development of genius and learning and the healthful instruction and amusement of the reading public" (Southern Illustrated News, Jan. 16, 1864, p. 16, col. 4).

In March, the Southern Illustrated News, which first appeared in September 1862, awarded a \$1000 prize for the best romance novel to Miss M. J. Haw for The Rivals: A Tale of Chickahominy (Southern Illustrated News, Mar. 19, 1864, p. 81, col. 3). Like the Richmond Age, in June 1864, the Southern Illustrated News experienced difficulty in getting its periodical out due to "the converting of a civil into a military government and the unprecedented abridgement of the freedom of press...during the past three weeks" (Southern Illustrated News, Jun. 11, 1864, p. 160, col. 1). The June 11th issue was the first since its May 7th issue.

The Southern Illustrated News found that even with the wartime conditions and drawbacks "literature has grown" (Southern Illustrated News, Jan. 11, 1864, p. 16, col. 4). It reported that "the avidity with which the content of these papers are devoured by citizens...will prove a source of enjoyment and instruction to the aged as well as young" (Southern Illustrated News, Jan. 11, 1864, p. 16, col. 4).

On April 1st, Smith's and Barrow's Monthly joined the growing number of literary periodicals (Magnolia, Mar. 5, 1864, p. 184, col. 3). Its first issue featured original and selected short stories, tales, poetry, sketches of life, and an article on national politics (Magnolia, Mar. 5, 1864, p. 184, col. 3). A single issue cost \$2 (p. 184, col. 3).

City publishers had made Richmond a literary capital, wanting the South to have its own literature base with Southern writers. By mid-1864, these publishers, along with their editors, had provided the people seven literary periodicals for their leisure reading and "instruction" (Southern Illustrated News, Jan. 16, 1864, p. 16, col. 4). Despite shortage of paper, employees ordered to military duty, and mechanical breakdown of equipment, the literary magazines appeared. These magazines printed literary classics such as Dickens' Tale of Two Cities, mysteries, love stories, sketches of life and people, poetry with a sentimental and national value, and humor and wit. The basic audience seemed to be the middle class and social elite, with articles and stories appealing to women and the elderly. For example, the Magnolia Weekly promoted itself as "The Ladies Paper" with broad appeal in the "Home Circle" (Magnolia Weekly, Sep. 6, 1864, p. 1, col. 6).

In addition to the new literary magazines, the Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal became a reality on January 1st (Enquirer, Jan. 5, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). The journal published under the auspices of the Surgeon General, Dr. Samuel Preston Moore, and edited by Dr. John B. McCaw, used "the reports and archives of the Medical Department...to be the practical representations of the profession...[in] elaborating the valuable results of its labors" (Southern Illustrated News, Jan. 23, 1864, p. 32, col. 4). The monthly journal cost \$10 for a one-year subscription (p. 32, col. 4). The first issue had 16 pages (Magnolia Weekly, Jan. 16, 1864, p. 124). The Enquirer found the journal "a very handsome exhibition of interesting information and tasteful typography...reading material for every physician" (Enquirer, Jan. 8, 1864, p. 1, col. 6).

At the same time the journal came out, Dr. C. R. Bricker of Richmond had prepared A New (Southern) Medical Work which served as an easy reference book for doctors (Dispatch, Dec. 7, 1863, p. 2, col. 2).

Both the journal and the reference guide served as continuing education materials to enhance the knowledge and skills of the doctors. The journal served as a lessons-learned publication, providing the doctors first hand knowledge of new medical diagnosis and treatment of diseases, treatment of gunshot wounds, and new surgical techniques.

While the journal and reference guide helped doctors, city publishers busied themselves in turning out new books for recreational reading and instruction.

In January 1864, George Dunn and Company published a complete Grammar of the French Language by Professor John Caristison (Whig, Feb. 3, 1864, p. 1, col. 3). With this book, the publisher said "It is not among the impossibilities of the future that our intercourse with the French will be largely extended, and there is no better time than the present for acquiring the desirable parlex" (Whig, Feb. 3, 1864, p. 1, col. 3).

On April 5th, a book entitled The War and its Heroes came out, featuring portraits and biographies of Generals Cooper, Jackson, Lee, Ewell, the Hills, and Longstreet (Southern Illustrated News, Mar. 19, 1864, p. 88, col. 3). At the same time, M. E. Braddon wrote Eleanor's Way, and Edward A. Pollard offered the public The Two Nations (p. 88, col. 3). Eleanor's Way, along with Nights on the Rapidan, ran also as serials in the Southern Illustrated News (Southern Illustrated News, Mar. 12, 1864, p. 76, cols. 2-4; pp. 77-79, cols. 1-4).

In July, Chaudion's Spelling Book, a popular family and school book, had already sold over 5,000 copies and the publisher printed a third edition of ten thousand copies (Enquirer, Aug. 16, 1864, p. 3, col. 6). The Enquirer said that the "value of this little book may be estimated by its popularity...two editions of 5,000 copies, and...a third of ten thousand copies" (Enquirer, Aug. 16, 1864, p. 3, col. 6).

In April, Ayres and Wade published Eleanor's Victory by Miss M. E. Braddon which later in the year appeared as a play at the New Richmond Theater, War of Heroes, featuring the lives of 17th century generals, and the Rebel Songster, a collection of songs written since the start of the war (Dispatch, Apr. 16, 1864, p. 2, col. 1).

In early May, West and Johnston, the city's largest publisher, published the Southern Pictorial Primer, designed to be used in schools and the home, combining instruction with amusement (Southern Illustrated News, May 7, 1864, p. 152, col. 4).

With so many books appearing, the Central Presbyterian offered its views on reading books:

A person may be ruined by reading a single volume. A wicked book is the worse, that it cannot repent. Books are company; and the company of bad books is as dangerous as the company of bad associates while that of good books is like that of good men. The continued multiplication of books not only distracts choice, but disappoints inquiry (Central Presbyterian, Nov. 24, 1864, p. 2, col. 5).

The people in the city had a wide choice of books and literary magazines to read. It appeared that they preferred English novels, short stories, tales, sketches of lives, and histories, particularly those about the American Revolution. For schools, publishers turned out instructional books, particularly English grammar books with a Southern flavor. Paper shortages and printing press breakdowns slowed the publication process but books and journals of all types continued to be made available to the public and the schools.

Like the various reading activities, lecture programs became a favorite educational leisure activity. Over the past three years, lecture programs had become a popular educational activity. The programs, sponsored by churches, YMCA, and individuals, promoted interest and knowledge in politics, religion, Confederate state of affairs, military campaigns, medicine, Europe, the Middle East, and other areas. The sponsors provided lecturers that were not only knowledgeable about their subjects but also stimulating and entertaining.

In mid-January, the Honorable J. L. M. Curry, a Confederate representative and one of the South's most eloquent lecturers, delivered a lecture entitled "Political Quicksands-perils incident to a free government" in the Broad Street Methodist Church (Religious Herald, Jan. 14, 1864, p. 2, col. 4). The Religious Herald reported that the audience "was large and appreciative" (Religious Herald, Jan. 14, 1864, p. 2, col. 4). It viewed this lecture as an example of the "importance of education" (p. 2, col. 4). A few weeks later Reverend Dr. James A. Duncan, pastor of the Broad Street Methodist Church and known as the "matchless pulpit orator," gave a lecture on "the Introspection of the Age" (Whig, Feb. 11, 1864, p. 1, col. 4). Dr. Duncan, an eloquent speaker and editor of the Christian Advocate, always drew large and enthusiastic audiences to his lectures.

Reverend Robert Hardie, Jr., chaplain of the 2nd Louisiana Infantry Regiment of Stafford's Brigade, provided a lecture on "Yankee Prisons" in late January at the Broad Street Methodist Church (Whig, Jan. 27, 1864, p. 1, col. 3). At the same time, Reverend Andrew Broaddus lectured and preached at the Grace Street Baptist Church (Whig, Jan. 27, 1864, p. 1, col. 3).

In early February, at Saint Peters Catholic Church, Bishop John McGill lectured on a variety of subjects for the times "...listened to with much pleasure by Protestants and Catholics" (Enquirer, Feb. 2, 1864, p. 3, col. 5). Two weeks later Reverend Dr. Lansing Burrows, pastor of the First Baptist Church, gave a lecture on Lewis Minor Coleman, former professor at the University of Virginia and lieutenant colonel of the 1st Virginia Infantry Regiment (Whig, Feb. 18, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). Coleman had been mortally wounded in action at Fredericksburg and died on

March 21, 1863 (Krick, 1991, p. 96). Burrows' lecture highlighted Coleman's career as a Christian, scholar, and soldier (Whig, Feb. 18, 1864, p. 2, col. 2).

A month later at the First Presbyterian Church, the same church where Dr. Burrows gave his lecture, Reverend Beverly T. Lacy, chaplain to Stonewall Jackson, lectured on the character of Jackson (Whig, Mar. 31, 1864, p. 1, col. 2). Dead for nearly one year, the legend of Jackson had grown to mythical proportions. City residents wanted to know more about this man who lived by the New Testament and fought under the precepts of the Old Testament. Lacy's lectures provided standing room audiences with keen insights into Jackson's Christian-oriented character.

The most prolific lecturer was Reverend Dr. John Leyburn. Having been to the Middle East and Greece, he put together a series of lectures, featuring subjects on these two areas. On February 2nd at the Second Baptist Church, he gave a lecture on "The Jordan and the Dead Sea, with an Adventure with a Band of Bedouin Robbers" (Whig, Feb. 2, 1864, p. 1, col. 3). In late February, he presented a lecture entitled "Egypt-sight seeing in Grand Cairo and a trip to the Pyramids" at the "densely filled" United Presbyterian Church (Examiner, Feb. 23, 1864, p. 3, col. 4). He had previously given a lecture on Palestine. Two days later, he lectured at the First Baptist Church on "Constantinople and the Turks," providing descriptions of the city, habits, and customs (Whig, Feb. 25, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). In mid-March, Dr. Leyburn gave a YMCA-sponsored lecture on Greece at the United Presbyterian Church (Dispatch, Mar. 17, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). Throughout the year, Dr. Leyburn spoke in the city's churches and halls on various topics.

The women of Church Hill presented "The Tableaux Vervants" at the Springfield Temperance Hall, a two story building at the corner of 26th and M Streets (Dispatch, Mar. 1, 1864, p. 1, col. 5). J. F. Snipes presented the keynote address before a "large and grateful audience," raising \$500 for soldiers' indigent families (Dispatch, Mar. 1, 1864, p. 1, col. 5). In early April, as part of the YMCA lecture program, Reverend William A. Hall of Louisiana lectured on the historic significance of the Southern Revolution at the Second Presbyterian Church (Dispatch, Apr. 5, 1864, p. 2, col. 1).

The lecture program had become a popular adult educational activity in the city that provided the attendees thought provoking and stimulating subjects. The newspapers clamored for more lectures because of their intellectual value. For other residents, reading poetry became a favorite educational leisure activity.

Poetry, emphasizing patriotism and sentimentality, appealed to the women and soldiers. Newspapers which had printed as many as four to six poems daily in 1861 now barely printed one or two poems a week. The newspaper slack meant poetry had been picked up by the literary magazines, and religious periodicals provided poems occasionally. The diminution in available poetry seemed to be due to an increase in short stories and serials.

One poem, entitled "A Happy, Happy Dear," started off the new year (Southern Illustrated News, Jan. 2, 1864, p. 1, col. 1). A sentimental poem, "Richmond on the James," written by an exile, appeared in August (Southern Illustrated News, Aug. 20, 1864, p. 189, col. 1). The unknown author, away from his home, recalled the anti-bellum Richmond of another period.

Margaret Junkin Preston, wife of Colonel John T. L. Preston, a founder of Virginia Military Institute, joined the small group of Southern poets in putting battles and leaders into verse. In June 1864, she wrote one of the South's poignant poems as a tribute to her departed brother-in-law, General Stonewall Jackson (Enquirer, Oct. 4, 1864, p. 3, col. 7). The 13-verse poem, "Stonewall Jackson's Grave," became one of the South's favorites (Enquirer, Oct. 4, 1864, p. 3, col. 7). Preston wrote other poems that the people widely accepted. She became known as the Poetess of the Confederacy, and wrote from the heart with strong feeling about Southern nationalism. Her 18-year old son, Willie Preston, a favorite of Jackson, suffered a mortal wound on August 29, 1862, at the Second Battle of Manassas, and died during the night (Krick, 1990, p. 271). After Willie's death, her poetry and writing became more sentimental.

H. C. Alexander wrote the first published poem in memorial to Major General J. E. B. Stuart, mortally wounded at the Battle of Yellow Tavern, outside Richmond, on May 11th. He died the next day in the Richmond residence of his brother-in-law, Dr. Charles Brewer (Whig, May 24, 1864, p. 2, col. 2; McClellan, 1958, pp. 413-417). Somewhat like Jackson, Stuart became a Southern icon: people wanted to know as much about this fallen hero as possible. In due course, newspapers printed the exploits of Stuart, more poems appeared lamenting him, implying that General Lee did not know what to do without him.

Poetry personalized the battles and the leaders, providing the personal introspection that Southerners desired.

Music also nourished the people, particularly with its primary themes of patriotism, nationalism, and sentimentalism. The melodies seemed to soothe, whether listened to or sung. Band or instrument concerts had increased in number since 1861, particularly the outdoor and camp concerts.

On April 15th, Madame Ruhl provided a concert to benefit the soldiers' families at the African Church (Dispatch, Apr. 15, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). The YMCA sponsored this event.

During the summer months in 1864, Gamble's Hill became the place to be listening to stirring, timely music (Bill, 1946, p. 229). Music in Capitol Square was offered at least twice a week, normally on Tuesday and Saturday afternoons in the summer, starting at 6 p.m. (Whig, Jul. 4, 1864, p. 1, col. 5). The Whig wanted less of the "merely scientific and unfamiliar compositions, and more of the popular arrangements, operatic medley...that will enliven the people who will throng to the Square" (Whig, Jul. 4, 1864, p. 1, col. 5).

George Dunn and Company, a city music publisher, kept turning out new songs, such as "No Surrender," the Stephen Foster ballad "Why No One to Love," and "Pray, Maiden, Pray," a poem set to music by A. J. Turner (Enquirer, Feb. 10, 1864, p. 3, col. 4; Dispatch, May 4, 1864, p. 2, col. 2).

Since the war began, music provided many residents an avenue to enhance and enrich their emotions and feelings. The bands and publishers provided that sustenance with patriotic, sentimental, and popular music.

While music enhanced the people's emotions, the Confederate Reading Room offered all types of reading materials for leisure and cognitive pursuits.

By 1864, the Confederate Reading Room had become a learning resource center. All types of reading materials kept coming into the Confederate Reading Room: "Yankee" pictorials and periodicals such as Harper's Weekly, and Frank Leslie's Illustrated News, and European papers, such as the London Illustrated News and London Punch (Whig, Feb. 22, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). By June, soldiers had to pay 50-cents for a single admission to the room, or purchase 50 tickets for \$10 or 20 tickets for \$5 (Dispatch, Jun. 29, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). Since its beginnings in the fall of 1861, this reading room had drawn large crowds.

Like the crowded Confederate Reading Room, churches overflowed with worshippers for Sunday services.

Religious Education

The revivals that started in 1863 continued into 1864. On Sundays, churches had overflowing congregations. As Mary Chestnut (1981) noted in her diary: "met crowds coming from Mr. Mennegerode's church. No standing room left, even" (p. 544). Three months later, Judith McGuire (1867), a parishioner at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, known as the "Church of the Confederacy," recorded in her March 20th diary entry: "Our Lent services in St. Paul's Lecture Room, at seven o'clock in the morning are delightful. The room is always crowded to overflowing-the old, the young, the grave, the gay, collect there soon after sunrise; also military officers in numbers" (p. 255). Since 1861, the reading rooms in most churches became a gathering place to study the Bible, listen to guest speakers, discuss topical issues, and carry on conversations. These rooms promoted the social, cognitive, and spiritual values that encouraged the people "to sacrifice for the cause" (Thomas, 1971, p. 131).

To establish a Sunday School system in every Baptist Church, the Baptists appointed Reverend William E. Hatch of Manchester, Virginia (Dispatch, Mar. 21, 1864, p. 2, col. 5). He organized, where practical, Sunday Schools in Virginia, providing "valuable Sunday School books" (Dispatch, Mar. 21, 1864, p. 2, col. 5). Most of the Richmond churches had Sunday Schools for all ages.

The various tract societies provided soldiers in the camps and residents with new educational materials. At the annual Virginia Bible Society meeting held at the Broad Street Methodist Church, a report read by Reverend Dr. David S. Doggett revealed the following issuances and distributions: 9,000 Bibles, 10,000 Testaments, 50,000 Gospels, 20,000 copies of scriptures, and 87,000 copies of different books from the British and Foreign Bible Society distributed (Southern Churchman, Apr. 15, 1864, p. 2, col. 4).

In its June 24th issue, the Christian Advocate appealed to rally the heart and spirit of the people: "This spirit of prayer must be maintained, cultivated, improved, and increase in power. It must still burn in our hearts, flame on our altars, rise from all company and be the perpetual incense of the land, from the morning until the evening, going up continually to heaven...O let us press the battle of prayer" (Christian Advocate, Jun. 24, 1864, p. 2, col. 1).

The churches and the tract societies provided the population with all types of educational activities: Bible studies, lectures, discussion groups, tracts, reading materials in its reading rooms, and community projects to help the poor and refugees. Through its educational activities, they hoped to ferment a spiritual awakening among the people. The revivals had started and Bible reading became a daily practice for most soldiers in the camps and city residents. But as Kimball concluded, "it is impossible to determine the extent to which religious beliefs and practices of people sustained their courage and valor" (Kimball, 1976, p. 152).

Associations--Self-Improvement and Community Service

The Richmond Philharmonic Association, comprised of amateur musicians, resumed its meetings and rehearsals on January 11th (Dispatch, Jan. 13, 1864, p. 1, col. 7). The association had suspended its operation at the start of the war. In the past, this association had provided musical programs, including instruction for new musicians, to the public and served as the city's unofficial orchestra. The Dispatch expressed pleasure at their return (Dispatch, Jan. 13, 1864, p. 1, col. 7).

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows held their annual communication on April 15th (Whig, Apr. 1864, p. 1, col. 2). The Masons held their Grand Annual Communication of the Grand Lodge of Virginia on December 12th in Masonic Hall (Whig, Nov. 24, 1864, p. 2, col. 6). These fraternal organizations had a dual purpose: self-improvement for its members through their educational programs and service to the community. The themes of their educational programs encompassed fellowship, recreation, ceremonial and ritual, and community service--all designed for a member's self-development and improvement. They served its members well in providing simulating, educational programs.

The city's YMCA continued to sponsored the popular lecture program with the winter lectures starting in early October (Dispatch, Sep. 15, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). The YMCA added several hundred more books to its library. As it did the previous two years, it sponsored Bible study classes in the city's hospitals and reported increased attendance at its daily prayer meetings (Dispatch, Sep. 15, 1864, p. 1, col. 6).

For the war years, the YMCA provided its members, the general public, and the soldiers in the hospitals a variety of educational opportunities, normally with religious themes of spirituality, salvation, and helping the down trodden. Through its lecture programs, the themes centered on nationalism, patriotism, and spirituality. The YMCA proved to be an effective sponsor and provider of adult educational programs and materials, as did many Richmond fraternal associations.

Despite the variety of educational activities, the people faced difficult times.

Despair, Despondency, and Discomforts

The times were hard, and there had been little success on the battlefields. The outlook was gloomy and many residents started to become discouraged and despondent. The severely cold winter of 1863-64 had left the poor completely destitute of heating fuel to cope with the severe coldness for the winter of 1864-65 (Whig, Nov, 1864, p. 1, col. 4). The Whig encouraged the City Council to "do something to supply them, and there is no use in postponing their action" (p. 1, col. 4).

Prices of meat had drastically increased: fair to prime beef jumped from 60 cents to \$1.50 a pound; mutton from \$1.25 to \$1.50 a pound; and pork from \$2.50 to \$3.00 a pound (Enquirer, Jan. 5, 1864, p. 3, col. 7). Apples cost \$80 a barrel while bacon went for \$3.25 a pound (Enquirer, Jan. 8, 1864, p. 2, col. 6). Soap jumped from \$1 to \$1.25, candles sold for \$4.25, an increase of 25-cents, and hay cost \$12 for 100 pounds (Enquirer, Jan. 8, 1864, p. 2, col. 6).

Prices at the New Richmond Theater also increased: \$5 for a seat in the dress circle, \$8 for the parquet circle, \$1.50 for the second tier, and \$35 for a private box holding six people (Whig, Feb. 16, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). The Whig noted that "these private boxes are seldom without occupants" (Whig, Feb. 16, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). All the city newspapers raised their prices with the Whig now costing \$30 a year and the Enquirer, \$50 (Whig, Jan. 8, 1864, p. 1, col. 1; Enquirer, Jun. 7, 1864, p. 3, col. 1). The Dispatch which sold for 2-cents in January 1861 now cost 20-cents a copy or \$40 a year (Dispatch, Jul. 1, 1864, p. 1, col. 1).

Things became so desperate that the Enquirer suggested the city round up the roaming wild dogs and use the "skins of dogs [to] make good leather" (Enquirer, Jun. 21, 1864, p. 3, col. 3). In mid-June, 130 dogs were caught and the Enquirer estimated that the skins from these dogs would "...make \$2,500 worth of leather" (Enquirer, Jun. 21, 1864, p. 3, col. 3).

The Confederate Coffee Factory, which made "artificial coffee" burned, entailing a financial loss of \$100,000 (Christian, 1912, p. 246). The prisons and hospitals were filled to capacity with 47,176 patients in a two year period admitted to Chimborazo Hospital (p. 251).

The Whig suggested that Richmonders "be scared" (Whig, Feb. 2, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). The paper went on to suggest that "an occasional fit and fear is very wholesome, for it abates conceit

and encourages the growth of humility" (p. 2, col. 2). On the other hand, the Southern Churchman addressed the problem as a lack of energy on the part of the people. It said that "our people lacked this essential quality [energy]; but that they had begun to put forth a little more that used to...we had need to be taught this lesson" (Southern Churchman, Apr. 22, 1864, p. 2, col. 1).

A few weeks later the Dispatch stated that the people of Richmond "have a higher education to duty and resolution. This they have shown throughout this war in their readiness to meet sacrifices of all kinds. They have united with their devotion to the cause" (Dispatch, May 7, 1864, p. 2, col. 1). The Enquirer exclaimed that "May 1864 in Richmond is far from being like May 1859, as May is from December...what a change has occurred" (Enquirer, May 31, 1864, p. 2, col. 4).

Two months of hard fighting by the army at the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor had left the people dispirited. As the Southern Illustrated News reported that "two months of active campaigning, illustrated by a succession of the severest conflicts of the war, have left only a narrow trail of desolation along unprotected highways, and the memory of a few outraged, innocent and helpless beings, to cheer and animate the federal Army, which now lies in the trenches of Petersburg" (Southern Illustrated News, Jul. 9, 1864, P. 170, col. 1).

Summary: January 1864 to July 1864

By summer, the trenches of Petersburg became the home of the Confederate Army. The Virginia Military Institute was burned by Union forces. Confederate General Jubal Early had stunning victories in the Shenandoah Valley, at Monocacy, and threatened Washington, D.C. Food became scarce and more people now appeared in the streets begging for food, shelter, and assistance. The city had begun a slow death watch. Yet, the people remained optimistic despite the difficulties. Educational activities continued with minimal interruptions.

July 1864 to December 1864

The Confederate Army found itself in a siege line around Petersburg, trying to protect this vital railroad hub and keep the rail lines open to Richmond. Despite the closeness of Union forces to the city, the people remained hopeful but were becoming weary of war. Educational activities became critical as the residents sought activities to keep their minds alert and provide them the psychological relief to keep their spirits replenished. For many, reading had become a popular educational leisure activity that nourished the mind and one's inner being. For the women, the Confederate Reading Room finally opened its doors to them.

Educational Leisure and Recreation

Since 1861, the Confederate Reading Room had become a valuable learning resource center for soldiers and men. In November 1864, John M. Raymer bought out the Confederate Reading Room and supplied it with a new lot of pictorials, periodicals, and Northern newspapers (Dispatch, Nov. 24, 1864, p. 2, col. 1). He also had available "all Southern and city papers" (p. 2, col. 1). In November 1864, for the first time, the Confederate Reading Room opened its doors to

women, "expressly and exclusively for ladies between 3 and 5...no gentlemen will be allowed between those hours" (Dispatch, Nov. 27, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). For the women, Raymer had available ladies magazines and books on fashions (Dispatch, Nov. 27, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). The extent that women used the room is unknown.

In late September and early October, the theaters closed due to enemy action around Richmond and nearby Petersburg. The Enquirer expressed joy at the re-openings: "The opening of the theater at this time will assist in no small degree to dispel the gloom which has prevailed throughout the city during past few days, and we trust it will not be closed again during the war" (Enquirer, Oct. 7, 1864, p. 3, col. 3). Shortly, before the re-opening, theater stage manager Robert D. Ogden fled North, but was captured in King George County by Confederate forces (Whig, Oct. 25, 1864, p. 1, cols. 4 and 5). Ogden, who claimed to be a British subject, felt that he was not subject to the Conscription Act, but Southern authorities thought otherwise (Whig, Oct. 25, 1864, p. 1, col. 4). Imprisoned in the city's prison, Castle Thunder, he was replaced as manager by Edmund R. Dalton (Enquirer, Oct. 4, 1864, p. 2, col. 3; Enquirer, Oct. 25, 1864, p. 3, col. 6). As Dalton took over the management of the theater, he found that "competent actors are now more difficult to obtain" due to the Conscription Law (Whig, Oct. 18, 1864, p. 1, col. 3).

The educational amusement centers flourished despite the most adverse circumstances. The Southern Illustrated News reported that, "Truly in Richmond, the drama still lives....The audiences nightly in attendance are large and fashionable, with the pieces produced of the most select order" such as Charles Dickens' Oliver Twist (Southern Illustrated News, Nov. 5, 1864, p. 214, col. 1). The Religious Herald, a Baptist periodical, found the theaters "spiritual pest houses but unaffected with a love of vice, or at least with the hatred of it very much abated from what it was before" (Religious Herald, Nov. 16, 1864, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2).

Grand balls provided the participants an opportunity for relaxation, recreation, and conversation in the midst of a city in peril. In November and December, guests paid for a \$5 or \$10 entrance fee for balls, at Tanner's Hall, Monticello Hall, and New Market Hall (Whig, Nov. 21, 1864, p. 2, col. 4; Dispatch, Nov. 24, 1864, p. 2, col. 2).

In late November, the Eutaw Brass Band played a variety of waltzes at Metropolitan Hall, such as the overture to Norma, the serene scene from Il Trovatore, and Sound from Home (Whig, Nov. 30, 1864, p. 1, col. 5). In early December, the Olio Minstrels, a corps of Ethiopians performed, nightly to crowded audiences at the Richmond Varieties Theater (Whig, Dec. 2, 1864, p. 1, col. 4). Sallie Partington, one of Richmond's own, performed at the New Richmond Theater on December 1st in a "building...crowded to its utmost capacity" (Southern Illustrated News, Dec. 3, 1864, p. 260, col. 1).

During the 1864-65 winter months, the Southern Illustrated News reported that the New Richmond Theater might be "the only solitary star twinkling in the dense gloom of the theatrical horizon" (Southern Illustrated News, Sep. 17, 1864, p. 212, col. 1). Their prophecy proved to be correct.

Governor William Smith held "tri-weekly soirees" under the George Washington monument in Capitol Square backed by band music (Enquirer, Aug. 19, 1864, p. 4, col. 4). As Kate Mason Rowland noted in her dairy for August 21st: "The band on the square played as they passed along and cheer rang through their lines as they went by on their march to battle and death" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 236).

On September 3rd, Major General George Pickett allowed the 30th Virginia Infantry Regiment to give a concert at the Exchange Hotel's Concert Hall so that they could raise money to buy new musical instruments (Whig, Sep. 3, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). The crowd enjoyed the concert, but the amount of money raised was not reported. Also, in early September, John W. Davies and Sons, a Richmond music publisher, produced five new dancing numbers: "Carnival of Venice," a quick step, and waltzes titled "Greenwood," "Castle," "My Home," and "Mountain Boy" (Dispatch, Sep. 6, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). A new song, "Farewell to the Star-Spangled Banner!," released by Davies in late October, drew more curiosity than anything else (Dispatch, Nov. 1, 1864, p. 2, col. 4).

During October, the educational amusement centers provided fewer shows because many of the actors had to perform militia duty as the Union siege around Petersburg intensified. In late October, Blacks attended Olio Minstrels and Brass Band, featuring new songs, dances, farces, and operas (Whig, Oct. 26, 1864, p. 1, col. 5). Richmond Blacks regularly heard them in the amusement centers.

On October 22nd, the Charleston Brass Band, led by a Professor Mueller, serenaded Brigadier General Johnson Hagood and his staff at the South Carolina Soldiers' Home, formerly the Exchange Hotel (Whig, Oct. 22, 1864, p. 1, col. 4). The band numbered ten musicians, including a bass and kettle drummer (Whig, Oct. 22, 1864, p. 1, col. 4). The Whig hoped "that during their stay in Richmond, they [the band] will favor the ladies of our city with a concert on Capitol Square" (Whig, Oct. 22, 1864, p. 1, col. 4). Mueller led the Eutaw Band in concert at Metropolitan Hall on December 2nd, playing such songs as "Casta Diva," "Sounds from Home," and "The Anvil Chorus" (Whig, Dec. 2, 1864, p. 2, col. 4). One enthusiastic music lover said: "This is the best band you have ever heard in Richmond!" (Whig, Dec. 2, 1864, p. 2, col. 4)

Although the concerts in Capitol Square were free, all men between the ages of 15 and 60 had to show their military exemption papers at the concerts (Whig, Nov. 10, 1864, p. 1, col. 4). Without proper papers, men were taken to the Soldiers Home to be processed for service or arrested for desertion (Whig, Nov. 10, 1864, p. 1, col. 4).

In the Fall, the Steamer William Allison provided moonlight excursions down the James River, leaving the city wharf at 7:00 p.m. and returning at midnight (Dispatch, Sep. 10, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). The Armory Band, under the direction of Professor Loebman, provided music. The fare cost \$10 for gentlemen, \$10 for a gentlemen and a lady, and children under 10 \$2.50 (Dispatch, Sep. 10, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). These excursions provided the participants an opportunity for relaxation, music, and conversation. Although more of a social event, it provided the people

an opportunity to replenish their emotions and feelings, despite difficult times in the city. At the same time, others availed themselves of the fall horse racing season.

In September, the Brock Road Race Track provided the location for the six week fall horse racing season (Dispatch, Sep. 10, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). The races had two-mile heats and a one-mile race. The season lasted until November 5th. This type of activity provided some people an emotional relief and relaxation from their daily despondency and discomforts.

Partington's Dancing Academy opened for another season of dancing instruction on September 15th in Monticello Hall, at a cost of \$100 for three months of instruction (Enquirer, Sep. 2, 1864, p. 3, col. 3). Classes were held three times a week on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday afternoons from 3:00 p.m. to 5 p.m. (Enquirer, Sep. 2, 1864, p. 3, col. 3).

Card games and charades proved to be popular forms of educational leisure in some of the city homes. Major General J.E.B. Stuart played charades in the home of Colonel and Mrs. Joesph C. Ives the day before he was mortally wounded at Yellow Tavern (Kimball, 1976, p. 168).

Despite the severe circumstances in the city, many residents partook in a variety of educational leisure and recreational activities as a means of relaxation and to relieve themselves of almost otherwise unbearable burdens of daily life. Other residents involved themselves in religious educational activities.

Religious Education

The Evangelical Tract Society had a new superintendent and corresponding secretary, Reverend W. B. Wellon (Whig, Nov. 16, 1864, p. 1, col. 4). Since its beginning, this tract society had published and distributed over 50 million pages of tracts, thousands of gospels and hymn books, and published a semi-monthly paper called the Army and Navy Messenger, a favorite among the soldiers (Whig, Nov. 16, 1864, p. 1, col. 4).

By September, the Religious Herald, a Baptist religious magazine, had supplied 3,200 copies of its magazine at a cost of \$25,500 (Religious Herald, Sep. 8, 1864, p. 1, col. 1). It reported that the paper for each issue now costs \$465 compared to \$30.70 in 1861 (p. 1, col. 1). Its weekly expenses in 1864 totaled \$905, but it was taking in only \$300; so in January 1865, it raised its annual subscription rate to \$10 to make up the deficit (p. 1, col. 1). The cost of labor and printing paper had increased drastically and now impacted religious magazines as well as literary magazines. Still the Herald met each issuance date even with these added burdens. On December 1st, it asked the Richmond public to donate Bibles to the soldiers (Religious Herald, Dec. 1, 1864, p. 1, col. 4).

The Christian Advocate advised its readers on November 10th that "it is with great difficulty that we publish our paper because...our printers are obliged to do guard duty...We are doing the best our circumstances will allow" (Christian Advocate, Nov. 10, 1864, p. 2, col. 10).

Instructional Books, Colleges, and Schools

In October, because school books were in short supply, West and Johnston offered to buy the following school books: 15 copies of Green's Analysis, 12 copies of Well's Chemistry, 6 copies of Cleveland's Correspondence of English Literature, 8 copies of Tyler's Universal History, and 4 copies of Robbins' Guide to Knowledge (Dispatch, Oct. 6, 1864, p. 2, col. 3).

George L. Bigood, a city publisher and bookseller, put out the second edition of Smith's English Grammar to be used in the schools (Dispatch, Oct. 4, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). The first edition sold over 20,000 copies (Dispatch, Oct. 4, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). Dr. J. L. Dagg, former president of Mercer University, put forth the New English Grammar Book in late November.

The schools in the city clamored for new instructional books. Most students at the Medical College of Virginia (MCV) used old medical books for some of their studies.

On March 9th, MCV ended its 1863-64 academic session with a commencement at the African Church when 48 graduates from 12 states and the District of Columbia received their medical degrees (Whig, Mar. 10, 1864, p. 1, col. 3). Twenty of the graduates came from Virginia. Faculty member Dr. A. E. Peticolas delivered the commencement address (Dispatch, Mar. 10, 1864, p. 2, col. 4). The term had started on November 2, 1863, with an enrollment of 93 students (MCV Catalog, 1863-64). The normal five-months semester had been reduced to four months due to "the daily increased expenses of living to which the student was subjected, as well as the uncertain conditions of affairs, and the excited and restless state of the popular mind, in which medical students naturally shared, and which was extremely unfavorable to prolonged and sustained attention to scientific instructions" (Report of Dean to State Auditor, Doc. No. XI, 30 Sep. 1863, p. 6). Dean Levi Joynes also reported that "the faculty exerted themselves, however, by proper condensation and system, to give their class a course substantially the same in extent and completeness, as in the longer term which had been customary" (p. 6).

On November 1st, the 1864-65 academic term began with 155 students, the largest number since the 1859-60 session (MCV Catalog, 1864-65). Dean Joynes expressed the gratitude of the faculty that the college [had] "been able to continue the regular course of instruction without interruption during four years of war..." (MCV Catalog, 1864-65, p. 7). With many of the faculty overseeing hospitals in the city, plus supporting the college's hospital, the ability of the college to keep its educational program going is a remarkable accomplishment.

The Richmond Female Institute had advertised its academic term for 1863. But, for 1864, no newspaper notices could be found indicating that the Institute remained opened. It had moved its operation after the 1862 term to the Caskie House so that its building could be used as a hospital for Confederate officers. Alley (1977) said after the 1863 term the Institute closed for the duration of the war (p. 113). The school did not re-open until the fall of 1865 (Religious Herald, Nov. 16, 1865).

The Southern Female Institute, modeled after the University of Virginia and Virginia Military Institute, remained opened. The Institute aimed at affording "young ladies the facilities which are given to young men in our best colleges" (Meager, 1939, p. 74). In 1864, the school still operated under a three department concept-preparatory, collegiate, and ornamental. Its academic session for the 1864-65 term started on October 3rd (Whig, Oct. 1, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). Classes had been interrupted during the 1863-64 session because the instructors, including the principal, D. Lee Powell, had been called to military duty. For the 1864-65 academic term, Powell announced the following to the parents and students:

I regret to know that the complaint has been made of this absence from the classrooms. When the enemy are so near to our homes we shall not, I trust, be accused of neglect by pupils or patrons for leaving the more peaceful halls of sciences and taking our places side by side with the fathers and grandfathers of the city in the trenches. The immediate crisis passed, I can promise that there will be no neglect of, an absence from my classes. In my absence the majority of recitations shall be heard by competent assistants; so that there will be no absences of the pupils from the school (Dispatch, Oct. 4, 1864, p. 2, col. 2).

Despite the trying circumstances, college educational programs provided the students knowledge and skills in medicine, nursing care, liberal arts, mathematics, foreign languages, military sciences, and marine and naval sciences. The education not only included classroom instruction but practical, experiential activities in the hospitals, in the camps, and in combat operations. The emphasis seemed to be on subject mastery and skill development to educate doctors, military and naval officers, and women.

In addition to the college degree programs, a number of private schools provided college-level preparatory programs for young men and women.

The Select School for Boys opened for another academic term on September 26th (Dispatch, Sep. 10, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). It specialized in the classics and Advanced English. A plus for the students was that the principal had an exemption from military service and that the "school will be conducted without interruption" (Dispatch, Sep. 10, 1864, p. 2, col. 2).

Evening schools in the city catered to the young men who had military duty or worked during the day. Monsieur Louis Gambin ran a French Language Night School for men on 11th Street (Dispatch, Sep. 20, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). He opened the school on October 3rd for the 1864-65 academic session. Gambin conducted classes from 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. three times a week, specializing in the teaching of French (Dispatch, Sep. 20, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). He guaranteed that "his system of teaching the French language is such that will enable the scholar to speak it as well as translate it" (Dispatch, Sep. 20, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). The six month academic term cost \$150 (Dispatch, Sep. 20, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). Gambin also provided private lessons.

On September 19th, the Night School for Young Men began its academic term under the direction of Mr. Curtis A. Jones (Dispatch, Sep. 16, 1864, p. 2, col. 3). The school was in session three hours every night starting at 7:00 p.m., except Saturdays, and offered college-level English, mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, and orthography. Students paid \$15 per month (Dispatch, Sep. 16, 1864, p. 2, col. 3).

Other private night schools operated by private individuals, including Night School at the School, located at Franklin Street and 9th Streets, which operated on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday nights from 6:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. and specialized in English and mathematics (Dispatch, Nov. 28, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). S. T. Pendleton opened his night school on 4th Street for another year on October 1st (Dispatch, p. 2, col. 2).

The Musical Academy, with Professor DeCoeniel as principal, provided vocal and instrumental training (Dispatch, Oct. 4, 1864, p. 2, col. 2). DeCoeniel had operated his musical academy for a number of years in the city, normally opening in early October of every year for a six month session (Dispatch, Oct. 4, 1864, p. 2, col. 2).

Sallie Partington's Dance Academy on Broad Street re-opened for another season in October, providing dancing instruction and specializing in polkas and waltzes (Dispatch, Sep. 20, 1864, p. 1, col. 3).

The number of people who participated in the evening schools' programs and the leisure and recreational academies is unknown. The popularity can be judged by their continuance from year to year from 1861 despite the difficult conditions and deprivations in the city. These schools and academies provided adults the opportunities to enhance their subject knowledge, learn new subjects, develop skills in music, dancing, and other recreational activities, and develop the students' educational interests and needs. Although privately run, these schools and academies served important roles in adult education as sponsors and providers of adult education programs and activities in a beleaguered city.

Efforts undertaken in 1863 to safeguard the book collection and archives of the State library proved to be successful in 1864. The Enquirer, which had launched a campaign in 1862 to protect the property of the library from damage and loss, expressed its pleasure in late August 1864 regarding the efforts taken by Governor John Letcher, Commonwealth Secretary of State William Munford, and the state librarian:

We are pleased to see the measures have at length been taken to protect the property of the library from mutilation and loss. Two years ago we urged the necessity of enforcing regulations to prevent this fine collection and subsequently repeatedly called attention to the vandalism by which the most valuable volumes disappeared and rarest engravings and documents were irreparably mutilated. Now, after the greatest of mischief has been done, an effort is made to preserve what remains, and we trust it will be successful (Enquirer, Aug. 26, 1864, p. 3, col. 6).

Access to the library continued to be limited to Confederate and state legislators, department heads, and their staffs.

Early in the year, the Honorable James Lyons lost his home to fire. Lost in the fire was Lyons' magnificent law library, the largest in the city and valued at over \$30,000 (Dispatch, Mar. 17, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). Lyons, a Confederate Representative, had allowed the use of his library on many occasions to Confederate and state representatives. The Dispatch reported that "...there were many old and highly priced works that cannot be obtained anywhere" (Dispatch, Mar. 17, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). Although Lyons' law library was not opened to the public, it served as a secondary reference library to the State Library for Confederate and state lawmakers.

Military Education and Training

The midshipmen of the Confederate States Naval Academy, in existence for only eight months, found themselves in combat facing Federal forces that had landed at Bermuda Hundreds at the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers (Scharf, 1877, p. 776). The midshipmen, placed on the ironclads *Fredericksburg* and *Virginia*, received their first taste of combat. During the summer months the midshipmen engaged in more combat operations than classroom activities (p. 776). With a lull in the fighting, the students returned to their home, the academy's training ship, the *Patrick Henry*, moored in Richmond at Rocketts Landing, and their studies (p. 776). Occasionally, they took up tent quarters in the city. They continued their academics until the evacuation of Richmond on the evening of April 2nd, 1865, when called upon to report to the railroad depot to safeguard the Confederate treasury and archives (p. 777).

In the fall of 1864, the Virginia Military Institute, joined the Confederate States Naval Academy, in making Richmond its home.

The Virginia Military Institute (VMI), founded in 1839, provided more officers for the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia than any other school (Krick, 1991, p. 20). The University of Virginia was second. Located in Lexington, the Institute's cadets came to Richmond in April 1861 to assist in the training of recruits. Cadets involved in artillery training set up their training camp on the campus of Richmond College. They remained in the city for a few months until the initial cadre of troops had been trained and then returned to the Institute in Lexington to continue their studies.

On May 15th, some 247 cadets under Lieutenant Colonel Scott Ship participated in the Battle of New Market, Virginia, resulting in 10 cadets being killed and 47 wounded (Boatner, 1959, p. 588). On May 24th, the corps of cadets paraded in review on Capitol Square before Jefferson Davis and Confederate officials and then received the plaudits of Governor William Smith in front of the Mansion (Whig, May 25, 1864, p. 1, col. 3). Shortly after, the corps was assigned to duty under Brigadier General George Washington Custis Lee, Robert E. Lee's oldest son and military assistant to Jefferson Davis (Whig, May 25, 1864, p. 1, col. 3). For their gallantry at New Market, the VMI cadets had achieved a place in military history.

On June 12th, Federal forces under Major General David Hunter burned VMI (Smith, 1912, p. 206). The cadets, along with a small cavalry unit of Brigadier General John McCausland, provided little resistance for Hunter. The cadets went to Lynchburg where Lieutenant General Jubal Early defeated Hunter and drove the Federal forces into western Virginia (p. 207). Major General Francis H. Smith, VMI Superintendent, ordered the cadets back to the Institute, only to find it in ruins. General Smith then disbanded the corps of cadets "with orders to hold themselves in readiness for the resumption of the school, should that be found practicable" (p. 207).

On November 8th, VMI Special Order No. 23, was issued by the VMI superintendent, to resume "the regular academic exercises...at the Almshouse, Richmond on 1 December 1864. All professors, assistant professors, officers, and cadets, except such as may receive other orders, will promptly report for duty at time and place designated" (Whig, Nov. 21, 1864, p. 1, col. 5). In a report to the Board of Visitors after the war, General Smith said: "In December, 1864, the Almshouse of the City of Richmond was secured for the accommodations of the cadets, and regular exercises were resumed in January, 1865. This continued until the 3rd of April, 1865, when Richmond was evacuated, and the cadets were soon disbanded" (Smith, 1912, p. 207).

The Alms House, the new Cadets' home, was a large, four-story brick building erected before the war started. Originally used as a house for the city poor, the City Council rented the building to the Confederate government to be used as a military hospital (Moore, 1978, p. 55). First used as a hospital for Federal prisoners, it could handle 500 patients (p. 55). Dr. Charles Bell Gibson, a faculty member at the Medical College of Virginia, served as the hospital administrator and surgeon-in-charge. Until December, Confederate sick and wounded had been treated at the Alms House, also known as General Hospital Number 1. The cadets moved in on December 12th and remained there until April 3rd, 1865 (Smith, 1912, p. 207).

Thus, as 1864 ended, Richmond hosted two military schools--the Confederate States Naval Academy and the Virginia Military Institute.

With increased casualties and a dwindling manpower pool, the amount of recruit training had lessened in the camps around Richmond. The local militia drilled once a week, normally on Saturdays. The streets continued to be crowded with soldiers on furlough and wagon trains and caissons as units shifted their positions on the defense line around Richmond and Petersburg. Patrols rounded up males between the ages of 17 and 65, who did not have military exemptions, for duty in the trenches south of the city. On-the-job training in the field became the norm.

As the siege set in, the people became tired and weary of war.

Fall Assessment and Mood of People

By the fall of 1864, it was obvious that Richmonders had grown tired of the conflict. The Southern Churchman in a column in its August 12th issue best summarized the depressions:

Certainly, we have learned some things during the progress of the war. We have learned what a terrible scourge it is. The homes that have been desolated, the hearts that have been made to bleed, the bitter tears, the anguish, the wounds, the schism and sorrows and deaths of more than 3 years, have spoken to us in languages that cannot be misunderstood; that of all evils war is the most terrible. It is not that some evils are greater; loss of character, loss of goodness, and...right and justice greater, but these are exceptions...Hence we have learned one lesson which we hope may descend to our children and children's children; that war is grand only in historical word paintings, that its reality is to be shunned as any other pestilence. And now determined to go on, looking to God for his help and guardian, we are in the midst of another year of war (Southern Churchman, Sep. 9, 1864, p. 1, col. 4)

The exhilaration, excitement, and gay mood of the city in 1861 had now given way to "concatenation of horrors and difficulties" (Southern Churchman, Sep. 9, 1864, p. 1, col. 2). As Judith McGuire (1867) noted in her diary: "Many persons are very despondent, but I do not feel so-perhaps I do not understand the military signs" (p. 315). By mid-October, the city found itself on its knees in prayer: "the day was one monotone of deep, touching devotional silence. When before has Richmond knelt before her altars upon such a Sabbath?" (Enquirer, Oct. 11, 1864, p. 1, col. 1).

Even in these trying times, the residents never forgot the poor and destitute. The duties of providing for the families of the soldiers were transferred from the Army Committee of the YMCA to the Relief Committee (Dispatch, Sep. 6, 1864, p. 1, col. 6). In late November, the Richmond Soup Association was established in the basement of Metropolitan Hall (Whig, Nov. 26, 1864, p. 2, col. 6). Its president was the Reverend Dr. Charles Mennegerode, rector of Saint Paul's Episcopal Church (Whig, Nov. 26, 1864, p. 2, col. 6). The Soup House went into operation on December 1st and on that day, distributed over 80 gallons of soup to the poor (Dispatch, Dec. 2, 1864, p. 1, col. 7).

By the end of 1864, the newspapers did their best to raise the spirits of the people, but not with much success. However, the residents had not lost their heart, and did everything to support the soldiers (Christian, 1912, pp. 245-246). The negative conditions had minimal effect on the availability of adult education.

The Year 1864 Closes

The year 1864 closed with severe tribulations and deprivations. Many residents and citizens did not know when and where the next meal would come from. Soup kitchens provided for the most needy but could not satisfy the needs of all the poor. On December 30th, a benefit for the "Soldiers Dinner Fund" raised \$9,000 at the New Richmond Theater (Dispatch, Dec. 30, 1864, p. 2, col. 5). The Confederate Army experienced difficulty in feeding its own soldiers and had to rely on benefits like the one at the theater to help. More than 3,000 helpless women with

children in the city sought employment to feed their families while their husbands, brothers, and fathers stood in the trenches outside the city (Southern Churchman, Apr. 29, 1864, p. 2, col. 1).

The people bore the discomforts and despondency with pride and honor, preferring them over "Yankee" domination. The leaders, including General Robert E. Lee, knew that the end was near--a matter of time. But Richmonders were a resilient people who had endured hardships for four years. As Judith McGuire (1867) noted on December 28th: "Take our people as a whole, they are full of generosity and patriotism" (p. 325).

Educational activities of all varieties provided the people a resource to keep their minds and spirits alert and replenished.

Summary

Total warfare had come to the Richmond area in 1864. But in the midst of the siege that would last from June 1864 until early April 1865, the majority of the people faced some human need or want. Starvation became a serious problem for the city with the scarcity of food products. Disease and pestilence brought more sickness and death. Hospitals became grossly overcrowded. Most Federal prisoners were moved to prisons in North Carolina and Georgia. Newspapers and the literary magazines experienced paper shortages and equipment failures. Desertions increased. The Confederacy appeared to be on its death bed with Richmond, its capital, a sick patient. Mary Chestnut (1961) wrote in her diary, "Hope and fear are gone, and it is distraction or death with us" (p. 196).

For the year, adult educational activities experienced some minor disruptions, particularly in the on-time availability of literary magazines, books, and amusements. Richmonders welcomed the Virginia Military Institute as the city became its temporary home.

The theaters and concert halls provided intellectual amusements that filled their centers. However, for the first time since the war began, less than full houses became a new problem for theater management, and criticism leveled by the newspapers and literary magazines over the types and quality of shows got their attention. The show themes seemed to change to ones of humor and comedy, providing the patrons a more stimulating uplifting experience than the horror productions provided. Overall, the amusement centers flourished providing the people dramas, musicals, concerts, comedies, and pantomimes. Their cognitive and emotional effect on the people who attended is hard to determine and measure, but, the educational amusement centers offered them thought provoking, stimulating, and emotional entertainment.

The YMCA sponsored lecture programs had achieved remarkable success and popularity, and the 1864 program continued to draw large crowds. The themes of the programs varied: politics, Middle East, spirituality, salvation, and nationalism.

The literature rage that had started in the city in 1862 flourished in 1864 with the addition of two new literary magazines, The Age and Smith's and Barron's Monthly. The people now had seven literary magazines to choose from. During the year, most of the magazines experienced lateness in getting its publication out due to paper shortages, equipment failure, and labor problems. Their themes centered around love stories of a sentimental nature, heroes--both men and women, fashions, and light hearted tales of bygone days--a strong appeal to the women.

Despite paper shortages and equipment mechanical problems, the city publishers made available to the resident new books on a variety of subjects, including instructional books, such as primers, English grammar, and science books. They advertised for old instructional books that could be reprinted and made available to schools. Books on poetry did not have the same appeal as they did in 1861.

Under new ownership, the Confederate Reading Room opened its doors to the city's female residents for the first time, stocking fashion magazines and literary periodicals appealing to them.

The churches and the tract societies provided the people and soldiers in the camp programs and materials on the Bible with special emphasis on spirituality and salvation. The churches used Sunday School, Bible study groups, and discussion groups as their means to instruct and inspire the participants on the plan for salvation. Tract societies and associations provided millions of pages of tracts on a variety of religious topics, distributed thousands of Bibles and New Testaments, and conducted Bible studies, along with the YMCA, in city hospitals. The efforts of the churches and the tract societies helped to ignite religious revivals in the city churches and military camps, starting in 1863 and continuing into 1864. Revivals became the norm right up to the end of the war as the people and soldiers sought spiritual comfort from its wicked ravages.

For many residents, music, both listening and singing, provided popular and sentimental songs that soothed their despair and despondency. People came to Capitol Square, Gamble's Hill, and the camps to be uplifted by the Southern patriotic and sentimental music, and others went to the concerts at the educational amusement centers to listen to singers and choruses in formal operas to Southern musicals. Music buoyed the emotional support for many people so that they could cope with their daily discomforts.

The Medical College of Virginia (MCV) reduced its academic term to four months, but used the same medical curriculum that they had used for the longer five-month term. Faculty members doubled their efforts in the classrooms and the hospitals. Three faculty members administered the largest hospitals of the 44 hospitals in the city. The faculty, along with the Confederate Surgeon General's office, also contributed to a new medical journal that appeared early in 1864. Like the city clergy, the MCV faculty members became the foremost educators in this beleaguered city.

It appeared that the Richmond Female Institute closed some time after the 1863 academic term, while the Southern Female Institute kept its doors opened despite the temporary military duty of its principal and some faculty.

Private evening schools provided collegiate level instruction on a variety of subjects, such as English grammar, foreign languages, and mathematics. Music and dancing academies provided vocal, instrumentation, and dancing instruction. Practicing balls served to display their skill proficiencies after a period of instruction. Night schools and the academies provided instruction in the evenings and on Saturdays.

Conditions improved in safe guarding the book collection and archives of the State Library by constructing a room off the portico of the capital building. Confederate and state governmental officials and staffs used the library as a learning resource center. Despite complaints lodged with the Commonwealth Secretary, the public did not have access to the library.

For military, the midshipmen at the Confederate States Naval Academy participated in both classroom studies and combat operations on the James River. As a result of the Battle of New Market, the Virginia Military Institute cadets received heroes' welcomes from Confederate and state officials in the city. A few weeks later Federal forces burned VMI in Lexington, necessitating the cadets to use Richmond as their temporary home until the end of the war.

With increased casualties and dwindling manpower resources, military training became more on-the-job training than the formal unit training in the early years of the war. Local defense and state militia forces trained for a few hours, normally on Saturdays.

In 1864, six types of themes became the norm for adult educational activities: patriotism, sentimentalism, religious, personal development and improvement, military preparedness, and appeals for women and soldiers. Each sponsor and provider of adult education had its own theme and appeal. For example, the YMCA had two basic themes: member self-improvement and community service. For the churches, spirituality and salvation were emphasized. For the colleges and schools, knowledge and skill development became the themes behind their programs.

Despite total warfare on the city's doorsteps, adult education sponsors and providers offered the residents and the soldiers in the city hospitals and camps a host of educational programs and activities. The percentage of the people who participated in education and training activities cannot be definitely determined. But, based on the activities available, both planned and unplanned, and the amount of reading and instructional material available, and letter writing and reading, it can be assumed that more than half of the city residents engaged in at least one educational activity daily.

Despite measurable discomforts and despair, the resilient people of Richmond, for the most part, profited by the educational activities available in 1864. But the people were dispirited, weary, and despondent. They knew the end of the Confederate experience was at hand.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION UNDER PRIVATIONS AND STARVATION

January 1865 to April 1865

"The New Year was ushered in with no better prospects" wrote Sallie Ann Brock Putnam in her diary (Putnam, 1867, p. 340). The want of fuel, provisions, the scarcity of food, high prices, increased crime, and the growing lack of confidence in Confederate currency had brought the city to its knees as 1865 got underway. The soldiers braved sub-human conditions in the trenches outside the city. Richmond was the last major Confederate city not in Federal hands: Savannah had fallen, Charleston had been abandoned as Sherman moved North, and Wilmington fell with the surrender of Fort Fisher. The bread basket of the Confederacy, the Shenandoah Valley, had been burned by General Sheridan, reducing further the availability of food products.

The capture of Richmond had been the Union objective for four years. With the large Union supply base at City Point on the James River well-stocked with fresh military hardware and food for his army, General Ulysses S. Grant, poised and confident, waited for the right opportunity. It came on April 1st when Major General Philip H. Sheridan broke through the Confederate line at Five Forks. Now, Richmond had to be evacuated. On the evening of April 2nd and the morning of the 3rd, the evacuation took place. General Robert E. Lee knew the end was near and wrote his wife, Mary, who had stayed in a Richmond home on Franklin Street for most of the war, and advised the following: "You will have to send your offerings as soon as you can and bring your work to a close, for I think General Grant will move against us soon....No man can tell what may be the result" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 263).

From January 1865 to April 1865 the residents endured conditions that tested their moral discipline, faith, and physical endurance. Adult education activities, less in number and frequency, provided many residents a release from the strains of their discomforts, despair, and despondency. As Sallie Putnam noted: "Mental improvement was pursued under difficulties well-nigh unconquerable" (Putnam, 1867, p. 195).

Educational Leisure and Recreation

The educational amusement centers provided the intellectual entertainment that appealed to the people. Despite some problems encountered by the manager of the New Richmond Theater, the amusement centers provided the entertainment the residents found intellectually stimulating.

After a short stint in jail for trying to avoid military service, Robert D. Ogden returned as the manager of the New Richmond Theater. He claimed he was a British subject and the Conscription Act did not apply to him. Confederate officials thought otherwise and imprisoned him after he had tried to flee North. Then, the Confederates provided him a physical examination and found him unfit for military duty to the delight of the Daily Enquirer. "With no particular prejudiced for acquaintance with the man, we would suggest that the best light duty he would

placed upon would be the management of the Theater" wrote the Daily Enquirer (Daily Enquirer, Jan. 26, 1865, p. 3, col. 6). Ogden returned. In early January, he put on the French Spy or the Fall of Algiers, featuring Richmond native Sallie Partington as the French spy, and Kate Estelle as the Arab spy (Daily Enquirer, Jan. 10, 1865, p. 4, col. 2). A few weeks later he provided the city patrons Verdi's opera, Il Trovatore, the musical Fanchion, which featured grand fancy dances by Jesse Werner, and a ballad by Inez Floyd and the Child (Daily Enquirer, Jan. 18, 1865, p. 2, col. 6; Feb. 2, 1865, p. 2, col. 7). Ogden advertised for 12 young ladies to be in his productions at \$45 a week (Daily Enquirer, Feb. 2, 1865, p. 2, col. 7). The Brigand featured "new and beautiful mountain scenery, picturesque and characteristic costumes, a grand corps de ballet and a full and complete chorus" (Furgurson, 1996, p. 298).

An interesting production presented in early February was The Drunkard, starring James Harrison and Fay Davis (Daily Enquirer, Feb. 8, 1865, p. 3, col. 7). Drunkenness had become a major social problem in the city and yet, people came to the theater to see a dramatic adaptation of it. On a light-hearted note, the musical Little Barefoot, featuring songs and dances provided the theatergoers a different, pleasurable theme of joy and introspection.

On February 9th, the New Richmond Theater, not only featured the opera, Il Trovatore, but a program of patriotic and sentimental music with such songs as "Happy Moment Is Now Returning," "The Dark and Dreary Clouds of Night," "The Celebrated Anvil Chorus," and "The Soldiers Song and Chorus" (Daily Enquirer, Feb. 9, 1865, p. 3, col. 7).

The Richmond Varieties Theater, renamed as Budd and McDowell's Opera House, presented comical burlesque numbers, songs, and jokes, featuring Billy Brass, Harry Budd, and Miss Alice Ringo (Furgurson, 1996, p. 298). Minstrel shows, a favorite of Blacks, became less frequent from January to April.

The themes of the productions seemed to center around sentimentalism, joy, self-introspection through comical routines, and patriotism. Even as the curtain started to fall on the city, the educational amusement centers provided activities that the people found intellectually and socially stimulating from the dreadful social and economic conditions.

The Richmond Age, one of the city's best literary magazines, made a brief comeback with the January 1865 issue after its operations had been suspended for several months. The editor of the Christian Advocate, Reverend Dr. James A. Duncan, suspended his editorials as he ministered to the needs of soldiers (Christian Advocate, Mar. 30, 1865, p. 2, col. 1).

The music publisher, J. W. Davis and Sons published a number of well known ballads such as "Then You'll Remember Me," "I've Brought Them an Ivy Leaf," and "The Vacant Chair" (Daily Enquirer, Jan. 26, 1865, p. 3, col. 6). Few books now got through the Union blockade. Sallie Putnam found Macaria a welcomed addition to the literature, along with Joesph the Second and his Court and Hugo's Les Miserables (Putnam, 1867, p. 195).

Patriotic and nationalistic appeals appeared in the newspapers and the literary magazines with their themes aimed at women and the soldiers. Public meetings were held to inform and rally the people to vigorously support the cause for Southern independence.

For the social elite, private theatricals and social gatherings in their homes provided intellectual and social diversions from the war. These gatherings occupied the evenings of the social elite and military officers. General Lee had approved such social events for his men. These social events were viewed by the older people in these difficult times as "dancing on the edge of the grave" (Lee, 1987, p. 35). Reflecting back on the leisure and social parties, E. M. Alfriend wrote in 1891: "Entertainment was freely given and very liberally the first year of the war, and at them wine and suppers were generally furnished, but as the war progressed all this of necessity given up, and we had instead what were called 'starvation parties'" (p. 229). These parties featured lively dancing and conversations but no food. But for the upper social class, food was in abundance and the merry making and gaiety at these parties enraged many residents.

Speaking for many residents, Judith McGuire (1867) took great exception to such partying:

I am mortified to say there are gay parties given in the city. There are those denominated "starvation parties," where young persons meet for innocent enjoyment, and retire at a reasonable hour; but there are others where the most elegant supporters are served-cakes, jellies, ices in profusion, and meats of the first kinds in abundance, such as might furnish a meal for a regiment of General Lee's army. I passed where there were music and dancing. The revulsion of feeling was sickening. It seems to me that the army, when it hears of gaiety of Richmond, must think it heartless, particularly while it is suffering such hardships in her defence (pp. 328-329).

While some fortunate residents participated in social gaiety, the majority were in states of despair, despondency, and fear. Hungry, nevertheless they willed their meager food supplies over to the soldiers in the field. General Lee, now commander-in-chief of all Confederate forces, recognized civilian sacrifices. In a reply to a resolution sent from General Wise's brigade said: "If our people will sustain the noble soldiers of the Confederacy, and evince the same resolution and fortitude under their trials which characterize the army, I feel no apprehension about the issue of this contest" (cited in Religious Herald, Feb. 23, 1865, p. 1, col. 5). The Religious Herald tried to rally the people by saying "there is the work for our people to do" (p. 1, col. 5). The Christian Advocate appealed to the people: "For four years we have testified of the earnestness of our purpose in blood and tears. Now there can be no apostasy, no wavering, no selfish and degrading calculations" (Christian Advocate, Mar. 2, 1865, p. 2, col. 1).

But the people pressed, facing the unknown while others partied with their private theatricals, games, and abundant food. The disparages illustrated the social and moral spasms that the city experienced in the last three months of the war.

Religious Education

The churches, the clergy, and organizations, like the YMCA, kept the people focused by providing them educational programs that cultivated their minds and enriched their inner being. These programs provided the people hope and a spiritual understanding of salvation.

Most people continued to attend church services and activities regularly, and activities such as Bible studies and prayer meetings drew large crowds. Prayers, hymns, and addresses provided the people with spiritual sustenance. As Judith McGuire (1867) noted in late January, "The Union Prayer Meetings are great comfort to us. They are attended by crowds; ministers of all denominations officiate at them" (p. 332). From the outset of the conflict, churches had provided the people the educational activities to soothe and comfort them spiritually, educate them in God's salvation plan, and involve them in community projects for the needy. The clergy's primary message from the pulpits has been spirituality and salvation, coupled with patriotism, support of the soldiers, and helping the most needy. "They speak cheerfully, too, on the subject (CSA country); they are sanguine of our success, depending upon the Lord and on the bravery of our troops" (McGuire, 1867, p. 332). The people looked to God to recognize their hurting condition and suffering and bring relief to them.

President Jefferson Davis proclaimed March 10th as a day of "humiliation and prayer with thanksgiving" (Christian Observer, Mar. 9, 1865, p. 2, col. 4). On this day of observance, the Christian Observer said: "Let the hearts of our people turn contritely and trustfully unto God; let us recognize in his chastening hand the correction of a Father, and submissively pray that the trials and sufferings which have so long borne heavily upon us, may be turned away by his merciful love!" (Christian Observer, Mar. 9, 1865, p. 2, col. 4). In spite of fate, many residents strongly believed God was still on their side. On April 2nd, the people filled their churches but little did they know that the Confederate government would evacuate the city that day.

One of the groups that ministered to the needs of the soldiers in the hospitals was the Richmond Chaplains Association (Christian Observer, Mar. 9, 1865, p. 1, col. 4). This group, composed of chaplains from most denominations, provided instructional programs for convalescing soldiers. For example, at Winder General Hospital, the largest hospital in the Confederacy with 98 buildings and a patient capacity of 4,000, a school opened "for the benefit of the attendants and convalescents. They are taught to read and write and are instructed in the usual branches of a plain English education" (Christian Observer, Mar. 9, 1865, p. 1, col. 4).

In late February, Reverend Dr. Robert Ryland found that there were no chaplains in the Richmond Naval Hospital tending to the religious and educational needs of the convalescing sailors there (Christian Observer, Mar. 9, 1865, p. 1, col. 4). He apprised the Richmond Chaplains Association that "there are few or no chaplains in the navy, and that but little is being done for the spiritual welfare of our sailors" (Christian Observer, Mar. 9, 1865, p. 1, col. 4). Dr. Ryland tended to the sailors needs until the association provided a full-time chaplain at the navy hospital (p. 1, col. 4).

The tract societies distributed their educational and religious materials to the camps but with less copies due to paper shortages. Portable libraries became the norm wherein the colporters rotated the books and religious magazines from camp to camp and hospital to hospital.

By February 18th, four of the public lectures sponsored by the YMCA had been delivered, continuing the large success of the series since 1861. Featuring politicians, the clergy, and distinguished citizens, the series provided programs on religion, politics, foreign countries, nationalism, and humanism. They served to enlighten and educate the people on different subjects as well as entertain on others. Reverend James C. Sumpers of Radford delivered the fifth lecture in the series at the Broad Street Methodist Church with his topic being "The Present Revaluation Viewed in its Religious Appetite" (Daily Enquirer, Feb. 18, 1865, p. 4, col. 5).

The churches, clergy, chaplains, and YMCA stood in the forefront in providing intellectual, stimulating programs and activities for myriad people: the needy, the families of soldiers, soldiers in the camps and those on convalescent leave, young and old people, and others. Those groups' activities during the last three months of the war helped to sustain the mental and emotional spirits of many Richmonders.

Colleges and Schools

Up until Richmond was evacuated on April 2nd, colleges and schools provided a variety of educational programs despite financial hardships and difficulties.

The Medical College of Virginia (MCV) achieved remarkable success by keeping its medical degree program of study and clinical program going without interruption during the war years. For the 1864-65 session which started on November 1, 1864, with 155 students, the academic term lasted four months. Although MCV had kept its medical program going, by March 1865 the financial records revealed that the college had few funds to continue to operate both its medical hospital and the college. So, in March, patients in the hospital were transferred to the Egyptian Hospital and the college's hospital rented out as a rooming house (MCV Bulletin, p. 30). Some of the MCV hospital's furnishings were sold at auction to keep the teaching program going (p. 30). In addition, the Dean's Account Book revealed that he had paid \$50 for 3 pecks of corn and \$40 for one bushel of feed for the hospital's ambulance horse (Dean's Account Book, 1859-1871, MCV). The Dean sold the ambulance horse at auction for \$255, less a commission of \$27.50 (Dean's Account Book, 1859-1871). It cost more to feed the horse, \$336 for part of a bale of hay, than the horse was worth (Dean's Account Book; MCV Bulletin, p. 35).

On February 4th, professor of Obstetrics Dr. James H. Conway died, and on April 23rd, long-time professor of surgery Dr. Charles Bell Gibson died. Gibson, a pioneer surgeon and educator, had also served as surgeon general of the Virginia Department and surgeon-in-charge at General Hospital #1, also known as the Alms House Hospital (Moore, 1978, p. 55). To replace Gibson and Conway, the MCV Board of Visitors met on July 12th and appointed Dr. Hunter McGuire of Winchester, former medical director of Stonewall Jackson's Corps, to the chair of

surgery and Dr. Robert T. Coleman of Richmond to the chair of obstetrics (MCV Catalog and Announcement of Session of 1865-66, p. 7).

The last MCV commencement under the Confederate flag took place on March 14th at the African Church with an "overflowing audience" (Daily Enquirer, Mar. 14, 1865, p. 3, cols. 5 and 6). Dr. James B. McCaw, MCV professor of chemistry and pharmacy and surgeon-in-charge of Chimborazo Hospital, delivered the key note address to the 62 graduates (33 from Virginia) and audience (Daily Enquirer, Mar. 14, 1865, p. 3, col. 5). Graduate Dr. Alexander C. Ewell won the \$100 prize for the best essay on the theory and practice of medicine--"The Mud: Its Physiological Relation with and Pathological and Therapeutical Action over the Body" (Daily Enquirer, Mar. 14, 1865, p. 3, cols. 5 and 6). The best essay for subject on surgery went to Dr. William D. Hopper of Richmond for the topic, "The Anesthetic Agent, Chloroform" (Daily Enquirer, p. 3, cols. 5 and 6). To encourage scholarly research and writing, MCV had awarded annually two cash prizes to the class graduates with the best essays on the theory and practice of medicine and surgery.

For the 1865-66 term, the academic enrollment dropped from 155 to 38 but only 23 graduated in 1866 (Sanger, Appendix I, pp. 74 and 76). By July 7th, Dean Levin Joynes reported to the Board of Visitors that the college was without funds and proposed an assessment of ten dollars for each faculty member, "such proportion as may remain unexpected to be refunded" (Deans Report, Jul. 7, 1865, MCV).

Thus, MCV became the only medical school in the 11 Confederate states to keep its instructional program going without any interruption or shut down, a remarkable achievement considering the outside activities of the faculty, the difficult conditions, and economic costs.

Although MCV experienced little difficulty, the Richmond Female Institute closed its operations during the last 18 months of the war. The Institute, which had moved to the Caskie Mansion in 1862, stayed closed for the 1863-64 and 1864-65 academic sessions, but reopened in the fall on October 1, 1866, upon approval of the Board of Trustees (Taylor, p. 40; Alley, 1977, p. 113). By order of Major General Alfred H. Terry, the Institute's property was occupied by Union troops in early April. According to Mr. W. Goddin, Treasurer, Richmond Female Institute, the occupation of the Institute lasted eight months with the Federals paying a fixed rental fee of \$400 per month (House Document, Affidavit No. 4). During this period, the Institute used the Caskie Mansion until such time as its old school building could be repossessed and converted back to an academic facility. This happened on October 1, 1866. Founded in 1844, the Institute became the Women's College of Richmond in 1894 and then, in 1914 became the Westhampton College and later merged with Richmond College in 1916, now the University of Richmond (Alley, pp. 94 and 182).

Based on the Board of Trustees decision in August 1861, Richmond College stayed closed for the duration of the war. The college building and campus grounds, used originally as an artillery training camp with training provided by the Virginia Military Institute cadets, was used as

a hospital for most of the war years. After Federal troops entered the city on the 3rd of April, troops under Brigadier General Newton M. Curtis occupied Richmond College for a period of eight months. In an affidavit to a congressional bill introduced in on December 12, 1895, for damages to the college, Reverend Dr. Robert Ryland reported "that damage inflicted by US troops within a period of eight months" was extensive. "Damage to walls, floors, windows, doors....the books of the library, packed in boxes, were carried away off by military orders" (p. 4). The bill providing \$25,000 compensation for damages passed in 1902.

The Southern Female Institute had classes in session up to the evacuation of Richmond. The college reopened for the 1865-66 academic term in October and stayed in operation until 1874 when it closed its doors for the final time (Meagher, 1939, p. 72).

The private evening schools that had provided college preparatory instruction remained opened until the evacuation of Richmond and then closed. Many of the evening schools, including the dancing and music academies, stayed closed during the summer months of 1865 but reopened in September and October.

Despite intolerable conditions and obstacles, most of the colleges, schools, and training organizations kept their educational programs going. By January 1865, most residents knew the end was near despite the many appeals to the contrary that were made.

Military Education and Training

In December 1864, the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) academic program, cadets, and faculty had been moved to the City Alms House. General Francis H. Smith, the VMI superintendent, reported that "regular exercises were resumed in January 1865...[and] continued until the 3rd of April, 1865, when Richmond was evacuated and the cadets were soon disbanded" (Smith, 1912, p. 207). Before their disbandment, on the last day of March, the cadets left the Alms House and marched down Darbytown Road and took a position between Fort Gilmer and Fort Harrison (Furgurson, 1996, pp. 318 and 326). On April 2nd, the cadets returned to Richmond "to be thanked and dismissed" by Virginia Governor William Smith (p. 326).

The record of VMI during the war from their training of recruits in Richmond to its glory at New Market brought it long-lasting fame. Although young in age, the cadets were not only adult learners but also adult educators.

The midshipmen of the Confederate States Naval Academy trained in the classroom and on their training ship CSS Patrick Henry just outside the city limits on the James River. In March 1865, the corps, now 60 midshipmen, moved into Richmond and were quartered in a warehouse until April 2nd, the night the Confederate government abandoned the city (Stiles, 1915, p. 402). The corps had been selected to take charge of the Confederate treasury and archives and guard the train that would carry it out of the city (Clift, 1930, p. 351). The "gold train," guarded by the midshipmen, one of whom was President Jefferson Davis's brother-in-law, Jefferson D. Howell, followed the presidential train out the city as it left Richmond for Danville, Virginia, the new

Confederate capital (Stiles, 1915, p. 402). As the Confederate government fled South through North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, so did the Confederate treasure train with the midshipmen. Back tracking to Abbeville, South Carolina, referred to as the Cradle and Grave of the Confederacy, the corps delivered the treasure to President Davis and his cabinet at the Confederate government's last cabinet meeting on May 2nd, 1865 (Clift, 1930, p. 351). They were then dismissed and sent home, having never been captured.

The Confederate States Naval Academy never graduated one midshipman due to its brief existence. However, Captain William Parker, CSN, its only superintendent, paid the following tribute to the midshipmen:

Here I must pay tribute to the midshipmen who stood by me for so many anxious days. Their training and discipline showed itself conspicuously during that time. The best sentinels in the world, cool and decided in their replies; prompt in action, and brave in danger-their conduct always merited my approbation and excited my admiration. During the march across South Carolina, footsore and ragged as they had become by that time, no murmur escaped them, and they never faltered. On the second day of May they were disbanded at Abbeville, S. C., far from their homes. They were staunch to the last and verified the adage "blood will tell" (cited in Clift, p. 351).

Based on Captain Parker's recommendation, each cadet was given \$40 in gold as "a reward for their faithful services" (Stiles, 1915, p. 402).

Throughout the war, the midshipmen had altered between their studies and participation in combat operations in the Richmond area. In the end, their education, training, discipline, and faithfulness bore them well for the Confederate nation. They had accomplished their last mission with honor, pride, and professionalism.

Desperate Patriotic Appeals, Measures, and Despair

For four years, the residents read and heard many stirring patriotic speeches and appeals. Many of them had been provided through educational programs and activities. Now, with the Confederacy on its death bed, governmental and civic leaders tried to rally the people one last time.

A mass meeting took place at 12 o'clock on February 9th at the African Church to rally the people of Richmond (Daily Enquirer, Feb. 4, 1865, p. 3, col. 3). Motivational, patriotic addresses were delivered by key Confederate officials, including Vice President Alexander H. Stephens, Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin, and Senator Gustavus A. Henry of Tennessee (Daily Enquirer, Feb. 4, 1865, p. 3, col. 3). A month later another public meeting was held at the African Church with its purpose being "to further the interests of the Confederacy, and assist in the great struggle for independence" (Daily Enquirer, Mar. 14, 1865, p. 3, col. 6). These public meetings did little to soothe the despair and fear of the people.

Many of the stalwart women of Richmond, who had given their hearts and labor to support the Confederate nation, refused to continue that support. With food supplies scarce and the price of goods enormously high, women who worked at the arsenal filling cartridges went on strike for higher wages in March. Lieutenant Colonel William LeRoy Broun, commander of the Richmond Arsenal, appealed to their patriotism: "I remember once being early in the morning, on the island in the James River, with ice and frost everywhere, surrounded by a number of thinly clad, shivering women, and mounting a flour barrel, I attempted to persuade them by appeals to their loyalty and patriotism to continue their work until better arrangement could be made. But patriotic appeals had no effect on shivering, starving women" (Broun, 1904, p. 22).

Colonel Broun went on to add that "they were trained operatives, and the demand for ammunition too great to afford time to train others, even if they could have been secured. An increase in money wages would not relieve the difficulty" (p. 22). Broun would later become the president of Alabama Polytechnic Institute (now Auburn University).

Before it adjourned on March 18th, the Confederate Congress issued a patriotic address to the country, "expressing fortitude, courage, zeal, and unflinching devotion to our cause which, we trust, will find universal response among our people in every quarter of the Confederacy" (Christian Observer, Mar. 30, 1865, p. 2, col. 4).

Manpower became a severe problem for General Lee, his forces numbered only about 57,000 in late March. Desertions were a serious problem. To augment its dwindling manpower, the Confederate Congress passed a bill to recruit Blacks, and recruiting offices opened in Richmond (Putnam, 1867, p. 351). On March 22nd, a battalion of Confederate Black troops appeared in Capitol Square for a dress parade to demonstrate their preparedness (Daily Enquirer, Mar. 23, 1865, p. 1, col. 7). The dress parade attracted "thousands of citizens to the spot, all eager to catch a glimpse of the sable soldiers" (Daily Enquirer, Mar. 23, 1865, p. 1, col. 7; Putnam, p. 351). The Daily Enquirer reported that "the bearing of the negroes elected universal commendation" as they went through their manual of arms and drills (Daily Enquirer, Mar. 23, 1865, p. 1, col. 7). The Daily Enquirer also suggested that the ladies of Richmond present "the battalion with an appropriate banner" (p. 1, col. 7). Colonel Broun (1904) who observed the drilling of the Black troops said: "I knew we could not possibly arm five thousand. The ordnance department was exhausted. One company of negroes was formed, and I witnessed the drill in the Capitol Square, but I understand that as soon as they got their uniforms they vanished in one night" (p. 23).

Measures such as arming and training Black soldiers had little effect upon the public's depression. Residents had lost confidence in the Confederate government and its leaders. Apprehensions for the safety and security of the city grew. No one wanted it destroyed (Daily Enquirer, Feb. 15, 1865, p. 2, col. 1). As Chesson (1981) said, "few Richmonders wished to sacrifice the city in the death of the Confederacy (p. 53). Three days before the city's evacuation the Christian Observer said that "...suffering and sad reverses...are to be expected as moral discipline under the Divine government. They are in accordance with the law and order of

Providence. The reverses, sacrifices, and sufferings brought upon our country by the present war, were things to be expected" (Christian Observer, Mar. 30, 1865, p. 2, col. 1). In the end, "...the hearts of the people were made to bleed" (Alfriend, 1891, p. 229).

Finally, on April 2nd, after four arduous years, the day had arrived.

Evacuation and Adult Education

Union General Philip Sheridan broke through the Confederate lines at Five Forks, outside Richmond, on April 1st. The loss of Five Forks, an important road junction, denied the Confederates a westward escape route. General Lee knew that he would have to move his army toward Amelia Courthouse. By telegram on April 2nd, Lee advised Jefferson Davis, who was attending a Sunday service at Saint Paul's Episcopal Church when handed the message by the church sexton, that he could only hold on for a few hours. The message said the following:

I think it is absolutely necessary that we should abandon our position to-night.

I have given orders on the subject to the troops, and the operation, though difficult, I hope will be performed successfully. I have directed General Stevens to send an officer to Your Excellency to explain the routes to you by which the troops will be moved to Amelia Court House, and furnish you with a guide and any assistance that you may require for yourself (cited in Hoehling and Hoehling, 1981, pp. 111-112).

To avoid defeat or capture, the Confederate Army had to keep retreating and Richmond could no longer be defended. On Sunday, April 2nd, the Confederate government started the evacuation of Richmond which continued until the early morning hours of the 3rd. Orders by Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell, commander of the city's defenses, directed the four principal tobacco warehouses be destroyed to keep them out of enemy hands (p. 165). Mayor Joesph Mayo, longtime Richmond mayor, thought the order "a reckless military order which plainly put in jeopardy the whole business portion of Richmond" (cited in Hoehling and Hoehling, p. 166). Mayo tried to get Ewell's staff to forgo the burning but to no avail. About 3:00 a. m., the torching of the warehouses began (Christian, 1912, p. 260). Within hours, a four block area of Richmond was ablaze and by the time the fire had been put out by Union troops, 20 city blocks had been affected (Kimball, p. 200). Fannie Walker Miller noted in her dairy that "On getting to my old headquarters Mechanics Institute, I found the torch had been applied; but the mob were carrying out all available furniture, carpets" (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 277). A mob took over the city, breaking into businesses, stores, and homes, stealing whatever they could get their hands on. As Nellie Grey observed and noted:

Exactly at eight o'clock the Confederate flag that fluttered above the capital came down and the Stars and Stripes were run up. We knew what that meant!

The song "On to Richmond" was ended-Richmond was in the hands of the Federals. We covered our faces and cried aloud. All through the house was the song of sobbing. It was as the house of mourning, the hour of death (cited in Jones, 1962, p. 288).

As Colonel Broun (1904) observed from across the river: "The federal troops marched into the burning city in splendid order, took possession, dispersed the mob, and saved, by their energy and discipline, the city from total destruction" (p. 23). The Whig reported that the fire had destroyed close to 800 buildings and homes (Whig, Apr. 2, 1865, p. 1, col. 2). The fire had destroyed stores, hotels, banks, newspapers, government buildings, homes, and factories. The offices of the Examiner, Dispatch, and Enquirer gone, along with the offices of the Southern Illustrated News, the Southern Literary Messenger, the Central Presbyterian, Southern Churchman, and Religious Herald (Whig, Apr. 2, 1865, p. 1, col. 2). For the Religious Herald, its March 30th issue was its last issue until October 19th, 1865 (Religious Herald, Mar. 30, 1865, p. 1). Publishing was nearly wiped out. Streets were filled with furniture and "every description of wares" (p. 1, col. 2).

The Virginia State Library suffered damage even though the Federals posted a guard. The Federal officer in charge reported that "the floor of the library was covered with a mass of timeworn papers, wantonly strewn around" (cited in Hall, 1941, p. 11). On February 4, 1867, the Joint Committee on the Library of the General Assembly reported the library suffered extensive damage but..."it has been found impossible to determine fully the extent of the damage" (cited in Hall, p. 12).

The Mechanics Hall, home to the War Department and the Literary Society Library, caught fire around 8:15 a. m. on April 3rd and quickly burned to the ground (Whig, Apr. 3, 1865, p. 1, col. 2; Lee, 1987, p. 127).

The United Presbyterian Church, pastored by Reverend Dr. Charles H. Reed and one of sites of the annual YMCA sponsored lecture program, also burned, the only city church to be burned during the evacuation fire (Moore, 1987, p. 44). It had housed a lecture room, reading room, and library.

On April 4th, the day after the fire, Richard D. Ogden, the manager of the New Richmond Theater, presented the drama Don Caesar de Bazan and invited President Lincoln, who was in the city, to attend (Chesson, 1981, p. 81). Four days later the Carpenter of Rowen played at the theater, followed by Macbeth (Whig, Apr. 10, 1865, p. 1, col. 4). Minstrel shows which had been absent for a few months returned on April 6th (p. 81).

The buildings that housed the Medical College of Virginia (MCV), Richmond College, Richmond Female Institute, and Southern Female Institute were unaffected by the fire. However, with the exception of MCV, the other colleges sustained damage to its buildings during the eight month occupation of the city by Federal Troops.

Richmond adult education had lost to the fire some of its biggest sponsors: newspapers, religious magazines, United Presbyterian Church, West and Johnston (Richmond's largest book publisher), the factories and mills that had provided workforce training, and the Confederate States Naval Academy and the Virginia Military Institute left the city.

George Alfred Townsend, a New York World correspondent, arrived in the city after the fire had been extinguished and wrote:

There is a stillness, in the midst of which Richmond, with her ruins, her spectral roof, afar, and her unchanging spires, rests beneath a ghastly, fitful glare-the night strain which a great conflagration leaves behind it for weeks...there is no sound of life, but the stillness of a catacomb, only as our footsteps fall dull on the deserted sidewalk, and a funeral troop of echoes bump their elfin heads against the dead walls and closed shutters in reply, and this is Richmond. Says a melancholy voice: "And this is Richmond!" (cited in Hoehling and Hoehling, 1981, pp. 237-238).

Summary

The adult education sponsors, the YMCA, churches, newspapers, literary magazines, the educational amusement centers, and the colleges and schools tried to keep their activities going despite insurmountable odds and obstacles. Scarcity of paper limited the appearance and size of newspapers, some being issued on a half-sheet of coarse paper and some on a poor quality of brown paper.

The people became extremely despondent and fearful. Many people, including women became weary of continuing to support the Confederate government. More than half the people had little or no food and were starving. Themes of patriotism, nationalism, and loyalty went unheeded. The people of Richmond did not want to sacrifice their city for the Confederate cause and watched as Confederate soldiers torched the tobacco warehouses and the resulting fire conflagration that took place. For many adult education sponsors, the fire ceased their operations and activities. The proud Capital of the Confederacy--the Southern educational, cultural, governmental, and social center--had died into history.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The adult education experience of Richmond during the Civil War was unique in our country's educational history. Although only situated 100 hundred miles south of Washington, D.C., Richmond was the epicenter of the South's struggle for independence. Located along the James River and sitting on seven hills, the city served as the educational, cultural, governmental, and social center for the Confederacy and the Commonwealth of Virginia. As such, the city endured four years of perils, food and economic deprivations, pestilence, overcrowdedness, crime, near-battles, and a siege. Yet, the residents, resilient and weary, never capitulated. Most had sacrificed greatly to support Confederate nationalism, including the loss of love ones, starvation, and their homes. To deal with these discomforts, the people had to sustain themselves through social and educational activities that provided them a cognitive and emotional experience. Education enlightened the citizenry, enhanced and fostered the Southern mind and attitude, and provided personal development and emotional growth.

The role that adult education had in sustaining the mind, spirits, and emotions of the people of Civil War Richmond had never been studied. This study was a first. Thus, the problem investigated in this study centered on three specific questions: What were the adult education activities in Richmond from January 1861 to April 1865? What was the impact of wartime conditions on the types and availability of adult education activities from January 1861 to April 1865? What was the impact of adult education on the residents in influencing and sustaining their mind, morale, and attitudes?

Summary

From January 1861 to April 1865 the various government entities--national, state, and city--had no educational plan or overarching strategy for adult education in Richmond. Adult education activities occurred through the sponsorship of many organizations, groups, and individuals, such as the churches, Young Men's Christian Association, amusement centers, religious associations, the military, factories, colleges and schools, and private individuals. Also, individuals undertook their own educational activities, such as reading, writing, learning a skill, and keeping informed of the events as they unfolded. Each promoted and provided adult education for various reasons: social, economic, skill and personal development, religious, military, and emotional development. The individual educational programs and activities encompassed one or more the following themes: patriotism, sentimentalism, religious, personal development and improvement, military preparedness, information, women, and soldiers. The types of adult education varied and included educational leisure and recreation, reading, higher education, evening schools, religious education, military education and training, and informal education.

Educational Leisure and Recreation

The educational amusement centers included the theaters and the concert and dance halls. From the outset of the war until April 2nd, 1865, evacuation day, these centers flourished economically. Although admission prices, like other prices on goods and services, increased over the war years, these centers had full houses, except for some weeks in 1864 and early 1865 due to military exigencies. From mid-1863 until the war ended, half of the patrons at the centers were soldiers. The Union blockade of Virginia's ports made it difficult for many of the actors and actresses to reach Richmond, reducing the professional character and quality of many shows in 1864. The types of activities presented were a mixed bag: Shakespearean plays, classic dramas, comedies, musicals, pantomimes, and minstrels. Starting in 1863, the newspapers and literary magazines took exception to some of the morbid, horror productions, believing that the city had enough of these scenes outside the centers than to glorify them on the stage. By the fall of 1863 and the rest of the war years, the productions reverted back to the serious classics, musicals, and comedies.

By early 1862, benefit concerts for the families of soldiers in the field and soldiers in the hospitals became the norm on a regular basis. These musical events featured operas, such as Il Trovatore, musicals, such as the Virginia Cavalier, and patriotic and sentimental music. Favorite performers included Sallie Partington, Madame Ruhl, Harry McCarthy, and Blind Tom, a Black musical prodigy. The themes of the musical productions were patriotic, sentimental, and instructional--all designed to educate and inspire. New songs had their debut at these centers and caused the people to leave the centers humming or whistling such songs as "Bonnie Blue Flag," "Lorena," and "Stars and Bars."

Grand balls provided participants with leisure, relaxation, and conversation. By late 1862, they had become quite popular and increased in number in 1864 and into early 1865. Richmond Blacks had their own grand balls.

These educational amusement centers, referred to as "intellectual amusement centers" by the Richmond newspapers, provided many people an intellectual, social, and emotional experience that contributed to their mental and emotional stability to deal with the daily deprivations and discomforts that they endured.

The people had numerous opportunities to listen to music, including Blacks who sang and hummed the spirituals and minstrel tunes at work. Military band music attracted the residents to the training camps on the outskirts of the city. Patriotic and popular music brought the residents out to Gamble's Hill and Capitol Square. Many took the trip by steamer to Drewry's Bluff, eight miles south of Richmond, to listen to military bands. Music accompanied the many dress parades and reviews in the city.

Church hymns, such as "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name," "Amazing Grace, How Sweet the Sound," "Nearer My God to Thee," and "Just As I Am , Without One Plea," were the favorite hymns most often sung by church goers and soldiers.

Musical and concerts increased significantly from year to year. It seemed that the people wanted music, both popular and sentimental, that provided a soothing, comforting release from their daily trials and tribulations. For four years, singing and listening to music promoted patriotism, sentimentalism, spiritualism, and comfort and stirred individual emotions.

For recreational activities that had an educational component, the city had a number of music and dancing schools which had varying terms of instruction, depending on whether the instruction was for voice, instrumentation or specialized dancing. These schools contributed to the Richmond wartime adult education experience by providing the people the opportunity to enhance their personal development and social skills.

Press and Literary Periodicals--Education by Reading

Richmond had five newspapers, plus a German language paper. The print media served as an intellectual instrument to educate through news articles, shape public opinion and attitudes through editorials, and keep the public informed of national, state, and local affairs. For four years, the Richmond papers inspired and extolled the women through editorials and articles to leave their homes and take a public role in supporting the war effort, through nursing, working in the factories and mills, and reading and writing activities. The women responded. The papers put forth poems by Southern poets and common people with distinct sentimental and patriotic themes to motivate and inspire the public toward Southern nationalism. The newspapers kept the residents informed of the various educational opportunities available to them through the advertisement sections and news articles. Although the daily price of the newspapers went up along with the shortage of paper, the Richmond newspapers during the war educated and influenced the mind, the spirits, and emotions of the residents.

Before the war, Southerners had lagged behind the North in producing books and literary periodicals, but enterprising men like Dr. George William Bagby, Charles Bailie, John Ruel Thompson, and E. F. Alfriend made Richmond the literary capital of the South. Through their efforts and others, they sparked a home literature rage with five literary magazines available by 1863 and seven by 1864. These magazines, such as the Southern Literary Messenger, the Southern Illustrated News, Magnolia Weekly, and the Richmond Age, featured short stories, serials, humor, poems, sketches, portraits, and cartoons. The magazines appeared to be for the upper middle class and social elite with women as a special target audience. Patriotic and sentimental themes about women and the American Revolution were used frequently in its short stories, tales, and sketches.

New books with a Southern flavor became available, including spelling, primer, and grammar books for instructional purposes. The people liked histories, biographies, and classics like Hugo's Les Miserables and Dickens' Tale of Two Cities.

Situated on the South side of Main Street near 11th Street, and opened on September 19, 1861, the Confederate Reading Room offered soldiers newspapers, magazines, books, and writing materials for a small admission fee. Under new ownership in 1864, it opened its doors for the first

time to women, featuring fashion and literary magazines. The Confederate Reading Room was a key adult learning resource center. The only hardship the proprietors faced was keeping the room stocked with the latest newspapers, magazines, and books, particularly those from the North due to the Union blockade of Virginia ports. This reading room enabled the people to read both Northern and Southern newspapers and magazines, providing information of the war, their states, and some of their hometowns. It provided the patrons writing paper, later in short supply, for their correspondence to loved ones and family members. The room encouraged reading and writing, enhancing the literacy skills of its patrons.

The Virginia State Library served as a reference library and learning resource center for the Virginia General Assembly and the Confederate government. Although measures had to be taken by the Governor and Secretary of State to safeguard the collection of books and artifacts in 1862, the library remained closed to the public's use.

Higher Education

In 1861, Richmond had four higher education institutions: Medical College of Virginia (MCV), Richmond College, Richmond Female Institute, and Southern Female Institute. By 1865, only MCV and the Southern Female Institute had remained open.

The Medical College of Virginia (MCV) kept its medical education program going as other medical schools in the South closed their doors. Under the leadership of Dr. Levi Joynes, dean of faculty, and a dedicated eight-member faculty, and despite many obstacles, MCV remained in operation without any interruptions. Wartime conditions caused the MCV faculty to reduce the academic term from five months to four months starting with the 1863-64 session. During the four years (1861-1865), the college enrolled 425 students and graduated 252 new doctors.

Faculty members also served as administrators and surgeons-in-charge at some of the major hospitals and as advisors to Confederate Surgeon General Samuel Preston Moore. They also served as lecturers in some of the churches' and YMCA's lecture programs. The MCV faculty activities enriched Richmond's wartime adult education experience.

Richmond College, upon approval of the board of trustees, closed officially in August 1861. Most students left the college in April 1861 for military service, and it remained closed for the duration of the war. Originally used as an artillery training center after its closure, the college became a hospital in June 1862 and continued as a hospital until early 1865.

For the first two years of the war, the Richmond Female Institute provided a liberal arts curriculum for young Southern females. Due to the increased need for hospitals, the Institute's building became the Baptist Institute Hospital in 1862. The Institute then moved its operation to the Caskie Mansion but closed its doors for the duration of the war after the 1863 academic term.

The Southern Female Institute remained opened but due to temporary military duty for the principal and some faculty in 1863 and 1864 the students had to teach and study together for a few weeks by themselves.

Evening Schools

Richmond had a number of evening schools, some specializing in college preparatory studies to prepare students for college. These schools, privately owned and operated, normally had academic terms of six months and catered to young men. Normally, the schools opened in the late afternoon and stayed opened for three hours a night, three nights a week. The evening schools provided the young men educational programs that enhanced their academic knowledge and skills, and also, furthered their personal development. These schools were generally unaffected by the war.

Religious Education

The churches and the religious organizations, such as the tract associations, Young Men's Christian Association, and Richmond Chaplains Association, sponsored and provided on a regular basis many educational activities that promoted Judaeo-Christian values, spirituality, and salvation. Each year of the war the churches and religious organizations doubled their educational activities in program types and availability. They stocked and made available to the people reading rooms and libraries for intellectual and leisure pursuits. Each major denomination published a religious magazine, such as the Baptist-the Religious Herald, and the Episcopalians-the Southern Churchman, and the Presbyterians-the Central Presbyterian, filled with biblical stories, prayers, spiritual appeals and callings, meetings, and general news. Soldiers in the hospitals and camps eagerly sought these magazines which were brought to them by colporters, distributors of religious materials. Colporters not only distributed the magazines, but also the religious materials of the tract societies and associations, including Bibles, New Testaments, and tracts. During the four years of war, tract societies produced millions of pages of educational, religious materials. Colporters and chaplains provided Bible studies and classes in the major Richmond hospitals, like Winder General Hospital and Chimborazo Hospital. They developed portable libraries that were rotated among the soldiers in the hospitals and camps.

The city clergy, many with doctor of divinity degrees, provided church programs, including Sunday School for adults, that filled their churches every Sunday. They also offered lecture programs on different topics, such as Southern nationalism and the Bible, politics and religion, and spirituality and its meaning. Many served as pastors, counselors, lecturers, writers for the religious magazines, and hospital chaplains. Many risked their lives to obtain religious, instructional material. For example, Reverend Dr. Moses Drury Hoge, pastor of Second Presbyterian, ran the blockade in 1862 and returned from Europe with 10,000 Bibles, 50,000 New Testaments, and 250,000 tracts. In a time of tribulations, the clergy provided the type of educational activities and materials that replenished and uplifted the spirits and emotions of the people and contributed to their overall personal development.

Like the churches and religious organizations, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was a major sponsor and provider of adult education. The YMCA's lecture program grew in popularity over the war years and was well-attended. The program provided attendees a variety of subjects and discussion topics with most being political, religious, and informational in nature. For the most part, lecturers were the clergy, politicians, and distinguished citizens.

In addition to the lecture program, the YMCA provided a reading room and library for its members. For four years, it provided Bible study classes in the hospitals for convalescing soldiers and provided community services for the poor and the needy.

The YMCA's educational activities served two purposes: intellectual and personal development, and community service. The themes that its programs promoted were Christian brotherhood and fellowship, nationalism, spirituality, and helping others in need. The availability of the YMCA's programs never diminished during the four years of the conflict.

Military Training and Education

Once Virginia seceded in April 1861, Richmond became a military training center for the Confederates. Training provided in the Richmond camps intensified the first two years of the war, but lessened by 1864 due to manpower shortages. Camp training continued, but less frequently, in 1864 and 1865. Starting in 1861 and continuing for four years, Richmonders, particularly the women, enjoyed watching the instructional drills and listening to the martial music. Local defense units and the militia trained normally on Saturday afternoons. For many, the effectiveness of the training meant the difference between life and death. Due to casualties and mounting manpower shortages, formal military training of recruits slackened by the early fall of 1864.

In early 1861, the city could not have forecasted that two military schools would call Richmond home and add to its adult education experience.

To increase the manpower and commission young officers for the Confederate navy, the Confederate States Naval Academy opened in October 1863 with 52 midshipmen. Between their studies, the midshipmen became involved in combat operations on the James River. For their final mission, they served as the sentinels for a train carrying the Confederate treasury and archives South after the government fled Richmond on April 2nd, 1865.

During its 18 months existence, the academy provided the cadets a rigorous academic curriculum. No midshipman completed the full program for graduation. Despite military contingencies, the Naval Academy had provided young Southern men an opportunity for a college education and service to their country.

The Alms House in Richmond served as the home for the Virginia Military Institute the last four months of the war from December 1864 to April 1865. The burning of VMI at Lexington by Union forces in June 1864 caused state and school officials to move the school

operation to Richmond. Faculty provided the cadet corps a course of study until the city was evacuated on April 2nd, 1865.

From the outset of the conflict, VMI faculty and the cadet corps served as the initial trainers of the recruits in Richmond from April to the Summer of 1861. Not only did they provide training, they also had their own studies to pursue. Serving as trainers in basic drills and artillery, this training enriched their own personal and skill development. Also, the Richmond educational experience contributed to that personal development.

Industrial Training

As the factories and mills in Richmond produced the goods and services needed for the Confederate forces, training of new workers, including women and Blacks, became essential to meet the increased wartime production demands. The training increased in scope and numbers from 1861 to 1864 as Richmond's industrial base expanded to support the war effort. Manufacturers, like Tredegar Iron Works, the Confederate States Arsenal and Laboratory, and Crenshaw's Woolen Company, provided on-the-job training on the sophisticated operation of machines such as rollers, pickers, and sorters. Such training, provided by supervisors (overseers), resulted in increased production of wartime weapons and goods--a testimony to training effectiveness.

Informal Education--Individual Initiatives

Many organizations provided the people of Richmond the opportunity to partake of many educational programs, activities, and events. But, the people, either in small groups or individually, engaged in a variety educational activities to further their own personal enjoyment and relaxation. For example, "danceable teas," later to be known as "starvation parties," provided individuals an informal setting to relax, socialize, and converse on timely topics. People read their Bibles individually or in small groups in the homes. For many, letter writing became a stimulating, intellectual comforting exercise. Conversely, reading a letter from a loved one, family member, or friend normally provided that emotional boost that many needed due to the difficult times. Both writing and reading letters influenced their minds and emotions. Some played musical instruments in the home for personal enjoyment and relaxation. Others sang or hummed tunes.

These individual or small group activities increased during the war and provided the intellectual and emotional stimulation that many people needed to cope with the myriad of hardships and tribulations they faced on a daily basis.

For four years, despite hardships and difficulties, adult education sponsors in Richmond provided the residents a myriad of different educational programs, activities, and materials, varying in scope and theme, that influenced their lives.

Conclusions

Based on the study's findings, several conclusions can be made about the adult education experience in Civil War Richmond.

From April 1861 to April 1865, Richmond served as the educational, cultural, social, and governmental center of the Confederate nation. To support that role, educational sponsors and providers made available the type of educational activities that they believed the public wanted and enjoyed. Other than the military schools, adult education sponsors were private organizations, groups, and individuals. Many of the activities were self-initiated educational activities, such as reading, writing, listening to music, and attending the theaters. Thus, despite extreme tribulations and hardships, the research supports that a majority of Richmonders involved themselves in at least one daily educational activity daily.

The influx of the wounded and sick afforded the opportunity to churches and religious organizations to develop and implement educational programs and instructional materials for the soldiers while they convalesced. As the war progressed, the volumes of religious study materials, such as tracts, increased tenfold. The various denominational tract societies and associations provided millions of pages of tract materials and conducted Bible studies in the camps. For the public, the churches provided reading rooms, lecture programs, prayer and study groups, and community projects for the poor. The educational efforts of the churches and religious groups helped to contribute to the religious revival movement that started in 1863 and continued on into 1865. When the people in the city faced extreme adversities, religious education and its associated activities served to replenish and sustain the inner being of individuals. Until the cessation of hostilities, many residents believed with their hearts and minds that God was on their side. This strong belief, coupled with religious education, kept their minds and spirits enriched despite their physical wants.

Watching the troops train in the city camps, the people developed a sense of physical security. In April 1861, Richmond became a major military training center, providing recruit, artillery, and unit training. Based on this role, it served to give the people a sense of security, relieving some of their anxieties and fears. The people, particularly women, watched the training drills with intensity and seemed to be moved emotionally by what they saw. Throughout the four years, the people seemed to be inspired with patriotic pride by the dress parades and martial music--an educational and emotional experience still enjoyed by the public today.

While many people were inspired by military training, others took delight in the issuances of six new literary periodicals. The publication of a number of new literary magazines provided additional educational and reading opportunities for the people. Richmond became the Southern home literature center. Despite paper shortages and mechanical and labor problems, literary entrepreneurs made Richmond the literary capital of the South. The audience for these periodicals appeared to be the social elite and women. The entrepreneurs, despite personal and financial hardships, had provided the people Southern literary material that the readers could take

pride in. The war had provided the people new literary reading opportunities to enhance their intellectual desires and Southern pride.

Tripling in size within the first 18 months of the war, the population provided enterprising amusement center promoters and managers an opportunity to make money by presenting more shows. By 1863, soldiers made up half of the audience at these shows. The shows featured all types of intellectual entertainment, including Shakespearean plays, dramas, comedies, musicals, minstrels, and pantomimes. Many of the shows were used as benefits to assist the families of soldiers and the needy. These educational activities increased because the people needed leisure and recreation activities as a release from their despondency, despair, and discomforts.

Formal college education was the only educational activity area that did not increase its activities. In fact, two schools, Richmond College and the Richmond Female Institute, shut down their academic programs as the war progressed. Remarkably, the Medical College of Virginia (MCV) kept its doors open due to the dedication of the eight-member faculty under the leadership of Dean Levi Joynes. Each of the faculty not only had teaching duties but served as surgeons and administrators of some of the city hospitals.

By 1863, Richmond had a well-trained workforce that produced all kinds of military hardware, goods, and supplies. The training received during the war years benefited many of the workers as Richmond transitioned from a war to a peace economy.

For four years, adult education activities existed side by side with social and economic deprivations, pestilence, overcrowdedness, sick and wounded, martial law, conscription, rapid crime, starvation, and other virulent difficulties. By the end of 1864, the majority of the people were despondent, weary, and tired, but optimistic for the end of the bloody conflagration.

During the four years, adult education programs and activities contributed to shaping and enhancing the mental ability, morale, and attitudes of most residents. Religious materials, Bible studies, lectures, and informal discussion groups fostered a spiritual environment that contributed to the religious revivals, starting in 1863. Reports from the clergy, chaplains, and colporters revealed that the people, including soldiers in the city camps and hospitals, were awash in reading the Bible and religious materials and that it had a positive effect on their spiritual and personal lives. For the upper class and social elite, the home literature with the availability of seven literary magazines, most new since 1861, had created in many of the readers a Southern mind of independence. Many rejoiced in having Southern writers present stories from the Southern point of view, something they had not experienced four years before.

The proximity of the Union army to the city had an unsettling effect upon Richmonders. But, the patriotic appeals they read or heard made them more determined not to give up, preferring starvation over Union occupation and domination. Educational activities, such as reading history books or historical plays, seemed to keep many of the residents focused that this conflict was the second American Revolution. The people's psyche seemed to be enhanced by

what they heard, saw, and read. The newspapers, the amusement centers, the magazines, and the churches provided the patriotic appeals, especially for the women and soldiers.

For the women, their role was transformed by the war and adult education. Portrayed as gentle, caring individuals in their homes in anti-bellum Richmond, the women's role and freedom changed as they took on non-domestic roles, such as nursing, factory workers, writers, and counselors. The patriotic appeals through adult educational activities, such as plays, poems, musicals, and newspapers influenced many women to escape the traditional role of home maker to a public role and service. These activities allowed many of the women to foster a degree of independence to make decisions and judgments that they were not used to. They influenced other women through their social parties, private theatricals, benefit concerts, hospital work, and writing--all activities that contributed to the shaping of attitudes toward Southern nationalism.

By 1865, Richmond had gone through a social and economic revolution. The social structure included two distinct classes of people, the haves and the have-nots with most being in the latter category. Many people sold their homes and possessions to pay high, inflated prices for food and subsistence. Patriotic and sentimental themes of some of the adult education activities, like church programs, concerts, and newspapers tried to comfort them. Except for a food riot in 1863, the influence of some of these appeals appeared to have had an effect.

The activities in the crowded churches, theaters, concert halls, reading rooms, colleges, evening schools, and lecture halls all contributed to influencing the mind and spirits of the people. Even within the Medical College of Virginia, the determination to keep the academic program going during difficult times is testimony to the determination of the school's faculty. With their busy teaching schedules and hospital duties, the faculty set the example for the medical students to study and work hard.

Based on diary accounts and personal narratives, many people were touched by patriotic music. It seemed to rejuvenate their inner spirit and helped them to cope with the daily trials.

The impact that adult education had on shaping the mind, emotions, and attitudes cannot be precisely determined or measured. However, based on the number and types of activities and the number of participants engaged in the these activities, it can be said that adult education had influenced the lives of a majority of Richmonders.

This study has helped to provide the adult education community an understanding of the role that adult education played in beleaguered, wartime city. The study has revealed the type and availability of the educational activities and their contributions to influencing the people's mind, emotions, and attitudes.

The research found that adult educative systems of organizations, groups, and individuals in Civil War Richmond offered the opportunity and means for personal and emotional development and transformation despite the deprivations and hardships. Individuals developed

and used their own simple educative systems to further their personal goals and objectives. Organizations like churches, amusement centers, colleges and schools, and voluntary organizations provided educative systems based on purpose, motive, and theme, normally for individual personal development, leisure, or recreation. From the educative systems and programs, the people of Richmond improved themselves individually and collectively, building a unique sense of identity and character. Conclusively, adult education provided significant stabilizing forces that cultivated that identity of mind and gave people purpose, comfort, and hope.

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VITA

John L. Dwyer was born January 24, 1941, in Worcester, Massachusetts. Received a Bachelor of Science in Education from Worcester State College in 1963, a Master of Education in Educational Administration from Our Lady of the Lake University of San Antonio in 1974, a Master of Education in Curriculum Development and Supervision from Wright State University in 1975, a Master of Public Administration from University of Dayton in 1977, and a Certificate of Advanced Graduate Studies in 1996, and a Doctorate of Education in Adult and Continuing Education from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in 1997.

Graduated from the following military schools: Special Air Warfare School (1965), Air Force Instructor School (1966), Air Ground Operations School (1966), John F. Kennedy Special Operations School (1966), Air Force Special Operations School (1967), Squadron Officers School (1970), Air and Command Staff College (1978), National Security Course, National Defense University (1980), Air War College (1982), and Defense Systems Management College (1990).

Served in the United States Air Force in various field, staff, and headquarters positions, including four Air Force major command headquarters and centers, Headquarters United States Air Force, and Office of the Secretary of Defense from August 1964 to October 1990, retiring as a lieutenant colonel. Served two tours in Vietnam, October 1966 to March 1967 with the Air Commandos, and May 1970 to April 1971 as an advisor to the Vietnamese Air Force.

Served on the faculties as instructor, professor, course director, department chair, evaluator, and facilitator at Oxford (MA) High School (1963-64), Special Operations School (1966-67), Officer Training School (1967-70), Air Force Institute of Technology (1974-77), DoD Acquisition Enhancement Program (1986-92), and Defense Systems Management College (1987-present). In these capacities, taught hundreds of graduate level adult professionals in leadership and management, systems acquisition management, and special operations; also designed, developed, and implemented professional development courses.

Served as Deputy Director, DoD Acquisition Enhancement Program from 1986 to 1992, a career development program for the defense acquisition workforce. Currently, serving as Chair, Academic Requirements Department, and professor of systems acquisition management at the Defense Systems Management College, Fort Belvoir, Virginia.

For combat service, military meritorious service, and outstanding performance and achievement, received the Defense Superior Service Medal, Bronze Star Medal, Meritorious Service Medal (4 awards), Joint Service Commendation Medal, Vietnam Medal of Honor, First Class, Vietnam Gallantry Cross with gold palm, other decorations, numerous campaign medals and unit awards, and Air Training Command Master Instructor Rating Award.

For civilian service in administering and managing adult and continuing education programs, received Civilian Special Act Award, Commander's Award for Civilian Service, Exceptional Performance Rating Awards, Performance Incentive Awards, and letter of commendation from Administrator, Office of Federal Procurement Policy.

Wrote numerous articles on training design and evaluation for the Air Force Instructor Journal , Air Force Doctrine, Operations, Instruction, and Training (DOIT) Newsletter, and the Inspector General's Newsletter. Contributed to three-volume book entitled Psychological Operations in Special Air Warfare. Contributed to two civil war books, Lee's Colonels, and Brevet Brigadier Generals in Blue.

Member of the following societies and organizations: Kappa Delta Pi (Education), Phi Delta Kappa (Education), Pi Alpha Alpha (Public Administration), Kelly Lodge 1131, A. F. and A. M., Scottish Rite, Alazafar Shrine, Retired Officers Association, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Sons of the American Revolution, Virginia Historical Society, Confederate Memorial Literary Society, and numerous Civil War groups.

Married to the former Charlotte M. Fife of San Antonio, Texas, and has two children, Michael and Melanie, and a granddaughter, Megan.