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Editorials

COME BACK.

Again we approach that season of the year when, in academic circles, all minds and hearts turn to thoughts of Commencement day. The rising of the sap in the trees, the bursting of the buds, the blooming of the flowers and the greening of the grass bring thoughts of diplomas, reunion festivities, and all the accompaniments of commencement time. And here at Old Howard, on this beautiful morning, as I sit and look through the open window, things seem more glorious than ever. Here on the old hill the air seems clearer, the sun brighter, and the sky bluer than anywhere else in the world.

As I muse on the glory of it all, my mind turns to other days and I look back down the years to see other faces moving about the campus, standing beneath the trees and acting in every way just as the students do today. Though not so many, we loved Alma Mater just the same. The buildings were fewer; but a hut is as dear as a castle where love lies. The walks were not so fine; but then as now we trod on holy ground; for to the few then Howard was the same loving mother that she is to the many today. And as I think of those who peopled the campus in the days gone by, I follow them in imagination throughout the wide world, carrying with them, wherever they go, the inspiration and power gained here and at the same time cherishing deeply in their hearts and souls an abiding love and reverence for Alma Mater. And I wish that by some magic all who have passed through, whether graduates or not, might return to these old scenes to strengthen that love and inspiration and to renew the fellowships once formed for the good of our individual souls and for the glory and advancement of this great institution which means so much to us and to our children and to our children's children.

Great preparations are being made this year for a warm welcome to the alumni, greater, I believe, than ever before. Efforts are being put forth on all hands to make the commencement season of 1922 the most notable in the history of the University. Every alumnus and former student who
can possibly do so, should plan to be here. The official statement sent out from the University tells in detail what is being planned so that you may be intelligent concerning the definite program. But without reference to these plans, we are calling to you to come back just for love's sake, for the hearty hand clasp, for the look of eye into eye, for the union of souls. You remember in the Alma Mater song the statement, "Far above the lake so blue, stands old Howard firm and true." Let me tell you that if your experience is to be the same as mine, that sentiment has never been so vividly impressed upon you as it will be when you return this time. For, in accordance with the recently adopted plans for the general development of the University site, a magnificent new building is being erected on the campus overlooking the lake, facing the east and the rising sun. This splendid structure, costing over $200,000, when seen from across the lake with the campus and the other buildings as a background, gives objective significance to the beautiful sentiment quoted from the Alma Mater song. I want you to be here and take part in the reunion if for no other reason than to sit down at luncheon with the rest of us in the beautiful and spacious dining hall, which is to be the feature of this building. It is rapidly nearing completion and will certainly be ready for you at commencement day.

The future of Howard depends upon co-operation. The mother and her children must work together. Each year she wants you at home with her at the home-coming time. When you plan to come this year, won't you make every effort to bring the rest with you? Come and join in the great movement for the new Howard and the new day?

D. O. W. H.
PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT OF COMMENCEMENT WEEK ACTIVITIES AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY—JUNE 4-9.

Sunday, June 4, 4:30.—Baccalaureate sermon in the chapel.

Monday, June 5.—Senior Class Day.
   11:00 A. M.—Ivy exercises.
   4:00–5:30 P. M.—President and Mrs. Durkee will be “at home” to the Senior classes.
   6:30 P. M.—Band concert on the oval.
   7:30 P. M.—Class Day exercises, Library steps.

Tuesday, June 6—
   10:30 A. M.—Annual meeting of the Board of Trustees.
   6:30 P. M.—Band concert on the oval.

Wednesday, June 7—
   8:30 P. M.—Senior Prom.

Thursday, June 8. Alumni Day.
   Business meetings.
   Class reunions.
   R. O. T. C. exhibitions.
   4:00–5:30 P. M.—President and Mrs. Durkee will be “at home” to alumni and friends.
   6:30 P. M.—Band concert on the oval.
   8:30 P. M.—Pantomime by Ridgeley Torrence, “Danse Calinda,” on the campus by Howard Players.

Friday, June 9—
   11:00 A. M.—Commencement exercises.
   2:00 P. M.—Alumni banquet.
   6:30 P. M.—Band concert on the oval.
   (Play in the evening if Thursday evening is stormy.)
The Collapse of the Confederacy

BY

Charles H. Wesley, M.A.,
Associate Professor of History.
THE COLLAPSE OF THE CONFEDERACY.

By Charles H. Wesley, M.A.,

Associate Professor of History.
Howard University,
Washington, D.C.

Howard University,
Studies in History.
No. 2. May, 1922.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE CONFEDERACY.

I. The Resources of the Confederacy.
   (1) Food.
   (2) War Supplies and Manufacture.
   (3) Transportation.
   (4) Numbers engaged.

II. Political and Social Conditions in the Confederacy.
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   (2) The Congress.
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III. The Morale of the Confederacy.
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      (a) Emancipation.
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The Collapse of the Confederacy*

By Charles H. Wesley,
Associate Professor of History.

I t is customary to account for the collapse of the Confederacy in the War, 1861-1865, on the basis of the preponderant resources in men and materials, and through the superior military, financial and industrial organizations of the North. It has been asserted that the Confederacy might have continued the contest but for the superior organization of the Northern Armies, as shown in Grant's Campaign in Virginia, Thomas's victories in Tennessee, Sheridan's devastation in the Shenandoah, Sherman's march through Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina, and the blockade. The resources of the two sections have been compared, statistics of the wealth and population have been used to show the superiority of the northern section. Finally, this rather traditional treatment of the War has ended with the astonishing conclusion that we must all be amazed that the Confederacy was able to continue the contest for so long a period. On the contrary, it is astonishing that, with its resources, the Confederacy did not continue the War for a longer period. Here was a nation with a large territory and enormous resources suddenly collapsing. How is it to

*In the preparation and completion of this study, I am under deep obligations to Professor Edward Channing, who has directed and encouraged my efforts in this field of research. The materials upon which the Monograph is based were used in the presentation of the investigation as a Seminary study at Harvard University.

1 Judge Graham Taylor, quoting Charles Francis Adams, on the occasion of the celebration of the birth of General Robert E. Lee, made the following statements: "How was the wholly unexpected outcome brought about? The simple answer is, the Confederacy collapsed from inanition. Suffering such occasional reverses and defeats as are incidental to all warfare, it was never crushed in battle or on the field until its strength was sapped away from want of food. It died of exhaustion, starved and gasping."—Bulletin of William and Mary College, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 12.

"Every State was exhausted and without food. In the entire Confederacy there were meat rations barely sufficient for the army for a period of twenty-five days, and the winter (1864) had just begun." The History of North America, Guy Carleton Lee, Ed. Vol. XIV. The Civil War from a Southern Viewpoint. W. R. Garret and R. A. Halley.

"The Confederacy failed not because it was defeated in the field, but because it was starved and crushed into submission." Max Farrand, The Development of the United States, pp. 230. Cf. Woodrow Wilson, History of the American People, Vol. VIII, Chap. II. James F. Rhodes, History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850, Vol. V, Chap. XXVIII.
be explained in any other way than on the basis of military organization? Quite evidently, the military campaigns of the North, its superior industrial organization and large resources had great effect upon the result of the contest. But these conclusions cannot completely explain the result. No treatment of the Civil War will be complete until the disintegrating internal factors have been exploited. The psychological factors which enter into the disruption of southern morale and the inherent political weaknesses of southern war times are fundamental, for in the long run these must determine the resistance.

The South collapsed, it is asserted, because of the lack of men, food, war materials and resources for its population. These factors should be carefully studied before we can determine whether these factors were directly responsible, or whether behind these there were more potent forces. The lack of material resources did occasion suffering in the South, especially during 1865. This must be admitted. But no nation in history has gained its independence or the freedom to follow its chosen pursuits, without suffering, and without drinking the dregs of the bitter cup of adversity. The wars of independence in the modern world have been fought, as a rule, by peoples of inferior resources and populations. Note the war of Netherlands with Spain at the dawn of the modern era, in which thousands were butchered in the Spanish Fury and their country inundated, but the Dutch were not beaten; the wars of Frederick the Great, in which Prussia was drained of men and boys by conscription, even Berlin, the Capital, was captured and the country overrun, but Prussia was not beaten, and did not collapse in spite of the odds against her. The American Revolution, the Spanish uprising against the Napoleonic invaders—these and more show clearly that more important than numbers and resources—as weighty as they may be in the final result—are the morale of the people and their attitudes toward the war. The war lesson of modern history seems to teach that a nation like an individual is not beaten until its spirit is broken.

The Earl of Chatham expresses the thought most clearly when he said—"Conquer a free population of three million souls? The thing is impossible!" Morale was just as fundamental a factor in the Civil War. While there was a lack of food in the army and in certain military areas, there was food in abundance in other parts of the South. While there was an insufficient supply of munitions and the implements of war, yet there were army supplies to be burned and destroyed at Richmond, Atlanta, Savannah, Charleston, Fayetteville, Columbia and other places until around March, 1865. While there was an inadequate railroad system, yet there were railroads, there was some railroad building, there were repairs to roads, cars were built, there were wagons and horses, foundries and mills. Truly, as in other wars, the nation denying the right of independence was superior in all, but the people who were seeking independence seemed
powerless to use the nucleus given them for the building of greater resistance.

The study which follows will be divided into three parts, (1) to determine whether there were sufficient resources in the South for the conduct of the war, and how long these resources were available; (2) how far were internal dissensions and the lack of the spirit of cooperation responsible for the collapse; and finally, (3) was the morale of the Confederacy, in any measure, responsible for the collapse. With the military events constantly in mind, the determination of the importance of these factors—and especially the last which is psychological and to some extent indefinite—will assist a more comprehensive treatment of our Civil War Period.

I. THE RESOURCES OF THE CONFEDERACY.

Food. The land of the South is rich in the possibilities of production. In the variety of its natural food production, the South was more than equal to the North. But in the South the tillage was rude and primitive, and it was carried on by slave-labor. In the North, the improved processes of machinery made possible a large production in proportion to the number of laborers employed. In the lower states of the South land was easily tillable. The seasons are long, so that two or three crops of vegetables are raised in a year.

The cotton crop of 1860 amounted to 4,861,000 bales, and in 1861, it consisted of 3,849,000 bales. The advice of the press, agreements of planters' conventions, the appeals of governors, the resolutions of legislatures, a joint resolution of Congress and an appeal from President Davis encouraged the substitution of food stuffs for cotton. A decline in the production of cotton followed. It continued through 1862 and 1863; in 1864, the crop was only one-eighth as large as the crop of 1861, and the harvest of cereals and food was larger. Travelers tell of the condition of the food production. W. Carse, an English merchant, in 1862, tells of the excellent dinners of cold fowl, baked opossum, apples, cracked


3 The Richmond Examiner, March 19, 1862, regarded the production of another large cotton crop not only as a peril to "our country and cause by famine, but would prejudice the interest of the cotton planters themselves in cheapening the cotton product." The results of these efforts to reduce cotton production is noted by Governor Vance. Off. Rccds. Rebel!. Ser. IV, Vol. 11, 478,700. Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1862, pp. 253, 260.

corn and sweet cake, which he found for sale at various stations along his route. He admits, however, that owing to the blocking up of the railroads with troops, food scarcity in the markets resulted. After six weeks of travel, he finally concluded that "the South cannot be starved out * * * and any notion that the South is now dependent on any outside people for food is a fallacy and may as well be given up." Concerning the army, he states, that "in the matter of food, the troops of the army of the Southern Mississippi were at least as well off in time of war as in peace." 5

In some places in 1863, there was actual hardship from the want of food. Jonathan Worth, a prominent citizen of North Carolina, at one time Treasurer and later Governor, wrote to a friend, January 5, "all well but on the verge of starvation," and later, "we are almost starved out." 6 Governor Vance, of the same state, informed Secretary Seddon of the War Department that, in the interior of the state, "there was much suffering for bread, already, and will be more on account of the failure of crops from drought." 7 The crop of this year was short. Georgia had planted a large amount of corn but on account of drought the return was not as estimated at first. 8 In January, President Davis wrote Governor Brown of Georgia that, "the possibility of a short supply of provisions presents the greatest danger to a successful prosecution of the war." 9 In other parts of the South, there were crop failures during 1863, which were very depressing in their effects. 10 During 1861 and 1863 the letters of General Beauregard show a want of subsistence. In 1861 he complains that some of his regiments had nothing to eat for more than twenty-four hours, and that military movements were impossible because only one wagon and four horses were assigned to every hundred men. 11 Across the Mississippi, supplies seemed to be plentiful. Major Lockett of the Commissary Department, after a journey through Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, tells of the quantities of cattle grazing near the roads, and of the flocks which "might be used in furnishing supplies to the troops in this department." 12 It was said also, that "the crops and gardens, and orchards yielded plenti-

5 Ibid., pp. 86-87.
6 Jonathan Worth, Correspondence, I, pp. 232, 227.
8 Ibid., pp. 404.
9 Ibid., pp. 376.
10 A report of Secretary Seddon, January 3, 1863, stated "the harvests of the past season have not generally proved propitious, and notwithstanding the much larger breadth of land devoted to the culture of cereals and forage, the product in many extended districts of the Confederacy is below the average, and in some threatens scarcity." Off. Reds. Rebell., Ser. IV, Vol. II, pp. 292.
11 August 22, 1861, General Beauregard wrote, "the want of food and transportation has made us lose all the fruits of our victory." Roman, Military Operations of General Beauregard, I, pp. 120, 179, 208.
fully and that all kinds of poultry thrived in Mississippi." 15 Florida had an abundant crop in 1862.14

As the year 1863 advanced, hopes were high for an abundant harvest and plentiful supplies. A traveler along the Danville Railroad in Virginia wrote to the Richmond Examiner that "fields of wheat were most promising," that "on either side of the railroad, the golden-colored areas are spread out in all their beauty." The writer was informed that, "such a wheat crop had not been garnered for a quarter of a century, and that such was the expectations of farmers everywhere." 15 Governor Brown of Georgia wrote to President Davis, that there were many wild cattle in lower Georgia and Florida.16 General Sherman wrote to his brother, that there was plenty in Texas and in other parts, and "we have found everywhere abundant supplies, even on the Yazoo, and all along the river we found cattle and fat ones feeding quietly. The country abounds in corn." 17 Dana wrote Secretary Stanton at Washington, May 4, 1863, that "beef, cattle and corn are both abundant everywhere. The enemy is not suffering for want in the least." 18

In spite of these reports, the city markets continued to show a scarcity. There was famine in the midst of plenty. The urban population, and in some cases, the army was suffering from the want of food, while there was an abundance in the country districts. The newspapers raised constant complaints against the farmers who would not sell their products and who were said to be holding their food for better prices. Others upheld the farmers and said that they were suffering from the deranged currency, impressments and the taxes in kind. These were burdens to the farmers and they produced continued dissatisfaction.19

In January, 1864, General Maury wrote to General Polk that there was plenty of meat being cured in Alabama, and that some beef cattle was awaiting his call.20 In the same year, General J. K. Jackson of Florida estimated that Florida would produce annually 25,000 heads of beeves, equal to 10,000,000 pounds, 1,000,000 pounds of bacon, and 1,000 hogshead of sugar, fruits and other provisions.21 In Mississippi, there was an abun-

15 Richmond Daily Examiner, June 27, 1863.
17 The Sherman Letters, January 6, 1863, pp. 180. In the same year, he wrote: "We find an abundance of corn, hogs, cattle, sheep and poultry. Men who came in advance have drawn but two days' rations in ten and are fat." Home Letters, Howe, pp. 260.
dance even after supplying the requisitions of the army up to 1864, when
the removal of slaves, the impressment of horses and mules and the
invasions of the state produced an apparent exhaustion. 22 The diaries and
memoirs of soldiers mention days of scarcity in the early part of 1864, but
says Jones, in the Surrey Light Artillery, "as the fall and winter of 1864
approached and the tax-in-kind began to be collected, the supplies furnished
the army became more liberal and in greater variety." 23

General Northrop, of the Bureau of Subsistence, in a report, December,
1864, to Secretary Seddon, wrote that there had been no complaint or
suffering from defect of subsistence in any armies outside of Virginia,
"the territories from which they draw having been undesolated by the
enemy." He added that there was then in Richmond or on route only
twenty-five days' rations for 100,000 men. 24 But when the paymaster came
around Camp Henrico, Virginia, and gave the soldiers four months' pay,
the hucksters appeared with "pies and things," and retail vendors of things
to eat plied a large trade. 25 In the newspapers there were advertisements
during 1863, 1864, 1865 of hundreds of instances of the sale of groceries
and foods. The auction sales were very frequent.

There were speculators who drove prices higher and made food more
scarce. In August, 1862, the Governor of Florida wrote to the Florida
delegation at Richmond urging them to take steps to meet the nefarious
smuggling of speculators who charged extortionate prices. Governor
Vance, of North Carolina, in September, proposed a state convention to
fix prices, and by proclamation he forbade the export of provisions from
the state, in order to prevent the seeking of higher prices in other markets.
President Davis wrote to other governors urging price fixing by the states
as a remedy against speculators." 26 Sermons were preached against the
"godless Shylocks," as they were called. The Governor of Virginia be-
rated the unpatriotic extortioner who found the war a blessing. In Janu-
ary, 1865, a rumor was spread in Richmond that the Secretary of War
was appointing men to hunt up speculators, and Jones, the War Clerk, in
his diary, says that the Jews and others were busy with their hand-carts and
wheelbarrows, removing barrels of flour from the center of the town to
the outskirts of the city, being fearful of impressments. 27

In the same month, General Lee wrote to Secretary Seddon, that the
country was swept clear, and that his army had only two days' supply.
General Northrop stated that General Lee's army might be provisioned
from southwestern Virginia, where there were 100,000 bushels of corn

22 Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Centenary Series II, pp. 204.
23 Jones, Surrey Light Artillery, pp. 200.
26 Stephenson, The Day of the Confederacy, pp. 78.
27 Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, II, pp. 387.
and a great deal of meat, but he added that three things were necessary, funds, wagon transportation and the cooperation of the people. In some manner this need for General Lee's army was met, for later General Lee reported that the crisis of starvation in the army was passed. In March, 1865, General Longstreet reported to General Lee that there were large quantities of provisions in North Carolina—"a two or three year supply." He urged the seizure of the gold at Richmond in order to purchase food, as the people would take the gold but not the Confederate Currency. From Alabama, the report came that "the new bacon crop" would be large but that it could not be controlled without funds. Additional evidence on this point is shown in a dispatch, March 10, 1865, by Major French to General I. M. St. John of the Bureau of Subsistence, in which it is said that the crops south of North Carolina, in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi were never so large, that with railroad communications restored and with "gold or United States Currency to operate in sections where Confederate money is not acceptable," the estimate for the year could be doubled. From North Carolina and Virginia, he could secure 12,500,000 rations of bread and 11,500,000 rations of meat; and from East Tennessee 15,000,000 rations of bread and 5,000,000 rations of meat additional. Colonel Williams, of the Subsistence Department, sent a report of the same date that quantities of supplies were available in East Tennessee and Virginia. He concluded that the question of feeding the army depended upon "a judicious management of transportation and the control of one-half a million of dollars in coin, together with $150,000 per day in Treasury notes." In a subsequent report he stated that the combined exertions of the officers and the Commissary, during the month of March and up to the first of April, 1865, kept all the sub-depots on the lines of railroads in Virginia nearly always full.

Major Claiborne, of the same department, wrote that there is a most ample supply to sustain our armies—to obtain them was the only question presented to the department. "Energetic action in transportation," he continued, "and earnest efforts in the collection of supplies will avail much but the officers must be supplied with means * * * the hoarders are surfeited with paper money, and these stores can be obtained only by the use of gold or the bayonets of the enemy." General Sherman, at the beginning of his March to the Sea wrote that his soldiers "liked pigs, sheep,

29 Ibid., Jones wrote, January 16, 1865, "The Commissary General says 100,000 bushels of corn for Lee's Army may be got in southwest Virginia." Rebel War Clerk's Diary II, pp 389.
31 Ibid., pp. 1397.
32 Ibid., pp. 1298.
chickens, calves and sweet potatoes better than rations. We won't starve in Georgia." At the conclusion of his march he wrote, "We came right along living on turkeys, chickens, pigs, bringing our wagons loaded, as we started, with bread." 34 General Sheridan in his official report of his raid to the James River says, that he found "provisions for man and beast in great abundance all along his march." 35 The Richmond Examiner of March 27, 1865, adds the comment that "this is a beautiful commentary upon the liberality and policy of our people—when General Lee calls for provisions to feed his army we are told that this man and that have given them all, but when the Yankee raiders come along, they find meat houses and corn cribs or cellars filled with abundance." 36

By April 1, 1865, there was collected the following amount by the Confederate Commissary:

At Richmond, Va., 300,000 rations of bread and meat.
At Danville, Va., 500,000 rations of bread.
At Danville, Va., 1,500,000 rations of meat.
At Lynchburg, Va., 180,000 rations of bread and meat.
At Greensboro, N. C., and vicinity, 1,500,000 rations of bread and meat.

These collections did not include forage by field trains of the armies under orders from their own headquarters, nor the depot collections at Charlottesville, Staunton and other points. 37 At the time of the evacuation of Richmond, Major Claiborne estimated that there were 400,000 rations of bread and meat. These were sent out by railroad and wagon transportation, the residue was "distributed or appropriated by the people of Richmond." 38 A few days after the evacuation, Mr. Breckinridge, Secretary of War, reported that General St. John had asked General Lee where he should locate a large quantity of rations which he had secured; the reply of General Lee was that the military situation made it impossible to answer. 39 Colonel T. G. Williams, Assistant Commissary General, reported that during the month of March, and up to the first of April the depots were full. 40 In the early part of 1865, the country had recovered rapidly from Sherman's March, and we are told that in Georgia "the fields were tilled, the crops were growing, but people were still short of provisions and that no one wants to take Confederate money." 41 General Joseph E. Johnston stated that in February, 1865, rations for sixty thou-

35 Sherman Home Letters, pp. 313-316.
36 Richmond Examiner, March 27, 1865; March 25, 1865.
38 Ibid., pp. 106-107.
39 Ibid., 104-105.
40 Ibid., pp. 106.
41 Andrews, Diary of a Georgia Girl, pp. 167.
sand men for more than four months were stored in the principal depots between Charlotte, Danville and Weldon, and that before April 20, more than 700,000 rations had been collected in various depots between Charlotte, N. C., and Washington, Georgia, "in a district that had been thought destitute." 42 The Commissary was not always efficient in its collection and storage of food. Frequent reference is made to depots of provisions being neglected, to quantities of corn, wheat, bacon and potatoes which go to waste and "are either lost or stolen through the carelessness of railroads and transportation companies." 43

From the above, it would seem clear that there was some food in the Confederacy to the end of the war. It is certain also that there was some privation and suffering on the part of both the army and the people. There was food in plenty in parts of the South during all the years of the war and there was scarcity in all the years. The situation grew more acute as the war continued, but there is no evidence to show that the food situation became so alarming in 1865 that it,—per se,—produced the collapse. There was abundance of food in 1865, not only in the lower South but in the very areas in which the armies were operating. 44 The army was upon a short allowance of food in the first year of the war and in the last year of the war. But in the country there was really no lack of supplies. The fault for the shortage may be discovered either in the inefficiency or inexperience—and probably both—of the Commissary Department, and in lack of adequate means for equitable distribution. Quantities of foodstuffs were raised in the South, but the army and city dwellers did not receive it. When Mrs. Chesnut left Richmond for Kingsville, S. C., in 1865, she found "creature comforts of all kinds—green peas, strawberries, asparagus, spring lamb, spring chicken, fresh eggs, rich yellow butter, clean white linen for one’s bed, dazzling white damask for one’s table." She concluded "it is such a contrast to Richmond, where I live." 45 The problem of food supply, aside from military interference, was one of distribution. If the railroads had been properly utilized and replaced when worn, or if wagon transportation had been supplied, and if those areas which had supplies, had been willing to divide with those areas which had not, the food problem would not have been so acute. But one cannot imagine the Confederacy—a slave-holding regime, based on states rights and individualistic doc-

43 Watson, Life in the Confederate Army, pp. 372.
44 Brigadier-General E. P. Alexander of the Confederate Army, writing in the Century Magazine, No. 31, pp. 629, states that "times were often hard in the field and camp, but this cut little figure when the trial of battle was on, and we never lost a field that I know of, for lack of food, clothing, ammunition, or anything that money might buy."
45 Chesnut, Dairy, pp. 308.
trines—maintaining any other ground than that which its history reveals. Other action was inherently impossible.

War Supplies and Manufacture. During the decade, 1850-1860, the South was undergoing an economic renaissance. It was rapidly turning from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Manufacturing increased rapidly, and if the war had not come, it seems safe to conjecture that the South would have developed an industrial life in spite of itself. During the war the South was inadequately supplied with war materials, and it was seriously handicapped by this scarcity. Before the war, all manufactured products had come from the North and the beginning of hostilities cut off this supply and forced upon the South the establishment of a variety of industries.

The supply of arms was obtained from three sources, (1) from the arsenals and armories of the United States which were seized by the Confederates at the outbreak of the war, and from the defeated armies of the Union; (2) from the manufacturing plants, public and private, which were established during the war, and (3) through the Blockade. Seizures of large quantities of arms were made at the opening of the war, and besides these, the Memphis Appeal states that there were 5,000,000 private arms which could be used for all practical purposes. It is a well known fact that every southern master had his gun, which was used for hunting and as a protection. Many such arms were old flint locks, which after alteration were almost worthless. The armies of the South went forth with “single and double barreled shotguns, squirrel rifles, muskets, flint locks and old pistols.” Small arms factories were established in the lower South, especially in Alabama. Sea-coast and seige guns were made at the Tredegar Iron Works at Richmond. So successful were these operations that in 1863, General Gorgas could write that the army on this side of the Mississippi was adequately supplied and possessed artillery quite equal to that of the enemy. In November, 1863, it was reported that the supply of arms was steadily increasing. The armories at Richmond, Fayetteville and Asheville had produced about 28,000 small arms during the year. Private establishments had increased this number to 35,000, and it was estimated that 50,000 would be made by the year ending September 30, 1864.

47 De Bow’s Review, 1861, pp. 677-678.
50 But at the end of the year, his report showed that about 20,000 were made instead of 50,000; it was added, however, that 20,000 were on the way from Europe. Secretary Seddon reported in 1863 that arms of approved kinds were being made with more facility, at more places and in larger numbers than at any previous time. Off. Reds. Rebell, Ser. IV, Vol. II, pp. 956-957.
Quantities of small arms were received through the Blockade; from September 30, 1862, to September 30, 1863, 113,504 were received, together with "large quantities of saltpeter, lead, cartridges, percussion caps, flannel and paper for cartridges, leather, hardware." Four steamers were engaged in carrying out cotton and bringing in supplies. At Selma, Alabama, there were the state and Confederate arsenals, and a naval foundry with machinery of English make. It is estimated that one-half of the cannon and two-thirds of the ammunition which were used during the last two years of the war were manufactured at the Selma foundries and factories. Cannon, siege and sea-coast guns were made at the Tredegar Iron Works. A laboratory for smelting lead was situated at Petersburg, Va. It was capable of smelting a thousand pounds of lead per day. The arsenal at Richmond grew to large proportions and produced the ordnance stores which the army of the North required. The arsenals at Augusta and

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An editorial in De Bow's Review, 1861, stated "all over the South, there are the most gratifying evidences of progress in the arts and manufactures, stimulated by the presence of war and of non-intercourse. Artillery, small arms, gunpowder and every description of missle are being fabricated; and necessity which is the Mother of Invention, will soon make us self-sustaining in everything," pp. 677-678.

Governor Shorter of Alabama wrote to the Confederate Chief of Staff, describing the situation in Alabama as follows: "Coming over the mountains you visit Tuscaloosa, where are located a large cotton factory, and tannery, and shoe establishment and iron foundry—leaving Tuscaloosa and proceeding south upon the western line of Bibb County, you come upon the Bibb County factory, one of the largest in the state. * * * At Gainesville the Confederate Government has a hospital, workshops and valuable stores, and at Demopolis, supplies * * * at Selma, besides the Alabama Arsenal, removed to this city from Vernon, the Government has established there an extensive naval foundry, where it hopes very soon to cast the heaviest ordnance. Quantities of shot and shell are already being turned out, and before a great while it is expected to roll there heavy iron-plating for our men of war. The state is now establishing there a manufactory of spinning cards, cotton and woolen—also the Alabama Arms Manufacturing Co., which contains machinery for the manufacture of the Enfield rifle * * * Both in this city and in Selma there are railroad depots and machine shops for manufacturing cars and repairing engines * * * along the line of the Alabama and Tennessee River Railroad are located some of the most valuable iron establishments in the Confederacy. They are in the counties of Bibb, Shelby and Calhoun." Off. Reds. Rebell., Ser. I, Vol. LIII, pt. 2, pp. 480-481.
Selma were serviceable to the armies serving the South and the West.\textsuperscript{52}

Preparations for the production of gunpowder were begun by the establishment of two private mills in Tennessee. Later a government mill was established at Augusta, and another at San Antonio.\textsuperscript{53} After 1862, the former was in full operation; and in the year ending 1863, over one million pounds of powder were produced. At the beginning of 1865, 5,000 pounds per day were being manufactured.\textsuperscript{54} The principal ingredient in the manufacture of gunpowder was niter. Beds of niter were discovered in Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. By October, 1864, the Confederate niter beds produced from two to three ounces of niter per cubic foot of earth, and the average

\textsuperscript{52} The principal establishments for the supply of ammunition, small arms and artillery under Government control were as follows:

(Dates indicate the periods when they were still found in operation.)

\textit{September, 1861}  
Richmond—Laboratory  
Fayetteville—Armory  
Augusta—Arsenal  
Charleston—Arsenal  
Mt. Vernon—Arsenal  
Baton Rouge—Arsenal  
Virginia Military Institute  

\textit{November, 1863}  
Richmond—Arsenal  
Clarksdale—Harness  
Petersburg—Smelting  
Danville—Depot  
Fayetteville—Arsenal  
Asheville—Armory  
Salisbury—  
Charlotte—Foundry  
Laboratory  
Charleston—Arsenal  
Augusta—Arsenal  
Foundry  
Powder Mills  
Atlanta—Arsenal  
Foundry  
Macon—Arsenal  
Laboratory  
Foundry  
Montgomery—Arsenal  
Columbus—Arsenal  
Selma—Arsenal  
Foundry  
Mills  

\textit{December, 1864}  
Richmond—Arsenal  
Fayetteville—Arsenal  
Atlanta—Arsenal  
Columbus—Arsenal  
Selma—Arsenal  
(Montgomery—Arsenal  
Columbus—Arsenal  
Selma—Arsenal  
Foundry  
Mills  
(Southern Historical Association Papers, Vol. II, pp. 61. Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 74.)

\textsuperscript{53} Schwab, Confederate States, pp. 271. It is stated in this study that there were few plants in operation after 1863. The above table and the subsequent statement by General Gorgas definitely refutes this statement.

European niter beds after four years of age produced four ounces. By the year ending September 30, 1864, General Gorgas reported that "the mechanical means for the production of powder are ample for a war conducted on any scale, and so arranged as to be almost beyond capacity." 55

In the same report of 1864, General Gorgas remarked that "while the army has been well supplied during the past year, there are causes operating which will render future results less satisfactory. The chief of these is the diminution of skilled workmen. Without statistics I can only assure you that the number and quality of workmen have greatly fallen off since the middle of the year 1863. While two years ago it was difficult to get machinery, we have now a surplus and cannot get workmen to run it. This opens a most melancholy prospect and indicates an evil that cannot too soon be corrected. While we are importing workmen by twos they are leaving us by the hundred. I formerly reported to you that from Christmas, 1863, to May, 1864, fifty-five men left our government workshops in Richmond. This may give a glimpse of the exodus. Nor is it that this class of men is disaffected or unpatriotic that they leave the country—when called on they have fought and fought well—but workmen will not fight and work." 56 In response to an official request on February 9, 1865, General Gorgas again reported that he could overcome all impediments in the production of arms and ammunition if he could secure the workmen. Said he, "if these men and slaves can be permanently

56 Ibid., pp. 734.

The foregoing statements concerning the manufacture of materials in the Confederacy are supported by the Journal of General Gorgas. This quotation was furnished me by Professor Channing of Harvard University. It is a direct copy from the manuscript. "April 8, 1864. It is three years ago today since I took charge of the Ordnance Department of the Confederate States, at Montgomery—three years of constant work and application. I have succeeded beyond my utmost expectations. From being the worst supplied of the Bureaus of the War Department it is now the best. Large arsenals have been organized at Richmond, Fayetteville, Augusta, Charles, Columbus, Macon, Atlanta and Selma, and smaller ones at Danville, Lynchburg and Montgomery, besides other establishments. A superb powder mill has been built at Augusta, the credit of which is due to Col. G. W. Rause. Lead smelting works were established by me at Petersburg and turned over to the Nitre and Mining Bureau, when that Bureau was at my request separated from mine. A cannon foundry established at Macon for heavy guns, and bronze foundries at Macon, Columbus, Georgia, and at Augusta; a foundry for shot and shell at Salisbury, N. C.; a large shop for leather work at Clarksville, Va.; besides the armories here and at Fayetteville, a manufactory of carbines has been built up here; a rifle factory at Asheville transferred to Columbia, S. C.; a new and very large armory at Macon, including a pistol factory, built up under contract here and sent to Atlanta, and thence transferred under purchase to Macon; a second pistol factory at Columbus, Ga. All these have required incessant toil and attention." The Journal of General Gorgas, pp. 133.
attached to this bureau, I will answer for the supply of ordnance and ordnance stores to the army." 57

The supply of medicines for the Confederacy were obtained from four sources, from the limited supply on hand, from purchases smuggled through the blockade and Union lines, from captured supplies—often in large quantities and from native medicine plants. A pamphlet was issued by Surgeon-General Jones, of the Medical College of Georgia, in 1861, in which directions were given for the gathering of medicines from plants. Drug laboratories were erected at Lincolnton, North Carolina; Macon, Georgia; Augusta, Georgia; Columbia, South Carolina; and Tyler, Texas. Surgical cloth was made by southern cotton factories. Surgical instruments were scarce, but there was one company which manufactured them in North Carolina. 58

The manufacture of tools, implements and materials for the building of bridges was begun at Richmond, Charleston, Augusta, Mobile, Demopolis and in the Trans-Mississippi region. 59 The great difficulty was the lack of iron. The production of iron, lead, copper and all minerals was added to the Niter Bureau. President Davis reported that the Bureau was main-


The estimated manufacturing capacity of the Government Powder Mills, according to the report of General Gorgas, December, 1864, was:

- Augusta Mills ........................................ 5,000 pounds per day
- Selma Mills .......................................... 500 pounds per day
- Raleigh Mills ........................................ 600 pounds per day
- Richmond Mills .................................... 1,500 pounds per day

Total ................................................... 7,600 pounds per day

Southern Historical Association Papers, II, pp. 61.

The estimated manufacture of rifles and carbines was as follows:

- Richmond Armory .................................. 25,000 rifles — 450 men needed
- Fayetteville ........................................ 10,000 rifles — 250 men needed
- Columbia Armory .................................. 4,000 rifles — 125 men needed
- Athens Armory ...................................... 10,000 rifles — 250 men needed
- Tallahassee Armory ................................. 6,000 carbines — 150 men needed

Total—55,000 rifles and carbines and 1,225 men needed.

Ibid., II, pp. 63.

The arms actually manufactured are shown in the following report for January, 1863:

- Small arms (rifles, muskets, carbines and pistols)—Fabricated, 14,849; remaining on hand, 9,876.
- Public Armories—Rifles, muskets and carbines manufactured per month, 2,050.
- Private Armories—1,550.
- Sabers manufactured per month—3,500.

Off. Reds. Rebell, Ser. IV, II, pp. 299.)

http://dh.howard.edu/hurecord/vol16/iss7/1
taining from twenty to thirty furnaces with an annual yield of 50,000 tons of pig iron. In 1864 it was reported that ten large iron furnaces in Virginia, all but three in Tennessee, all in Georgia and four in Alabama were burned or destroyed by the advancing Federal troops. The report adds that the Bureau has had to reconstruct as well as produce.60 There were private iron works in North Carolina and Virginia engaged in advertising their wares and seeking workmen.61 There were two large foundries, Tredegar Works in Richmond and the Leeds Foundry at New Orleans. The capture of these cities by the Federal troops ended their existence as Confederate units. The Haxall Flour Mills at Richmond were said to be the largest on the continent.62 Several flour mills were established in Yazoo County, Mississippi.63 Cotton mills were erected throughout the South. A Government shop for the manufacture of clothing for soldiers was conducted in North Carolina.64 Tanneries, saddle and harness factories, shoe factories and private enterprises of many kinds were conducted.65

In February, 1864, there was complaint made to the Quartermaster that many soldiers of General Lee's Army were without shoes. The reply was that 100,000 pairs of shoes had been lost off Wilmington, but that within two months there would be enough leather to manufacture 600,000 pairs of shoes.66 North Carolina arranged with manufacturers at different

61 "Derr's Furnace
Six miles east of Lincolnton, N. C.
My furnace is now in full operation—
Molasses Mills, boilers, etc., cast to order on moderate terms."
(Western Democrat, Charlotte, N. C., February 7, 1865.)
"Rehoboth Furnace in Blast
Three miles northeast of Iron Station, Lincoln Co., N. C.
The Proprietors are prepared to do castings of all kinds."
(Raleigh Daily Confederate, March 30, 1865.)
"Iron! Iron!
The Lockville Mining and Manufacturing Company are now making
iron of the best quality for plantation purposes—
Iron now ready for delivery at the works in Chatham County."
(Ibid., January 7, 1865.)
Same add for the Old Dominion Iron Works, Richmond, Va.
(Richmond Examiner, February 20, 1865.)

62 Richmond Whig, April 4, 1865.
65 Ibid., pp. 198-199. Schwab, pp. 271.
The following appeared in the Richmond Dispatch: "Harvey Hellings & Jew-
cpp—take pleasure in informing the public that they have in full operation a first-
class Ladies Shoes Manufactory—where they are prepared to turn out in any quan-
tity the very finest quality of Ladies Shoes—"
points in the state to supply its soldiers. To some, the state furnished the hides and had them tanned on shares. Some hides were imported and others were made by private manufacturers.\textsuperscript{67} The report of the Quartermaster in February, 1865, stated that there was a “fair supply” of leather, or hides in the vats, and a “moderate supply” of shoes. He adds that the manufacturing facilities were ample but that the raw material presented a real difficulty.\textsuperscript{68}

Large quantities of supplies were collected in Richmond, Raleigh and other places in North Carolina. Quantities were destroyed. We are told that in the retreat before Sherman from Raleigh, there were removed 100,000 suits of clothing, 10,000 pairs of shoes, 150,000 pounds of bacon. At Salisbury, the length of four entire squares was needed to burn the material, equal in value to about one million in specie.\textsuperscript{69} The material, which was not distributed to the inhabitants on the evacuation of Richmond, was also burned. Yet, with these evidences of plenty in the army depots, there seems to have been a want in the army. The South was handicapped, but the scarcity seems to have been due to the matter of equitable distribution than absence of the materials themselves. The Richmond Dispatch seemed to realize this when in an editorial it was said, “we have men enough, material enough, resources enough; all we need is the skillful and judicious use of our means.”\textsuperscript{70} A General Order from General Lee, February 11, 1865, stated that the resources “wisely and vigorously employed are ample, and with a brave army, sustained by a determined and united people, success with God’s assistance cannot be doubted.”\textsuperscript{71}

Transportation. The railroad development of the North was far ahead of the development of the South. The former had roads which were better built, equipped and manned. Moreover, the southern railroads were for the most part local lines, connecting coast and inland cities.\textsuperscript{72} The principal termini were Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, Richmond and Petersburg.\textsuperscript{73}

There was a slight increase in the mileage in the South through the period of the Civil War. In 1861, there were 9,283 miles of railroad there, and in 1864 there were 9,511.\textsuperscript{74} This increase may have been

\textsuperscript{67} Proceedings North Carolina Historical Association, 18th Session, pp. 108-109.
\textsuperscript{68} Off. Rede. Rebell., Ser. IV, III, pp. 1090.
\textsuperscript{69} Last Ninety Days in N. C., 146, 204-205.
\textsuperscript{70} Richmond Dispatch, February 1, 1865.
\textsuperscript{71} Off. Red. Rebell, Ser. I, XIX.
occasioned by the advancing Federal armies, which found it necessary to build such lines. But there was road building by the states, the Confederate Government and by private concerns. The Confederate Government began in 1861, to consider a railroad connection between Danville, Va., and Greensboro, N. C., a distance of 48 miles. President Davis called attention to it in his message. After protest by members of Congress against government aid being granted through the loan of a million dollars, the work was begun; but it was not completed until May, 1864. Another connection was suggested from Selma, Alabama, to Meridian, Mississippi. This route was to shorten the line from Richmond to Vicksburg and New Orleans; and it would give Vicksburg access to Alabama and Georgia. The distance was about 100 miles. It was completed in 1862. Another route was begun during the war but it was not completed until the close of the war. This was between Rome, Georgia, and Blue Mountain, Alabama. The connection between Montgomery, Alabama, and Selma, Alabama, was made before the close of the war, a distance of about 45 miles. Thus there was the building of nearly 200 miles of railroad by the assistance of the Confederate Government between 1861 and 1864. In March, 1865, a blanket appropriation of $21,000,000 was made to complete several small lines.\(^75\)

On the other hand, there were weaknesses in the southern roads. The roads terminating in several towns did not connect with one another, and freight unloaded at one depot had to be hauled across town and reloaded at the other. This was necessary in Petersburg, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Bristol, Lynchburg, Savannah, Augusta, Charlotte, Raleigh, Wilmington and other places. There was a shortage of cars and engines also. Before the war the supply was scarce; but some roads were building their cars before the war. The Annual Reports of the Railroad Companies of the State of Virginia for the year ending September, 1860, states that the freight cars built by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company will challenge comparison with any in the United States, “for the perfection to which they have been brought and the means adopted to render them as desirable as possible.”\(^76\) An English merchant who traveled in the South stated that he saw many hundreds of “southern made cars, for both freight and passengers, and very useful things they seemed.”\(^77\)

During the opening periods of the war, the railroad companies expecting an early termination of the war placed their reliance upon the stocks which they had on hand, and consequently they made little effort to replenish the stock.\(^78\) Soon all roads were suffering for want of cars and engines. The few shops which could repair cars and engines had been taken over

\(^{75}\) Ibid., pp. 1114.
\(^{76}\) Annual Report, Railroad Companies of Va., 1860.
\(^{77}\) Two months in the Confederate States, pp. 77-79.
by the Government to be used for war purposes. The Government believed that the railroads should look to their own repairs, and imbued with laissez-faire doctrines, it took no hand in the repair of the roads until necessity demanded. By degrees the necessity of supervision arose; and in 1861, W. S. Ashe, formerly President of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, was appointed Major in superintending the transportation of troops. In 1862, Colonel Wadly was assigned to the supervision and control of troops on all railroads. His powers were more extensive than those of Ashe. But his nomination was not agreed to for some reason by the Senate. In 1863, General Lawton was made Quartermaster-General and Colonel Sims was appointed in charge of railroads. This type of supervising and conferring with the individual roads was as far as the Government went until February, 1865, when an act was passed authorizing the Secretary of War to place any railroad, canal or telegraph line under such officers as he should direct and to give it any necessary aid and repair. This was passed too late in the war to be of any consequence.79

Gradually the tracks and the road equipment wore out, and smaller lines were torn up in order to replenish the larger ones. Speed was sacrificed in order to save the roads. Passenger trains were limited to one or two per day in the latter part of 1864.80 The railroads seemed, however, to be prospering financially. The Richmond and Petersburg Railroad Company paid a dividend of 15 per cent in December, 1864.81 The North Carolina Railroad Company declared a dividend, which was semi-annual, of 25 per cent, in February, 1865.82 The Richmond and Danville Railroad declared a dividend of 5 per cent, and the Richmond and Petersburg later declared a dividend of 10 per cent.83

In 1864, the situation of the roads became serious. The various presidents had urged Congress to allow the shops and mechanics to be employed in repair work, but to no avail. They were too much imbued with particularism themselves to combine in order to have their work done by themselves. In the same year, General Lawton wrote that the fact could not be disguised that the railroads were in a critical condition and that the needs of transportation must continue to cause greater anxiety as the war progressed.84 The gauge of some of the tracks was not the same, and the various roads refused to adopt any rule which would allow the use of a united system. This was one of the difficulties between the roads of Virginia and North Carolina. The Virginia roads were five feet. The Piedmont roads were less than five feet.

79 The result of this act has been noted above.
80 Richmond Dispatch, November 28, 1863. August 1, 1864.
81 Richmond Examiner, December 28, 1864.
82 Western Democrat, February 7, 1865.
In February, 1865, Colonel Sims wrote that new cars were being built under difficulty, but that new engines could not be manufactured in the Confederacy. He concluded that “not a single bar of railroad iron has been rolled in the Confederacy since the war.” And yet, there was plenty of iron in northern Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina, which could have been extracted. Many locomotives needed tires, but somehow tires could not be secured owing, as Colonel Sims said, to the fact that the work of the shops was absorbed by the Government for war purposes. He said that every important article of consumption by the railroads could be produced in the Confederates states, and what the roads asked was iron ore, permission for foundries, rolling-mills and a liberal system of detailing machinists from the army. Many machinists had left the South. Colonel Sims reported that the hardships of war and the fear of conscription had induced many to leave, and in so doing “they felt but little or no interest in our country or cause.”

Without doubt the military and material resources of the South were made less available by insufficient internal transportation also. The waterways, both east and west, were occupied early in the war by the Union forces. On the other hand, the steamboat owners would not allow the use of their boats, and in order to secure transportation, the boats had to be impressed. The Quartermaster's Department sought to buy up the available horse and wagon supply for the use of the army; and the Subsistence Department found much difficulty in getting its food material transported. The farmers around Richmond in 1865 stopped bringing their food to market because the officers of the city impressed not only the food but the horse and wagon. In order to quell the reaction which set in, an order was issued stating that there were to be no seizures of such material. Transportation was the great problem of the Confederacy, and it was one of the influential causes in bringing about the collapse.

Numbers. The attempt has been made by many writers to show that the South, from the beginning to the end of the war, did not have more than 600,000 men under arms. While, on the contrary, they contend that the North had 2,800,000 men under arms. Colonel Livermore has shown that these figures are incorrect, and taking into consideration the differences in the length of the enlistments, which differed in the two sections, the disparity is not so great. But although there were only 600,000 men...
in the Confederate army, if this group had been really an army determined to secure its independence and embittered against its foe on account of manifest wrongs, it would have counted for more than it did. Is it not strange also that out of a population of five and a half million peoples of European descent and three millions of African descent, only 600,000 fighting men could be secured? In the course of the conflict every white male between seventeen and fifty years, capable of bearing arms was called to the colors. Certainly in this group there must have been one million men of military years. The Census of 1860 bears out this conjecture. There were over a million men of arms-bearing age in the Confederacy, while about one-half of this number turned out to fight. In spite of the efforts of the Confederate Government, in spite of appeals to patriotism, only a proportionately small number could be found with Generals Lee and Johnston. Clearly, if the South could muster only 600,000 soldiers from its population, and the machinists could not be kept in the factories, it would seem that the heart of the South was not in the movement for independence.

The historians who have written of the South have placed its failure upon the advantage obtained by the larger numbers in the northern armies. At the same time, they overlook the reproach cast upon the South by the presence of so few of its soldiers at the front. In an area of over 700,000 square miles, with a determined population of five and a half millions, the South could have proved herself invincible. Those who were in the army fought nobly, but they were only a part of the whole South. The resources which were employed, were employed to the limit, but they were only a part of the great store in the South. In January, 1865, it was estimated that there were 445,000 Confederate men in arms. Three months later, the number who surrendered amounted to about 175,000.88 If the heart of the South had been in the struggle, the experience of past struggles for independence would have been repeated, or—to say the least—the South might have defended itself more effectively.

With regard to the resources of the South, the following conclusions may be drawn: (1) There was food in the South in sufficient quantity to sustain the army and the people, but there was a relative scarcity of food in the urban and military centers due to faulty distribution and the difficulty of attracting food to the markets; (2) the armies of the Confederacy were not compelled to surrender because of a lack of food in the South or the paucity of its resources; and (3) the resources of the South were inadequately employed because of a lack of trained industrial leadership. The collapse of the South could not have been due, directly and completely, to inadequate resources.

88 T. L. Livermore, Numbers and Losses, pp. 46, 137.
II. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE CONFEDERACY.

The Cabinet. In 1860, Jefferson Davis was probably the ablest Congressional leader from the South. Personally, he was a man of great ability and strong will, but also a man of little tact in his personal relationships. He had won his way by his efforts to a place of leadership in southern affairs. The mantle of Calhoun had fallen upon him. His career as Representative, Senator and Cabinet member had kept him in public prominence. He was a West Point Graduate, he had served in the Mexican War and his service as Secretary of War under President Pierce had increased his knowledge of military organization. President Polk offered him an appointment as Brigadier-General of Volunteers, but he refused the appointment on the ground that the President had no authority to make such appointments. He had, therefore, both military training and experience as a public officer. In his election as President of the Confederacy, there seems to have been little political intrigue. Some of the delegates favored Cobb, others favored Hunter and Rhett; but Davis received the majority and finally the unanimous support of all. When his name was presented at the Convention, the majority of the delegates realized that he was the best qualified man then available for the Presidency. Moreover, he was reckoned as a conservative Secessionist, and in addition to his ability as a recognized leader he was a candidate upon whom the various elements could unite.

Criticisms of President Davis began to arise early in the war. When the capital of the Confederacy was moved from Montgomery to Richmond, he was blamed for its removal in spite of the fact that he had vetoed the first bill for the removal. After the battle of Manassas, the failure of the Confederate forces to follow up their victory was blamed upon Davis. From this time forward, criticism grew in intensity, but in this early period there was no organized opposition. The papers most opposed to President Davis were the Richmond Examiner, under John M. Daniel and his associate, Edward A. Pollard, and the Charleston Mercury, under Barnwell Rhett.

The first Cabinet was composed of Toombs of Georgia, as Secretary of State; Walker of Alabama, as Secretary of War; Meminger of South Carolina, as Secretary of the Treasury; Mallory of Florida, as Secretary of the Navy; Reagan of Texas, as Postmaster-General, and Benjamin as Attorney-General. The Cabinet and the Government started out with apparent unanimity, but this was not destined to last very long. Some

89 "Everybody wants Mr. Davis to the General-in-chief or President. Keitt and Boyce and a party preferred Howell Cobb for President, and the fire-eaters per se want Barnwell Rhett." Chesnut, Dairy from Dixie, pp. 6. William & Mary Quarterly, XXII, pp. 214. Dodd, Jefferson Davis, pp. 226.

90 Butler, Judah P. Benjamin, pp. 229-230.
of these men, especially Walker and Meminger, seemed to have no peculiar fitness for their positions, but it was doubtful whether their departments would have been handled by others in any different or more successful way. No leader of the South expected a long war, therefore Walker, the Secretary of War, might go about boasting that “the blood which would be shed in the war might be wiped up with a pocket handkerchief.” As early as July, 1861, Mrs. Chesnut wrote, “and now I could be happy but this Cabinet of ours are in such bitter quarrels among themselves—everybody abusing everybody.”

The Master Spirit was manifesting itself. The training of the slaveholder showed itself in its hideous form in the matter of government. Everybody in the Cabinet wanted to lead. Above them was a more powerful will, that of the President. Differences soon developed and changes in the Cabinet appointments were frequent. Five Secretaries of War, three Secretaries of State, and four Attorney-Generals were appointed during the war. Alexander Stephens, the Vice-President, did not work harmoniously with President Davis. He had been slow to assent to leave the Union, his support of the government continued to be weak, and his personal antipathy to President Davis was always evident. Said he, “I was not born to acknowledge a master from either the North or the South.” Toombs disagreed with what seemed to him a weak war policy on the part of the government. He resigned from the Cabinet and accepted a commission in the army. Soon thereafter he gave up his commission and retired, saying that he felt “little like fighting for a people base enough to submit to such despotism from such contemptible sources.” Mrs. Chesnut again writes, “there is a perfect magazine of discord and discontent in that Cabinet; only wants a hand to apply the torch and up they go.” But discord and criticism soon spread and scores of men, prominent in their sections, broke into open hostility with the administration.

President Davis was unable to quiet the discontent. President Lincoln was also criticized, but he was tactful enough to quell the storms which arose about him. The attacks upon the Confederate Cabinet grew more violent in 1864; and Meminger was forced to resign under fire. The principal attacks of the next year were directed against Benjamin, Seddon and Northrop. A demand for the resignation of Benjamin in the Senate failed only by a tie vote, the ballots standing eleven to eleven. Seddon

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91 Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, pp. 90.
92 Southern Historical Association Papers, III, pp. 6-7.
93 Cleveland, Alexander H. Stephens, pp. 785-786.
95 Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, pp. 108.
resigned under criticism February 9, 1865; and in the closing days of the war, Northrop resigned. It is said that his greatest sin seemed to have been the fact that he was a classmate of Jefferson Davis at West Point. The acuteness of the Cabinet situation may be discerned in a letter of Thomas Bocock of Virginia, at one time Speaker of the House. After suggesting to President Davis the reconstruction of the Cabinet, he stated that a vote that the country lacked confidence in the Cabinet would have the support of three-fourths of the members of Congress. Here then the spectacle is presented of a disunited Cabinet, quarreling among themselves, criticized by Congress, distrusted by the country. How could the fighting temper of a people be sustained when they had little confidence in those who headed the Civil Administration? In accounting for the collapse the psychological effect of this condition cannot be overlooked.

The Congress. President Davis found the first Congress inclined to yield their “preconceived opinions” to his suggestions. In this first Congress of the permanent government, February, 1862, the relations of the President and Congress became strained over the conduct of the war, the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, Impressment and conscription. The last three measures were recommended by the President, and the passage of them against well-founded opposition led to the cry that Congress was subservient to the wishes of the President. But when the first session closed, the power of the President was secure, although there was much opposition in the Congress.

In the second session, 1862-1863, there were complaints of the lack of food, criticisms of the Commissary Department, and the relations of the Executive with the Congress was often strained. In the third session of 1863, the same undisputed control by the President was manifest. During the summer of 1863, the President and the Cabinet were severely criticized, and there were predictions of opposition, but when the Congress assembled in December, the President’s recommendations were carried for maintaining the army, increasing the revenue and a wider extension of the law. Special committees were appointed to investigate the charges against the Commissary Department, exemptions from military service and Presidential appointments; and we are told that the President and Congress parted “at the adjournment in bad temper.”

During the last session, November, 1864, to March, 1865, the President’s veto was more freely used than in any other session, but it was often

97 Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, pp. 97.
99 Davis, Rise and Fall, I, pp. 204; II, pp. 241. Jones, the War Clerk, found that there were not a dozen members in the whole Congress with any pretentions to statesmanship.” II, pp. 157.
100 Southern Historical Quarterly, Vol XIX, pp. 22.

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overridden in both the Senate and the House. The last days of the session were filled with criticism of the President—veiled criticisms couched in resolutions of information. It is conclusive, however, that President Davis was the active leader of Congress in every session. His veto was exercised 38 times during his term of office, while during the same period President Lincoln exercised the veto 3 times. Just how much effect upon the breakdown of southern resistance, the difficulties of the Cabinet, Congress and the President had, it is difficult to say. Just how far the morale of the army was affected by these controversies no one may say. However, the mastery maintained by President Davis over both Cabinet and Congress led the South to believe that another despotism was being substituted for the despotism which had been rejected in 1861. There was no collapse of the organized government until the collapse of the military, but in spite of the secret sessions of Congress, it is very evident that the quarrels of politicans as to the purposes of the war, and the methods of waging it must have had its effect in dividing the opinions of the people and in lessening the unanimity and collective support which had existed in the early years of the war. The fortunes of the Confederacy had to contend not only with the North but with the internal dissensions of its political leaders. Such a situation must have been contributory to the moral collapse. George Eggleston says, that so marked was “the popular discontent not with Mr. Davis only but with the entire government and Congress that a Richmond newspaper dared to suggest a counter revolution as the only means left of saving the cause from the strangling it was receiving at the hands of its guardians at Richmond.”

**Popular Opposition to Administration Measures.** One of the most frequent criticisms of Mr. Davis was his favoritism in appointments. It was said that Northrop, the Commissary-General, was inefficient, but that he was kept in office by the favor of the President. From the beginning to the end of the war there were complaints against him. After the first Bull Run Campaign, General Beauregard criticized the Department; and in January, 1865, General Lee wrote General Northrop expressing dissatisfaction with the Commissary and stating that no beef had been issued to the cavalry for 18 months. The retention of General Pemberton and General Bragg led to further opposition. General Bragg was called “a man of iron head and wooden hand” by the Richmond Examiner, which was circulated among his troops; and a weekly on learning that he was ordered to Wilmington gave utterance to the expression, “we understand that General Bragg has been ordered to Wilmington. Good-bye, Wilmington!” Such expressions must have had their effect upon the morale of the soldiers and the people. The success of the Confederacy demanded

103 Eggleston, pp. 227.
104 Chestnut, pp. 97.
that the highest confidence and understanding should exist between the President and the commanding generals, as well as between the commanding general and the army. Between President Davis and General Joseph E. Johnston, there was a feeling of mutual distrust. General Polk wrote to Colonel Harvie of Mississippi, January, 1864, suggesting that something should be done to bring the two together. Later in the year, General Johnston was removed, and General Hood was given the command. The popular clamor became so great for the reinstatement of General Johnston, after the defeats of Hood in Tennessee, that Mr. Davis was forced to yield.\textsuperscript{105}

The military reverses of 1862 led to the enactment in February of a law suspending the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus. It was limited to thirty days. In March the suspension of the writ was declared in Richmond. It was extended during the next few weeks to other disaffected counties in Virginia, Tennessee and South Carolina. At first there was no opposition to the measure except from Vice-President Stephens and isolated individuals, who insisted that the military should be subservient to the civil authority. In 1863, the law was again enacted. But the opposition, especially in North Carolina, caused it to be dropped, when it expired by limitation in August, 1864.\textsuperscript{106} The Legislature of North Carolina passed a resolution protesting against the suspension of the writ. The Legislature of Mississippi instructed the Mississippi Senators and Representatives to support a repeal of the measure. The Georgia Legislature declared the writ unconstitutional.\textsuperscript{107} It is interesting to note, on the contrary, that martial law was declared in the North, and it was an effective means of restraining the opposition. It seems to have been successful because it was supported as a war measure by the people as well as Congress. In the South, the States-Rights notions, over-developed ideas of liberty and personal freedom hindered a similar development.\textsuperscript{108}

Another cause of opposition was the conscription of men to fill the ranks of the army. At first there was voluntary enlistments to fill the army.

\textsuperscript{106} Said Governor Vance in a message, "I have not seen an official copy of the act, but learn from the newspapers that Congress has conferred upon the President the power to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus, in all cases of arrests made by the Confederate authority. If this be once admitted, no man is safe from the power of one individual. He could at pleasure seize any citizen of the state, with or without excuse, throw him into prison, and permit him to languish there without relief—a power I am unwilling to see entrusted to any living man." Ibid., Ser. IV, Vol. II, 188.
\textsuperscript{108} Wrote Governor Brown to Secretary Seddon, "While the people of this state are true and loyal to our cause, they are not unmindful of the great principles of constitutional liberty and state sovereignty upon which we entered into this struggle; and they will not hold guiltless those in power who,—have subverted and trampled personal liberty under foot." Ibid., Ser. I, Vol. LII, pt. 2, pp. 700.
Then in March, 1861, the President was authorized to call as many troops as he deemed necessary. In December of the same year, an act was passed offering a bounty of $50 to volunteers of three years' service, and granting to those who re-enlisted a furlough of sixty days with free transportation. This method was found insufficient, and in April, 1862, the President was authorized to call out all male whites between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years for three years' service. In September, the ages were extended to forty-five years, but those between seventeen and eighteen, and forty-five and fifty years were not required to serve outside the state.

The exercise of this power to conscribe aroused the feeling of the South. It was difficult to reconcile the thought of a strong central power, composed of sovereign and independent states equally strong, waging war. The people of the South resented the centralization to which the central government was forced to go in order to fill the ranks of the Confederate army. The Confederacy was formed as a protest against centralization, and yet its people suffered oppressive measures of greater severity. At various times, the President and the Governors of most of the states came into conflict upon questions connected with conscription, such as the interference of the state courts in releasing conscripts on writs of Habeas Corpus, disagreements as to the necessity of suspending conscription in certain districts and the enrollment of the officials of the state. Governor Vance of North Carolina protested against the enrollment of state officers; and the North Carolina Supreme Court declared in Johnson v. Mallet in 1863, that all officers and agents of the state, provided for by the constitution, were exempted from conscription. In 1864, the total number exempted on the certificates of governors was approximately 18,800, of which 13,818 were in North Carolina and Georgia. In spite of a decision of the Georgia Supreme Court declaring the conscript law constitutional, Governor Brown created much trouble over the question.

As in the North, many persons in the South sought exemption either through department officials, Congressmen, or by seeking refuge within the exempted classes. The persons exempted included editors of newspapers, postmasters, the followers of religions opposed to war, government contractors and their employees, persons engaged exclusively in stock-raising, one exempt being allowed for every 500 head of cattle, one for 250 head of horses or mules, one for 250 sheep, and one owner or overseer on each plantation for twenty slaves. The total number exempted was

109 Bulletin of the University of Georgia, March, 1917, pp. 431.
110 Publications, North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin No. 15.
112 Bulletin of the University of Georgia, March, 1917, pp. 426.
113 Bulletin of University of Georgia, March, 1917, pp. 426, 435 (state officers excepted).
estimated by the Superintendent of Conscription as 67,054, for the states east of the Mississippi.\textsuperscript{114}

In March, 1863, another law was passed providing for boards of assessment to determine the value of impressed goods. The prices were to be published and the owners were to follow them in procuring sales. Toward the end of the war these prices were invariably far below the market value of the products. Farmers refused to sell their products for such prices. They hid them, reserving them for better prices. The result was that the system of impressment broke down completely. For the farmers would not sell to the government for half the price which they could obtain in the local markets. Few things are more difficult than to make a man sell his goods against his own wishes and at a loss to himself. The produce loan and the tax in kind bore heavily upon the morale of the food-producing population; and they actually lessened the available supply of food by discouraging the bringing of it to the markets. When agricultural products did reach the city, they were often seized by the government at a price far below the market price. This action stimulated the bitterest feeling against the military and the government.\textsuperscript{115} So that Governor Vance, writing to President Davis, could say, "I will not deny that there is a bad state of feeling here toward the Confederate Government."\textsuperscript{116}

\textit{States-Rights.} The exercise of such arbitrary powers led to conflicts between the state and central governments. The people of the states were jealous of their rights as citizens of the states and they were suspicious of the encroachments of the Confederate Government. The arbitrary and over-bearing policy of the central government produced a depressing effect upon the spirits of the people and the army. In South Carolina it was proposed to organize a state army and to instruct the legislature to take effectual measures to prevent the agents of the Confederate Government from raising troops in South Carolina except by voluntary enlistment or by applying to the executive of the state to call out the militia. In North Carolina it was mortifying to Governor Vance, to find entire brigades of North Carolina troops commanded by strangers and "in many cases our brave colonels are made to give place to colonels from distant states."\textsuperscript{117} In contravention of the Confederate law an act was passed by the state

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., pp. 426. Public and Private Laws, Confederate States of America, 1862-1864, pp. 77-79.

\textsuperscript{115} General Northrop reported, "Our officers have been unable to get anything,—that impressments are impracticable,—that the people will not supply grain under notice of impressments which cannot be enforced, and will not prepare their crop for sale, unless market prices are given. The people in both Carolinas and Georgia have vehemently opposed impressments." Off. Reds. Rebell, Ser. IV, Vol. III, pp. 932. Cf. Ibid., pp. 1008-1011.

\textsuperscript{116} Publications, North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin 15, pp. 54.

legislature exempting millers, blacksmiths, salt-workers, etc. In Georgia, Governor Brown and the Legislature insisted upon the right of the troops to elect their own officers, for this privilege was provided by the constitution of the state of Georgia. Secretary Seddon refused to recognize this right. Governor Brown replied that he was forced to acquiesce in what he considered "a great wrong to thousands of gallant Georgia troops and a palpable infringement of the rights and sovereignty of the state." When Atlanta was threatened by Sherman, Governor Brown wrote to President Davis that the forty to fifty Georgia regiments then engaged in defending Richmond should be sent to Georgia. For Atlanta was in danger, and Georgia would be overrun, "while her troops were taking part in distant raids." When Sherman continued to advance, he blamed the administration and refused to place the remainder of the militia under the President's control, thus "surrendering the last vestige of the sovereignty of the state."

The Governor of North Carolina threatened to recall the North Carolina troops from service in other states, for they should serve primarily for the defense of the state, "not to assume the responsibility of the Confederate Government." In Virginia, feeling was roused by the President's formation of the provisional state troops into a Confederate army. Governor Milton of Florida protested against the action of the Impressment agents who forced the people to accept the prices which they offered. Said he, "such action is incompatible with the rights of the citizens and insulting to free men—better that Florida should be a waste of flowers, enriched with the blood of her brave citizens than to be inhabited by them as slaves or willing to be slaves."

Many southerners thought that there was little to choose between the despotism of President Davis and that of President Lincoln, and that the southern despotism was quite as bad as the northern despotism. From this despotism, the threat was often made to secede. Early in the year 1863, the legislature of North Carolina had contemplated taking the state out of the Confederacy. The Raleigh Progress, of which W. W. Holden was editor, said "If North Carolina had a right to break off from the Federal Government by an act of her convention, she has the relative right to break off from Mr. Davis' government." Public meetings became so frequent that Governor Vance issued a proclamation calling upon the

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118 Jones, War Clerk, II, pp. 439.
people not to seek "to cure the evils of one revolution by plunging the country into another." 123

Toward the close of the war, efforts were made by former Governor Graham, then Senator from North Carolina, to bring about a concerted action with Virginia to restore the states to the Union.124 He wrote Governor Vance, April 8, 1865, that he had had confidential conversations with a committee of the Virginia Legislature, and that it was important to act in conjunction with that body.125 March 5, 1865, John A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War, described the condition in other states as follows: "Georgia is in a state that may be properly called insurrectionary against the Confederate authorities. Her public men of greatest influence have cast reproach upon the laws of the Confederacy and the Confederate authorities, and have made the execution of the laws nearly impossible. A mere mention of the condition in Tennessie, Missouri, Kentucky, Western Virginia and the line of the Mississippi, the seaboard from the Potomac to the Sabine and North Alabama, is necessary. North Carolina is divided and her divisions prevent her from taking upon herself the support of the war as Virginia has done—there is anarchy in the opinions of men here and few are willing to give counsel and still fewer are willing to incur the responsibility of taking or advising action." 126

In 1865, resolutions were introduced into the Legislature of Georgia, calling for separate state action to secure peace. President Davis addressed a reply that such action "would tend to create discord instead of united counsels, and to suggest to our enemies the possibility of a dissolution of the Confederacy." 127 That action in this regard was contemplated is shown by a resolution introduced in January, 1865, in the Confederate Congress declaring that it was revolutionary for any state to negotiate for

123 In Alabama during January, 1865, the state of feeling was reported as such that even where local value in Confederate currency was offered for goods, they could not be secured. General Northrop received a report from Major J. J. Walker saying that they appealed in vain to planters for the immediate delivery of goods and that the promise that there would be immediate payment had no effect on the people. "They no longer credit any promise made by government officials. The case may be stated briefly. The Government has lost the confidence of the people."

124 Connor, John A. Campbell, pp. 173.

125 Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina, pp. 137-141.

126 Reminiscences and Documents relating to the Civil War during the year 1865, by John A. Campbell, pp. 30-31.

Governor Milton wrote from Florida, November 23, 1863, "It is painful to me to believe and to express the opinion, that there exists a necessity for the interposition of state authority to protect the rights, lives and liberty of the citizens against the military orders of Confederate officers for whom personally I entertain the kindest feeling and utmost respect." Off. Reds. Rebell., Ser. IV, II, pp. 973-976.

127 Richmond Dispatch, January 19, 1865.
peace. To which, Jones, the War Clerk, adds the comment, "ill-timed, because self-evident."  

The states were jealous of their rights throughout the war, and one of the greatest of its internal difficulties came through the clashes between the central and state authorities. The right to withdraw from the compact meant the right to destroy the Confederacy, and the right to nullify its laws meant the right to prevent its existence.

Speculation. Rising prices made possible a large amount of speculation. With prices rising from month to month, it was impossible for anyone to lose in business it seemed, and many grew rich by investing their notes in commodities and selling them at an advance in price. As the war continued the speculation grew worse. Legislation was passed to prevent it. In 1862, Governor Vance of North Carolina in a message to the Legislature said that the demon of speculation and extortion seemed to have seized upon nearly all sorts and conditions of men, and that all the necessities of life were fast getting beyond the reach of the poor. President Davis in an address to the people of the Confederate States spoke of the attempt of "groveling speculators to forestall the market and to make money out of the life-blood of the defenders." Robert McHenry, of Union County, Arkansas, wrote President Davis, that cotton speculation on the Mississippi River had been carried on, on a very extensive scale, that it was demoralizing the Confederate army in the Trans-Mississippi, who were deserting and going home. Another writer, after quoting the market prices, in January, 1865, asks the question, "Does the government mean to allow the rich speculators, the quartermasters, etc., to starve honest men into the Union?"  

The newspapers took hostile attitudes to the importers of goods, for speculation increased the frequency of blockade-running. Finally in 1864, a law was passed forbidding the importation of articles which were not necessary to the army. However, this law was practically inoperative, because smuggling went on and the incentive to import articles was increased by the profits to be made. Some of the states entered the business of blockade-running. North Carolina clothed and furnished its troops with many necessities by blockade steamers. On March 9, 1865, the blockade business of North Carolina showed a profit of $1,325,000. This was largely made by the difference between the price paid by the state for cotton and the value of the articles brought back by the steamers on their return voyage to the state. A statement termed "official" was published

130 Ibid., pp. 477.
132 Jones, War Clerk, II, pp. 381.
133 North Carolina Historical Commission, 18th Session, pp. 107.
in the Richmond Dispatch, as a quotation from the Manchester Guardian, to the effect that the total ventures made by English capitalists and speculators, counting the value of ships and cargoes, amounted to more than sixty-six million dollars, from the port of Wilmington alone. The English merchant, who traveled in the South during 1862, remarked that the people of Mobile drove a thriving trade with Havana. Trade and speculation in these commodities continued until the capture of Wilmington and the evacuation of the southern trade ports in 1865.

Morale was affected in a direct way by this speculation in business. The prices of necessities were passing beyond the reach of many persons, especially the poor, and the body of discontented grew as a result. The demand for blockaded goods and luxuries of all kinds, was, among the moneyed class, far greater than the supply; and of course the goods which commanded the highest prices were the goods which were smuggled through the blockade. Among the upper classes, extravagance was marked. Those who had gained by the war—such a one as Jones, the War Clerk, describes, who kept a provision shop and he was described as having spent $30,000 on the wedding of his daughter. He was known to have been poor before the war. This class of rich persons was given to luxurious living and display. Theaters and balls were the favorite means of spending their wealth. In every large city this group was present. But the capital of the Confederacy seemed to have suffered most.

The state of the currency is another indication of the loss of morale and the decline of confidence in the government. The Confederacy was supported as far as financial interests were concerned by the issue of paper money and bonds. It has been estimated that the actual receipt in specie of the central government was only $27,000,000 during the entire four years, while the Treasury notes were over one billion. Paper money always has as its foundation the faith of the people in the government back of it. But the people of the Confederacy had not only faith, but enormous quantities of cotton and tobacco were supposed to be the additional security which would be used when the war was over. As the war continued, the faith of the people grew weaker and the currency became cheaper. The Confederate Government, as it needed money, manufactured more of it. The currency became so debase that barter was resorted to; even the physicians of Dinwiddie County, Virginia, decided to accept corn as currency in return for services rendered. In 1865, in relation to the price of gold, according to the books of what the Richmond Republic, July 6, 1865, called "one of the most reliable and promi-

134 Richmond Dispatch, March 29, 1865.
135 Two months in the Confederacy, pp. 114-115.
136 Schwab, The Confederate States, pp. 43.
137 The Daily Express, Petersburg, Va., February 22, 1865.
In 1864, a provision was adopted for the compulsory funding of the notes in circulation, into four per cent bonds. If the bonds were taken by the people all notes of the denomination under one hundred dollars might be exchanged for new ones in the ratio of three dollars of old money for two of the new. As it has been said, this was really a confession of bankruptcy. If neither exchange was made, the old notes were to be taxed out of existence. While the people of the South lost faith in the money of their own government, they readily accepted the United States greenbacks. So general did the circulation become that a law was passed by the Confederate Congress prohibiting the trading with the currency of the Northern government. The states issued notes which were to circulate as money; and especially in North Carolina, the people accepted the state notes more willingly. Paper money circulation depended to a large extent upon the faith of the people in the power of the government to pay its promises to pay. Aside from the operation of economic laws, the unwillingness to take this currency is a manifestation of a lack of confidence in the Confederate Government, and this must be considered in noting the causes of the collapse of this government.

Social Evils. Speculation shaded off into gambling, which became general in the large cities of the South. The increase of gambling houses in Richmond became so great that the authorities were forced to take a hand. The Richmond Dispatch tells of laws being passed to suppress them and of raids upon the establishments and the destruction of the gambling paraphernalia, “faro-tables, chips,” etc. Another contemporary states that gambling had to be suppressed in the interest of “a half-starved people.”

Drunkardness and rioting accompanied this evil. The newspapers give frequent accounts of conditions. Commenting upon the Court cases, March 29, 1865, the Richmond Examiner jocosely remarked that “Bacchus was on the rampage yesterday.” Later it was stated that hardly a day passed without the ears being saluted by obscene language either from drunken men or boys, “both white and black, men and women.” A correspondent tells of a scene in a street car, in which a woman and a man were intoxicated and swearing in a most offensive way. He concluded, “What are we to expect if these things continue? What has our Chief of Police been appointed for?” Riots occurred in several places. In Salisbury, North Carolina, the women rioted against food extortioners.

138 Richmond Dispatch, March 21, 1865.
139 Eggleston, Rebel’s Recollections, pp. 102.
140 Richmond Examiner, January 30, 1865. Jones, the War Clerk, writes that, “There is much jollity and some drunkardness in the streets.” II, pp. 364.
In Atlanta, Mobile, Richmond and other places provision shops were pillaged.\footnote{Rhodes, History of the United States, V, pp. 362-366.}

Prostitution and miscegenation fill the court records, as shown by newspaper accounts. This picture of political and social conditions is not attractive, but it shows the extent of the collapse very plainly. Society had broken down in the Confederacy. Not alone was the desire to fight gone, but the whole civilization was rapidly passing to its destruction. The surrender of the armies not only revealed to the South its defeated condition, but it seems almost to have saved the South from the complete social disorder which would have followed a continuance of the war.

The quarrels of the Cabinet, the Congress, the growing opposition to the administration and the States-Rights Controversy were heading the Confederate craft towards the rocks. Initiated by a small group of leading southerners, the Confederacy had been formed, out of southern discontent. But the spirit of individualism was so strong among them that they could not possibly tolerate a difference of opinion. The slave regime had assisted the growth of this feeling. We are accustomed to consider the effect of the slave system upon the North and the slave. But we often overlook the effect upon the white South. The master of a slave plantation was a feudal lord—a monarch of all he surveyed. It was impossible for the average man to remain in this atmosphere without being affected by it. Many southerners escaped the fullest effects of it, but others, especially the leaders in the rebellion, were affected. There was a great need for a spirit of self-abnegation in the South. As long as the masterful spirit would recognize no submission to a common ideal and to a cooperative endeavor, there could be no successful result. Toombs, Cobb, Rhett and Stephens were unwilling co-operators with many administrative measures. This individualism had its effect upon the passing of the Confederacy.

III. THE MORALE OF THE CONFEDERACY.

The first years of the war were enthusiastic years for the Confederacy. A rapid victory was expected, and when this did not come, disappointment appeared. This change in popular sentiment is noticed first in 1863. The discontented class grew rapidly in numbers and power, so that by February, 1863, the Richmond Dispatch is forced to ask, "Can it be that after all, we are not in earnest?" Governor Vance, as early as 1862, pleaded for "the stern and determined devotion to our cause which alone can sustain a revolution. Let us remember," said he, "that it is the spirit of the people which tyrants cannot subdue. On this depends all. So long as they continue harmonious, willing, self-sacrificing, the united armies of
the continent may be hurled against us in vain." Again and again, he urged that the spirit of the people should be sustained by every act of the General Assembly. President Davis traveled into many camps, and his speeches were given wide publicity. The newspapers joined in the campaign to encourage the public mind. But despondency and discontent continued to reign. President Davis was discontented with Congress; Congress was equally discontented with President Davis, and the majority of the people continued to be dissatisfied with both.

The Battle of Gettysburg and the loss of Vicksburg seem to be turning points in the southern morale during the war. There is no evidence that the people believed that they were beaten from these events to the end of the war, but there is a gradual sentiment showing a change which begins to manifest itself. Jones, of the Surrey Light Artillery, writes that "our losses have been great but there is yet hope for us"—a half-hearted consolation. Jonathan Worth wrote, August, 1863, that the war could not last much longer. "The want of subsistence," wrote he, "and the returning sanity of our women will contribute much to close it. The last-dollar and the last-man men abuse Holden's peace article, but the fact that he has the largest and most rapidly increasing circulation of any other journal in the state indicates the current of public opinion." (Holden's subscription list had increased 25 per cent.) He expected also that the expiration of the term of service of the men of 1861, whose term of conscription of three years would expire in 1864, would not re-enlist and that no member of Congress would dare require a longer service. Worth concluded that "the masses are for peace on any terms, they are determined the war shall cease. As soon as this spirit extends from the people to the army, the end will come."

J. E. Joyner, a citizen of Henry Court House, Virginia, had been traveling about the upper counties of Virginia in 1863, and he found an unfortunate state of affairs. He stated that, in parts of Bedford, portions of Botetourt, Roanoke, Montgomery, Giles, Floyd, Franklin, Patrick, Henry and portions of Pittsylvania, etc., the people seemed completely demoralized; and this state of things exists to a great extent among the best citizens. "They think and say that we are whipped, and are bound to be overrun and subjugated. The impression has very extensively obtained that our army is dispirited and is deserting by hundreds and whole regiments have left at a time." He adds, that the upper counties of North Carolina are much worse than those that he had mentioned; "the deserters are accumulating a vast number of muskets in all the country, and avow that they shall be used against the Confederacy, if there is any attempt to arrest them. There are hundreds of men through this country, aye, I

143 Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, pp. 251, 256.
may say thousands, who ought to be in the service, but there is not moral force enough in the country to bring them out.”

Desertions. The desertions are indicative also of the extent of opposition to conscription, and of the lack of the will to fight. Desertions on a large scale began in 1863. General Pillow, of the Volunteer Bureau, wrote to General Cooper, the Adjutant-General, July, 1863, reporting that there were 25,000 to 30,000 men liable to duty in Georgia. Many deserters collected in the western counties of North Carolina, where sentiment protected them. Governor Vance said that there were 50,000 to 100,000 men who in some form or other were evading duty and that there were 40,000 or 50,000 absentees without leave in North Carolina. There were 8,000 to 10,000 deserters and conscripts in the mountains of Alabama. An officer reported that some of them had deserted the second and the fourth time; and he asked for authority to round them up and send them to Virginia, for they would desert if they were sent to the army near their homes. H. W. Walter, a prominent citizen of Holly Springs, Mississippi, wrote to Senator Watson, of the same state, that “the country is infested by deserters, robbing friend and foe indiscriminately.” In North Carolina, the deserters of the western counties joined with others from Tennessee to terrorize the communities, and many acts of violence were committed. We are told of many persons who hid in dens, caves and other out of the way places in order to avoid conscription. Judge Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War, reported that the condition in the mountainous districts of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama menaced the existence of the Confederacy “as fatally as either of the armies of the United States.” In Virginia, a secret society, known as the Heroes of America, was organized to encourage desertion and to spread disaffection among the people and army. Its membership was said to be large. In Montgomery County there were 800 members, and “adjoining counties were said to be full of these people.”

Brigadier-General Preston, of the Bureau of Conscription, estimated the number of deserters in March, 1865, as 100,000. The Charleston Mercury, quoting the same figures, said that there is a corp of troops of 27,000 on the rolls, which did not turn out 7,000 effective men. General Johnston, in his Memoirs, mentions the great difficulty of securing effective

145 Ibid., pp. 681.
146 Ibid., pp. 674.
147 Ibid., pp. 680.
149 Last Ninety Days, pp. 243.
152 Jones, Surrey Light Artillery, pp. 439.
men for fighting purposes. Vice-President Stephens, in an address before the Legislature of Georgia in 1864, declared the whole system of conscription wrong and wholly unconstitutional. In North Carolina, the opposition was more bitter. Public meetings were held and protests were drawn against the arbitrary conscription policy of the government. In many localities in North Carolina the deserters formed the majority and "the stigma attached to desertion was rapidly lost." 154

Rich Man's War. The exemption of slave-owners and overseers led to much discontent. The cry was raised that the war was a "Rich Man's War" and a "Poor Man's Fight." General Ruggles, of Mississippi, wrote in 1863 that "the people assume that if the more wealthy portion of our population, the slave-holders, will not enter the ranks to defend their property, it was not incumbent on those who had no such large interest at stake. The argument received greater force by the number of substitutes employed by the more wealthy." He concluded that "unless something is done to correct this growing spirit of discontent, we shall cease to have that cordial support of the citizens who constitute a majority of our fighting forces." 155 The situation in North Carolina in 1863 was described as "a sense of insecurity which presages an appeal to arms, and the root of the whole matter was a deadly hostility to our cause and our Government." It was in this year that Vance and Holden parted company. Vance had been brought forward as gubernatorial candidate in 1862, and in 1863 the split came over the issue of the peace meetings. Governor Vance continuing to work for the southern cause and Holden for peace. Senator Phelan of Mississippi wrote to President Davis, stating that "never did a law meet with more universal odium than the exemption of slave-owners. Its gross injustice is denounced even by those whose position enables them to take advantage of its privileges * * * its influence upon the poor is most calamitous and has awakened a spirit and elicited a discussion of which we may safely predict unfortunate results." 156

Deaths. As the summer of 1863 passed, the death lists grew larger. Hardly a household was omitted from the lists. In the North, where there were many families untouched, the situation was different. One writer, in 1863, is forced to cry out, "Our fallen braves how numerous! Among our generals, Zollicoffer, Ben. McCulloh, Albert Sydney Johnson and the saintly, dauntless Stonewall Jackson, are numbered among the dead; while scarcely a household in our land does not mourn the loss of a brave husband and father, son or brother." 157 Deaths, military defeats, invasions, destructions of property may cause a great deal of suffering, but as Alexander Stephens said before the Georgia Legislature in 1864, "They

154 Last Ninety Days of War in North Carolina, pp. 244.
156 Ibid., pp. 182.
157 Life in Dixie, Gay, pp. 21-22.
can do but little toward conquering a people who are determined never to submit." 158 But were the southern people determined? Were they willing to pay the price of independence? Independence and liberty could be gathered only of blood and misery sustained by a devoted patriotism. Governor Vance doubted that they had the willingness to pay the price, but he was determined that "in the tracing of the sad story of the backing down, the self-imposed degradation of a great people, the historian shall not say it was due to the weakness of their Governor, and that Saul was consenting unto their death." 159 In Mississippi, by March, 1864, many who had been bitter secessionists were ready and anxious for peace on any terms. 160 Many were willing to leave the Confederacy for the North. This sentiment is expressed by Mrs. Dawson in a Confederate Girl's Diary, when she paraphrases Hamlet, "To be or not to be, that's the question. Whether 'tis nobler in the Confederacy to suffer the pangs of an unappeasable hunger and never-ending trouble, or to take passage to a Yankee port, and there remaining end them."

Sentiment. The last six months of the Confederacy were months of sham. In May, 1864, General Sherman left Chattanooga for Georgia. Governor Brown issued a series of appeals to Georgians to arise and repel the invaders. They were urged to come in squads or singly, to bring such weapons as they could find and to bushwhack the invaders without mercy. 161 Senator Hill of Georgia issued the following appeal: "Every citizen with his gun, and every Negro with his spade and axe, can do the work. Georgians, be firm, act promptly and fear not." The delegation from Georgia in the Confederate House sent the following message: "Let every man fly to arms—remove provisions and Negroes. Burn all bridges and block up the road in his route. Assail the invader by day and night—let him have no rest." General Beauregard also sought to arouse the state to its danger. Said he, "Arise for the defense of our native soil! Obstruct and destroy all roads in Sherman's front, flank and rear, and his army will soon starve in your midst." 162 The Richmond Dispatch reported the response to these appeals. It stated that the planters stayed at home, awaiting the invaders' approach, "nor did they destroy any property or drive away their cattle." It concluded that there was but one interpretation, that "confidence in the success of the rebellion no longer exists anywhere outside of the official class and the army." 163 Senator Foote, writing early in 1865, stated that by December, 1864, "to all men in Richmond, the collapse of the Confederate cause appeared inevitable." Mrs. Chesnut

158 Cleveland, A. H. Stephens, pp. 175.
159 Last Ninety Days, pp. 125-126.
162 Charleston Mercury, November 22, 1864.
163 Richmond Dispatch, February 14, 1865.
wrote in September, 1864, that the end had come—"since Atlanta fell, I have felt as if all were dead within me forever." De Leon wrote in Four Years in Rebel Capitals that the fall of Atlanta was a terrible shock to the people of the South. "A sullen and increasing gloom," said he, "seemed to settle over the majority of the people." Governor Vance was distressed by the situation, as he wrote to a friend, September 22, 1864, "The signs which discourage me more than aught else are the utter demoralization of the people. With a base of communication five hundred miles in Sherman's rear, through our own country, not a bridge has been burned, not a car thrown from its track, not a man shot by the people whose country he has desolated. They seem everywhere to submit when our armies are withdrawn. What does this show, my dear sir? It shows what I have always believed, that the great popular heart is not now and never has been in this war. It was a revolution of the politicians, not the people; and was fought at first by the natural enthusiasm of our young men, and has been kept going by state and sectional pride, assisted by that bitterness of feeling produced by the cruelties and brutalities of the enemy."

The newspapers, churches and public officers attempted to bolster up the failing morale. The Richmond Dispatch urged that "we hear no more cries of peace, but let every man make up his mind to war. We have hitherto been extremely averse to regard the war as anything more than a sort of episode in our existence * * * we must give up money-making and devote ourselves to the pursuits that will assist in carrying on the war." After a church service in November, 1864, Mrs. Chesnut commented in her diary, "What a sermon!—there was more exhortation to fight and die, a la Joshua, than much Christianity." In Mississippi, it was said that the summons of brave leaders and patriotic appeals to battle had become as idle as the call of spirits from the vast deep. It was found that only in the ranks of the army did constancy and fidelity linger. With the people the source of sustenance was being gradually limited, the force of resistance had run out, and only the shell was left to offer a short prolongation of what was known to be a futile combat.

George Eggleston, a Confederate private, states that it was impossible to tell precisely when the conviction became general in the South that they were beaten, and yet, he says, "from the beginning of the campaign of 1864, we must have known that the end was approaching and that it could not be other than disastrous." Another declares that the generals at

164 Chesnut, pp. 327.
165 Last Ninety Days, pp. 27-28.
166 Richmond Dispatch, October 18, 1864.
167 Chesnut, pp. 334.
168 Eggleston, pp. 235.
the head of the Southern armies had resigned all hopes of success after the campaign of 1864 had opened. Jones, the War Clerk, wrote that in Richmond, December, 1864, there was deep vexation, "a general apprehension that our affairs are rapidly approaching a crisis such as has not been experienced before * * * men are silent and some are dejected, and it is unquestionably the darkest period we have yet experienced." Judge Hudson, of Leake County, Mississippi, wrote to President Davis, November, 1864, that in his state there was a general discontent and "a loss of confidence in the administration and our success, a disposition of opposition to the powers that be and declarations of reconstruction." But President Davis and the civil officials were as defiant as ever. In addressing Congress, Mr. Davis said that the Confederacy had no vital points. "If Richmond, Wilmington and Charleston, and Savannah and Mobile were all captured," said he, "the Confederacy would remain as defiant as ever, and no peace would be made which did not recognize its independence."

As 1865 opened, among many of the people there was an absence of the enthusiasm of 1861. At Salisbury and Charlotte, North Carolina, there were two destructive fires which consumed great quantities of stores, and there was a great freshet on January 10, which carried away bridges, mills, fences and tore up railroads all through the central part of the state. Mrs. Spencer, in the Last Ninety Days of the War, declared that these happenings added to the general gloom and repression, and "that the very elements seemed to have enlisted against us." From Georgia, Howell Cobb wrote that "gloom and despondency rule the hour and bitter opposition to the administration mingled with dissatisfaction and disloyalty is manifesting itself." A correspondent of the Richmond Dispatch, in January, 1865, told of the contract in Charleston between 1861 and 1865; that those who were the most furious advocates of secession in 1860, as well as many of the most confident and resolute supporters of the cause were now the most despondent; that the city which had been "the cradle of rebellion and the hot-bed of secession no longer presented the bold front with which it entered the conflict and the men who would not stop to count the cost four years ago, and who inaugurated the secession movement, now hint at another revolution."

January 21, 1865, Thomas Bocock wrote to President Davis that there was a rapid change for worse in the public sentiment of the country,

169 Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction, pp. 197.
170 Jones, Diary of War Clerk, II, pp. 368.
172 Pollard, Last Year of War, 117.
173 Last Ninety Days, 29.
175 Richmond Dispatch, January 20, 1865.
not only in other states, but here in our loved and honored Virginia;" and he urged that something should be done "to restore confidence and revive hopes or else we may look for the worse results.” The Confederacy from this period on was slowly tottering to its fall. As one writer interpreted the situation, “the people are not only weary of the war, but they have no longer any faith in the President, his Cabinet, Congress, the Commissaries, Quartermasters, enrolling officers and most of the generals.” Finally he is led to cry out, “God save us! We seem incapable of saving ourselves.”

The recorded instances which show the spirit of the southern people during these months are pathetic. They manifest a gradual loss of faith and confidence in the future. General Lee realized the condition. He wrote to General Wise in February, 1865, “We have strength enough left to win our independence, and we are certain to win it, if the people will not give away to a foolish despair.” A few days before, he had written the same sentiment to W. C. Rives, “If the people will sustain the soldiers and evince the same resolution as the army,” he felt no apprehension about the issue of the contest. Again in March, he wrote to Secretary Breckinridge, “Everything, in my opinion, has depended and still depends upon the disposition and feelings of the people.” Reagan, Postmaster-General, wrote to President Davis, April 22, 1865, “It is also for me to say that much as we have been exhausted in men and resources, I am of the opinion that if our people continue the contest with the spirit which animated them during the first years of the war, our independence might yet be in our reach. But I see no reason to hope for that now.”

Confidence was thus rapidly passing away. “Re-establish confidence,” said the Daily South Carolinian, a Columbia weekly, “and our greatest victory is won.”

While much depended upon the people, almost as much depended upon the army. Straggling bodies of Confederate soldiers hurried through North Carolina and Georgia. In some of the armies discipline seemed to have broken-down. There were those who saw that subjugation of the South would be a matter of years. The wide territory, if the soldiers could be kept fighting, would make immediate subjugation impossible. Warfare by detached parties who knew the country could have been carried on for years. Small bands of soldiers could have existed where large armies would starve. But the will to fight was gone and the Confederacy was staggering to its grave. Ex-Governor Graham of North Carolina stated that he left Richmond in the evacuation movement, convinced of

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170 Jones, II, pp. 391.
171 Richmond Dispatch, February 17, 1865.
172 Ibid., February 9, 1865.
173 Reagan, Memoirs, pp. 204.
174 Daily South Carolinian, February 12, 1865.
three things, (1) that independence for the southern Confederacy was perfectly hopeless, (2) that through the administration of Mr. Davis we could expect no peace, so long as he shall be supplied with the resources of war, and (3) "that it was the duty of the state government to immediately move for the purpose of effecting an adjustment of the quarrel with the United States." 181

A few days before General Lee's surrender, April 7, 1865, Mrs. Andrews wrote in her Diary, "The war is closing in upon us from all sides. I am afraid there are rougher times ahead than we have ever known yet." On April 18, while in the streets, she learned of rumors of the surrender, and she wrote, "nobody seems to doubt it, and everybody feels ready to give up hope." When the confirmation of Lee's surrender was brought, she described the situation in the following words: "There is a complete revulsion in public feeling. No more talk about fighting to the last ditch; the last ditch has already been reached; no more talk about help from France and England, but all about emigration to Mexico and Brazil. We are irretrievably ruined." 182

Southern Women. Everywhere the men lost their morale sooner than the women. The spirit of the women is one of the marvels of the war. When men were surrendering and advocating union, the women were willing to fight longer. No historian may chronicle the rebellion without noticing the record of the women. How may we explain it? There is first, an inherent spirit of self-sacrifice and of continued devotion in the feminine nature which is not common to the male. The devotion of women to their country is not exceptional. It is common to every nation and every people in their struggles for what seems to be worthy. They have been always the silent power which ruled behind the throne. There was nothing in the fiber of southern women which would make them inherently superior to the women of other ages and sections in the manner in which they bore their privations. If the North had been called upon to make the sacrifices which were demanded of the South, the women of the North would have responded in as noble a manner. In the South, they toiled and they were spinning in their homes, they were nursing in the hospitals, and many wrote bright, cheery letters to the front, and manifested in the hour of trial an undaunted patriotism. It must not be forgotten, however, that a minority differed. As we read some of the letters and diaries, we may understand why so many men became deserters. General Lee complained that many desertions among the North Carolina

181 Last Ninety Days, pp. 137-141.
182 Andrews, Dairy, pp. 153-155. These sentiments are directly opposed to the sentiment of Colonel Freemantle, who wrote of his Three Months in the Southern States, in 1863, when he said in speaking of the devotion of the southern population, that the nineteenth century would not witness the destruction of "such a gallant race."
troops were occasioned by the news from home. There was another type of Southern woman, whom we may parallel in any section and at any period. She was attracted by the advertisements of blockade material for sale. The columns of the newspapers are filled with ads for the attraction of women buyers. Under such a stimulus there were some women who never felt the privations of war.

Here was a group whom the ease and luxury of the slave regime had taught to be ladies, and who with the help of the blockade and of merchants eager for the sale of goods, continued to live their lives of ease with little alteration. These were in the minority, but such a group as we may find in any society. On the other hand there were those who suffered and sacrificed, who offered their hair, their valuables, to be sold for the maintenance of the Confederate finances, and when the war was over, they were as determined as before. A correspondent of the Boston Advertiser was quoted in the Richmond Republic of July, 1865, as saying that the women are more bitter than the men in their feeling toward the North. “The men are deeply mortified,” he said, “but seem for the most part to accept their changed condition.” As the historian contemplates this situation he may be reminded of the trite adage about convincing a woman against her will. And yet the story of the southern woman in the war is one of the heroic narratives of this history.

The morale of the South, when the war began, was enthusiastic, and the section was fairly united in its objects. The majority opinion was pro-war to 1863. With the defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, there was the beginning of a change. Not an acknowledgement of defeat, but a sullen hope that negotiations and diplomacy might win what the force of arms had not won. The disaffection spread, as we have noted above, through North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and the lower South. The exemption of slave-owners made the war appear as rich man’s war; the death lists, although received with fortitude, affected the spirit of those at home; the appeals made by governors, President Davis, Congress and public speakers were issued in vain. Throughout 1864, the discontent continues to spread. As 1865 opens many contrasts in the spirit of the people in this last year and in the first year of the war are noted by trustworthy observers. General Lee’s letters show that he realized the importance of popular support. But the South had lost heart, and the acknowledgement of this loss came only in the surrender of General Lee. The army and officers must have known that they were beaten, but determinedly they refused to believe it. It is a wonder that the Confederacy with this divided spirit and these disintegrating forces within, maintained itself as long as it did. If there is any single personality which contributed to this dogged continuance, it was the personality of Jefferson Davis. He refused to believe that he
was beaten, until he was a deserted fugitive. From his mind, the hope of the Confederacy seemed never to fade.

_Abandonment of the Slavery Issue._ The Confederacy prior to 1865 had been seeking either recognition or intervention from Europe. It was thought that through the need of Europe for the cotton product of the South, recognition or intervention would follow as a matter of course. But the expected cotton famine did not develop, and no European nation had taken up the cause of the South. The existence of the institution of slavery was a hindrance to the spread of sympathy for the Confederacy. This government was standing in the middle of the nineteenth century supporting a feudal and outworn institution. While the rest of the world, including the North, had adopted the modern industrial basis. The nineteenth century was the century of industrial advance. Civilization was taking a forward step, but the South was maintaining and defending a system which pointed backward.

The attitude of England upon this question is shown by a report of Mason, Confederate Commissioner to England, regarding the speeches by Earl Russell, in the House of Lords, as early as March, 1863. A conversation with Lord Donnoughmore revealed the fact that Lord Palmerston was probably unwilling to make a treaty with the Confederacy because of the slavery issue. Letters were sent from various sources to President Davis and to Secretary Benjamin, stating that slavery was the great obstacle to recognition.

In the autumn of 1864 Secretary Benjamin informed President Davis that “future negotiations must be on the basis of emancipation and the government seizure of cotton to purchase ships by which to break the blockade.” It was decided to send Davis F. Kenner of Louisiana to propose emancipation. After a series of interesting adventures he reached England early in 1865, but it was too late in the war to accomplish any permanent result by this mission.

The failure of such an effort shows how completely the southern organization had collapsed. Although founded on the maintenance of slavery, the Confederacy was now willing to abandon this institution—the cornerstone of its edifice. Thus the “benevolent” institution of slavery was thrown into the discard in the interest of political expediency. From 1865, to the present time, loud and long have been the assertions that “we did not go to war because of slavery”—but the facts speak for themselves. Slavery was defended until hope was all but gone. The South had found that it could not force its feudal principles upon the progressive

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183 Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy, Callahan, pp. 242-243.
184 Ibid., pp. 244.
185 Ibid., pp. 246.
186 William and Mary College Quarterly, Vol. 25, pp. 9-12.
nineteenth century. It was a vain attempt to lead an advancing political and economic civilization backward.

Another reversal of form is shown in the suggestion for the arming of the Negroes. From the first year of the war, Negroes were employed by the Confederates as laborers in the building and repairing of fortifications. In 1864, the Confederate Congress passed a law for the impressment of 20,000 slaves for menial service. In the meantime, local combat units of Negroes were organized in Louisiana, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. In New Orleans one regiment contained 1,400 free colored men. But the Confederate Government refused to adopt this expedient. In November, 1864, J. A. Seddon, the Secretary of War, refused permission to Major Briggs of Columbia, Georgia, to raise a regiment of Negro troops. Sentiment was being created, however, in the interest of the arming of the Negroes. The potent argument for it was the difficulty of securing white southerners to enlist and remain in the army. One group of Confederates, of which General Howell Cobb was typical, declared that “the proposition to make soldiers of our slaves is the most pernicious idea that has been suggested since the war began. If slaves make good soldiers, our whole theory of slavery is wrong.” On the contrary, General Pat Cleburne and Secretary Benjamin advocated their enlistment. Sam. Clayton of Georgia, another advocate, declared that “the recruits should come from our Negroes, nowhere else. We should away with false pride and promptly take hold of all the means God has placed within our reach to help us through this struggle—a war for the right of self-government. Some people say Negroes will not fight. I say they will fight. They fought at Ocean Pond (Olustee, Fla.), Honey Hill and other places. The enemy fights us with Negroes and they will do very well to fight the Yankees.”

In January, 1865, General Lee recommended in strong terms the employment of Negroes. But Congress delayed, the Senate refusing in February to call on the Committee on Military Affairs to report a bill. Finally after recommendations from General Lee, Governor Smith of Virginia, the Virginia Assembly and President Davis, an act was passed by the Confederate Congress, March 13, 1865, to enroll 300,000 Negroes in the armed forces of the Confederacy. Efforts were made to put the law into operation. Recruiting officers were appointed in each state, and preparations were made for their entrance into the army. The Richmond Dispatch,

187 For an extended discussion of this subject, see the study by the writer, “The Employment of Negroes as Soldiers by the Confederacy.” Journal of Negro History, Vol. IV, pp. 239-253, July, 1919.
189 Ibid., pp. 799.
190 Ibid., pp. 1193 and Appendix.
March 25, 1865, in noting the accessions to the Negro regiment, remarked that "the cause is progressing." But the Charleston Mercury concluded more wisely, that "the experiment will simply take two hundred thousand good muskets out of the Confederacy, two hundred thousand good corn producers out of the field, every one of whom is needed, and will place two hundred thousand Negro troops already armed and drilled in the Yankee army."

The adoption of this project for the use of Negroes as soldiers shows the complete extent of the collapse. The heart of the South was no longer in its struggle. Intent on winning, the leaders were willing to accept any expedient; even to reverse themselves on the theories upon which the Confederate Government had predicated its existence. Moreover, unwilling to fight themselves—for there were thousands of deserters in the South—they would now thrust their slaves to the front to fight for them.

Since the Civil War, southern writers and sympathizers have been declaring that the causes of the Confederate failure in its war for independence were the overwhelming numbers in northern armies, the scarcity of food, men, materials, the blockade or the errors of its leadership. It would seem that the truth as revealed by the facts should now be known without fear of sectional animosity. Leaving aside military defeats, the collapse of the South was due in part to a lack of resources, but more directly to a lack of a wholehearted and sustained resistance, a complete renunciation of self, an unqualified support of its government's measures, a devoted and continued loyalty to its declared principles, without which no revolution has been successful. The Confederacy's championship of a cause and a system which was outworn was also a powerful element in its fall. The Industrial Revolution in Europe had proclaimed a new economic system, which was making a rapid advance in America. The political revolutions of 1848, although unsuccessful, had been pointing to a forward movement in the political freedom of the working man. The Confederacy, surrounded by destructive forces, working without and within, met the only climax which was humanly possible for it. Pressed by a mightier military opponent, discounted by foreign powers and overwhelmed by its own weaknesses, the Confederacy passed away.

No single factor which has been noted above may explain—by itself—the collapse of the Confederacy. Each one is contributory to the result. It has been shown,

(1) That the resources of the Confederacy were sufficient for its necessary demands, but that these resources were either inadequately distributed or that they were interfered with by advancing Federal troops—a superior military organization. This apparent lack of resources contributed to the collapse, but the claims of some writers that these were the great causes of the Confederate collapse must be revised;

(2) That the lack of a co-operative endeavor between the President,
Cabinet, Congress and state leaders contributed to the decline of the popular support of the war; and

(3) That the morale of the Confederacy, from the autumn of 1864, was steadily declining. In spite of the appeals of the Confederate leaders, the popular support of the war decreased. General Lee realized the significance of this loss, but the great heart of the South with the opening of 1865 was no longer in the struggle. Of the factors contributing to the collapse, the psychological factor of morale was one of the most influential. In the interest of historical truth, these factors must be considered.
HOWARD ALUMNI YOU OUGHT TO KNOW.

Dr. David A. Ferguson

DAVID A. FERGUSON, D. D. S., of the class of 1899 was born in Portsmouth, Ohio, June 8, 1875. His first acquaintance with his profession was when he served as an office boy in 1889. After being graduated from the Portsmouth High School in 1896, he took his course in Dentistry at Howard University and began the practice of his profession November 24, 1899, selecting Richmond, Virginia, as the field of his future labors. He has the distinction of being the first colored applicant to appear before the Virginia State Board of Dental Examiners, the Second Colored Dentist to locate in Virginia and is at present the oldest practitioner of the race in the State. He has been Secretary-Treasurer of the Richmond Hospital since its organization in 1908, and for more than fifteen years has served as instructor in Anatomy and Physiology in the Training School for Nurses.

Dr. Ferguson has been unusually conspicuous for his connection with professional organizations. When the Tri-State Dental Association was launched July 19, 1913, he was unanimously elected president and served for five consecutive years, declining nomination for the sixth term. During his presidency the Tri-State outgrew its name, becoming the Inter-State in 1917. At the annual session of that year, Dr. Ferguson was presented with a large silver loving cup by his colleagues of the State of Virginia, who affectionately dubbed him “The Father of the Virginia Dentists.”
His activity, however, was not confined to the narrow limits of dentistry. Becoming a member of the National Medical Association in 1903, he was elected Vice-President in 1905, and at a meeting in Philadelphia, August, 1917, was the first member to be awarded the office of President-elect. In 1918, he was elected president and had the distinguished honor of being the first dentist to preside over that body. This occurred at the twenty-first annual session of the Association held at Newark, N. J. The administration of Dr. Ferguson was very successful, due largely to his personal activity; for while holding the office, he traveled more than four thousand, eight hundred miles at his own expense for the purpose of arousing interest in the Association, with the result that the registration of membership and attendance reached a figure which proved a record and which still remains unbroken.

At present he is connected with the Peter B. Ramsey Dental Society, the Old Dominion State Dental Society, the Inter-State Dental Association, the National Medical Association and the Robert F. Freeman Dental Society (Honorary) of Washington, D. C. He is also a member of the Gamma Chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. For several years he affiliated himself with a number of other fraternal organizations, but has gradually shifted his interests to those of a more professional character. He is a member of St. Phillips P. E. Church and has served as a teacher in the Sunday-School since 1899.

During the recent war, when the nation was calling for all who could serve, Dr. Ferguson, in order to prepare himself for volunteer service in the dental corps of the U. S. Army, went to Chicago for a special course in "Nerve Blocking and Conductive Anaesthesia," fulfilling the requirements of the registration law, September 12, 1918. As in many similar cases, however, the government did not feel the need of the kind of expert service that this distinguished Colored dentist could render.

One other feature of Dr. Ferguson's career should impress itself particularly upon the rising generation of professional men. Besides being a practitioner of note and one possessing the highest professional ideals, he is extremely popular, not only with the citizenry and his clients but with the younger men of his profession as well. It has always been a great pleasure for him, to give advice and to render assistance to those struggling through the early years toward a career. It was once remarked by a Richmond physician, "Fergie has given away two or three good practices and with his altruistic and magnanimous spirit he will never accumulate anything." Such remarks, however, have not deterred the spirit of this Christian gentleman; for he learned long ago that success in life is not measured in dollars but in service.

The political situation in Virginia in 1912, 1916, and 1920, brought Dr. Ferguson into the lime-light as one of the contestant delegates to the Republican National Convention, due to his determination to place Virginia on the political map. Coming from the Buckeye State, it was natural for him to take issue with the situation in Virginia, as it affected his race and to resent everything that seemed a menace to manhood rights.

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ALUMNI NOTES.

In response to our request for cooperation we have received a splendid set of notes from our alumni in the Capital of the Old Dominion. Richmond has long been a favorite location for Howardites and this array of notes concerning about thirty of our graduates is evidence that they are contributing largely in the development of that community.

We are indebted to Miss Lillian S. Brown for getting the information together and sending it to us. Begin now to write up your town and send the notes to us by Commencement Day. Make it possible for us to plan the Alumni Section of the Record a year ahead. It is easy to do if you will only start now.

ALUMNI IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

DR. HERBERT A. ALLEN, Medicine 1912, is one of the leading physicians in Richmond.

DR. JAMES H. BLACKWELL JR., Medicine 1911, with offices at 211 E. 18th Street, has been practicing in Richmond for a number of years and has a very large practice.

DR. O. B. BOWSER, Medicine 1901, of 513 N. Adams Street, is the leading colored physician here on child diseases.

DR. ANDREW B. BROWN, Pharmacy 1913, is the proprietor of the most widely patronized drug store in the city. He is located at 1214 W. Leigh Street.

MISS LILLIAN S. BROWN, Liberal Arts 1921, holds the position of instructor of English in Virginia Union University. As the first woman to be appointed to the College faculty of this school, she is trying to hold up the standard of Howard's daughters.

DR. A. D. CARR, Medicine 1912, has a large and increasing medical practice here. His office is 1827 Dance Street.

DR. S. B. CALLOWAY, Dentistry 1912, has an office at 519 N. Second Street and enjoys a rapidly growing dental practice.

DR. J. W. CHAMBERS, Pharmacy 1913, is conducting a drug store at 1903½ W. Leigh Street. His business has outgrown his present location. In order to expand he is erecting a large and beautiful building in the twelve hundred block on Leigh Street.

MRS. ZENOIAO. CALDWELL is one of the few loyal daughters of Howard residing in Richmond.

PROFESSOR MILES CONNOR, Teachers College 1913, is reflecting credit upon his Alma Mater by his excellent work as Professor of Psychology and Education at Virginia Union University.

PROFESSOR P. J. HENRY, Law 1907, has ably filled the position of instructor in Latin, History, Bookkeeping and Commercial Law at Virginia Union University since shortly after his graduation.

MRS. BERTHA E. HECTOR, Teachers College 1910, is an influential teacher in Armstrong High School, this city. As the wife of Rev. Hector, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, she has given commendable service to her church and community.

DR. JAMES E. JACKSON, Pharmacy 1902, who resides at 825 W. Leigh Street, was one of the earliest of Howard's sons to enter the drug business here. He has a large and prosperous business. His wife, Mrs. J. E. Jackson, English 1903, is also a graduate of Howard.
DR. MYLES B. JONES, Medicine 1909, is one of the leading physicians of Richmond. He is the school physician at Virginia Union University and head of the Richmond Hospital. He has a practice second to none.

MRS. ROSA K. JONES, Normal 1880, wife of Professor J. E. Jones of Virginia Union University, is reflecting great credit upon Howard by her work as Director of Music at Hartshorn Memorial College. The annual musical held by Hartshorn Friday, March 18, under Mrs. Jones' direction would have been a source of inspiration to all Howardites.

ATTORNEY G. W. LEWIS, Law 1888, conducts a prosperous law business at 327 N. First Street.

MISS LEAH V. LEWIS, Arts and Sciences 1919, is a successful teacher of English and Latin in the Academic Department of Virginia Union University. She has successfully filled this position for two years. In addition to regular class-room work, Miss Lewis has rendered the University invaluable service as director of Dramatics.

REV. R. V. PEYTON, Theology 1889, pastor of Sixth Mt. Zion Church, is a typical example of that spirit of service to the community which Howard inspires in her sons and daughters. His is one of the largest congregations in the city.

DR. WILLIS J. PETTIS, Dentistry 1915, is carrying on a thriving business. His dental offices are located in the Mechanics Bank Building.

DR. LEON A. REED, Dentistry 1915, 727-A E. Main Street, has a very large dental patronage.

DR. E. S. ROANE, Medicine 1914, enjoys a large medical practice here. His office is located at 210 E. Clay Street.

DR. ANDREW ROBINSON, Pharmacy 1915, conducts a widely patronized and well equipped drug store at 100 W. Leigh Street.

DR. W. H. SMITH, Pharmacy 1909, is another of Howard's sons who is reflecting credit upon her as a druggist with his thriving business located at 105 W. Jackson Street.

DR. R. F. TANCIL, Medicine 1882, with offices at 601 N. Third Street, is one of the oldest in respect to residence of Howard's medical men to settle in Richmond. He enjoys a large and satisfactory practice.

DR. WILLIAM THOMPSON, Pharmacy, enjoys the distinction of being one of the few colored manufacturing druggists of Richmond. He is located at 528 Hancock Street.

DR. R. BEECHER TAYLOR, Dentistry 1919, is one of the youngest of Howard's sons here in the dental profession. Although he has been in business only a year and a half, he has already won a place for himself in the good will of the community.

DR. GEORGE W. WHITE, Medicine 1913, 533 N. Second Street, is a young physician who is reflecting great credit upon Howard University by his splendid work.

DR. ABNER YANCY, Pharmacy 1917, 301 W. Baker Street, is a credit to his Alma Mater. He is a druggist of first rank. He has manufactured and has on the market several articles, such as tooth paste, perfume, etc.

THE RECORD regrets to announce the death of MISS JUANITA BYRD, Teachers College 1919, which occurred in Kansas City, Mo., March 23, 1922. Miss Byrd was the daughter of the Rev. William A. Byrd, 274 Wellington Avenue, Rochester, N. Y.

The following extract from a clipping from the Atlantic City Gazette of March 25, 1922, will be of interest to readers of this column:

"The Third Ward Colored Republican Association at a spirited meeting Tuesday..."
evening, March 14, sounded its battle cry when Mr. Elijah White tossed into the Legislative ring the hat of Attorney Frank H. Wimberly, by naming the brilliant leader of the association as their candidate for the New Jersey State Assembly. It was the first shot of the fall campaign and one that will, no doubt, be heard around the State, for the entire association endorsed the nomination and pledged themselves to the support of the young attorney. * * *

Mr. Wimberly is a graduate of Howard University, representing both the college and the school of law, and without doubt, could gracefully represent our community at the New Jersey State House. He is one of the directors of the Great Bay Building and Loan Association and a member of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, which numbers among its adherents many of the leading Negroes of America. It was Attorney Wimberly, who, last spring, at great personal expense, obtained justice in the local courts for Floyd Cox, a young Negro of Memphis, Tenn., and, incidentally, it was this same Wimberly who raised the first outspoken word in defense of Mrs. Chavis, the innocent, suffering colored woman who died like a dog in a prison cell for drunks with no other diagnosis of her physical condition than that given by an ignorant minion of the law.

J. E. GEARY, D. D. S.
419 Patton Street
Phone 801-J
Danville, Va., March 17, 1922.

Prof. G. M. Lightfoot,
Howard University,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Professor:

Once again I find myself renewing with pleasure my subscription for The Record. It is the chief medium through which I am kept in touch with Howard, as anything Howard seems to have with me a responsive cord. May I be permitted to say that I read with pleasure the entire contents of The Record?

Yours truly,

J. E. GEARY.

Professor G. M. Lightfoot,
Editor-in-Chief of The Record,
Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dear Professor Lightfoot:

I am really ashamed that I have not sent the money for my Record before. I have intended to send it in each month, but have just put it off from time to time. I certainly have enjoyed The Record. It seems almost like having a little visit to the dear old Hill every month when it comes, and I cannot do anything until I have read it through. I do so love to learn how things are going, and every step forward that our dear Alma Mater makes means as much to me as my own success in my chosen life work.
Miss Cain and I are about the only Howardites here among several Lincolnhites, so we have not even enough for an association or even the semblance of one, but our love for and loyalty to the Hill are only strengthened by this fact.

I am getting along well in my work. My Latin pupils are doing very well and I like my work. Our school here will close in time for us to get home to Commencement, I am very glad to say.

Again thanking you for The Record, I am,

Yours truly,

HARRIETT A. DORSEY.

Every Howardite Is Requested to Fill Out the Blank Below—Howard Must Know What You Are Doing and Where You Are.

Fill Out the Information Asked for—Tear Off and Mail Today

HOWARD UNIVERSITY—Card for Alumnus or Former Student

1. Name .................................................................
   (First Name) (Middle Name) (Last Name)
2. Present Address .....................................................
   (City) (State)
3. Permanent Address ...................................................
   (City) (State)
4. Date Entered Howard University.................................
5. Number of Years at Howard .......Department Entered ...........
6. Other Departments Entered.................................
7. Degrees Conferred, if any........................................
8. Year of Graduation .........Year Discontinued Course at Howard...........
9. Occupation or Profession...........................................
10. Business Relations (i. e., connection with business enterprises, banks, etc.) ......
11. Schools Attended Before and After Attending Howard ................

IF YOU DO IT TODAY, YOU WON'T FORGET IT
Professor Davis Receives Honor—Named Fellow in German at the University of Chicago.

Professor Edward P. Davis, head of the Department of German in this University, recently received announcement from the office of the President of the University of Chicago that he had been elected Fellow in German there for 1922-23.

This comes as a result of the nomination of the seven Professors of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, the recommendation of President Judson, and the vote of the Chicago Trustees. It is a recognition of the scholarship he has already displayed as a graduate student. The attainments required of Fellows are outlined as follows:

"The candidate must have attained proficiency in some department. In general, he should have spent at least one year in resident study after receiving his Bachelor's degree. In making the appointment special weight is given to dissertations indicating the candidate's ability to conduct original investigation."

Fellows rank as officers of the University and are expected to serve as instructors, or as assistants in examinations, in the departmental libraries, or on the technical publications of the University.

Associate Professor MacLear to Teach at Hunter College.

The Faculty of Howard University was honored last Summer and will again be honored the coming Summer in having one of its members, Associate Professor Martha MacLear of the School of Education, employed as instructor in two courses in the History of Education, to be given in the Summer School at Hunter College, the Municipal College for girls in New York City.

Howard University Observes National Health Week.

As a part of the National Health Week program, Howard University held a Health Meeting under the auspices of its Department of Public Health and Hygiene Sunday afternoon, April 9, in the Andrew Ranking Memorial Chapel on the University Campus. The meeting was presided over by Dr. J. Stanley Durkee, President of the University, and addresses on the subject of Public Health were made by Dr. A. B. Jackson, Director of the School of Public Health and Hygiene, and Dr. E. A. Balloch, Dean of the School of Medicine of the Howard University.

One of the things mentioned in connection with the discussion of public health at Howard University is the part which the University may play in promoting national health through the training of experts in the field of public health in its School of Public Health and its School of Medicine.

Dr. Balloch, the Dean of the School of Medicine, spoke of the relation of medical education to public health and stressed the fact that the modern tendency in medical training is towards preventive rather than curative. He stated that the Howard University School of Medicine is making this a major portion of its work in the present and future education in the medical profession.

Dr. Amos W. Patton, Professor Emeritus of Biblical Literature in the North-
western University and lecturer on Christian Archaeology in the Garrett Biblical Institute, gave a very enjoyable and profitable address at the chapel on Thursday, April 13, on “The Exploits of the Man With the Spade.” He has given many years to study and research in Archaeology. He edited the revised edition of the standard works, Bennett’s Christian Archaeology.

The time of the chapel address was all too short for him to give even a sketch of the way in which archaeological discoverers have enlarged and vivified the history of ancient nations and the way in which it has confirmed many of the historical features of the Bible. The lecture was highly appreciated by both Faculty and students.

Howard-Atlanta Debate.

On Friday evening, April 14, 1922, the Kappa Sigma Debating Society presented Howard University and Atlanta University in their annual debate. The subject was, “Resolved, That the United States should cancel the war debts owed by the allied governments.” Mr. John Miles, ’22, President of Kappa Sigma Debating Society, acted as presiding officer.

The platform was embellished with plants, which, with the schools’ colors, gave the Rankin Memorial Chapel a vivid effect.

There was much enthusiasm, but all became quiet when Mr. Miles began the program. Invocation by Dr. J. Stanley Durkee, after which Mr. Miles gave the rules of the debate. Miss Frances Stephenson, ’24, rendered a vocal solo, which was creditably done. Miss Sydney Mayo, ’22, acted as her accompanist.


The first speaker of the evening was Mr. Milo C. Murray of Howard, who upheld the affirmative side of the question. He referred to the Refunding Bill and stated that it allowed the Allies twenty-five years to pay the war debts. In defining the terms, Section 2 of the Refunding Bill was mentioned, in which the following is found: “The United States should relieve all the Allies from all debts incurred in the World War.” The speaker said: “Some action is necessary to alleviate the economic conditions.” Mr. Murray outlined as follows:

1. Cancellation of the war debts will remedy the crisis, revive trade and production.
   A. It will reestablish the credit of the allied nations.
   B. It will revive United States trade.
   C. It will revive industrial life.

2. Payment of the war debts will intensify the crisis.

Mr. Murray pointed out that the Allies cannot borrow to pay the debts, and that if Great Britain cancelled her debt of ten billions, the Allies could reestablish their credit. Since our exports declined 45% and our imports, 52% last year, it shows that the Allies are unable to trade with the United States, and only cancellation will remedy the matter. Cancellation will relieve the suffering of the farmers, and the industrial and agricultural depression.

When the speaker concluded, there remained little doubt in the minds of the audience that the fight would be vigorous on both sides.

The first speaker on the negative, Mr. Ellis C. Russell (Atlanta), followed. He opened with an attack upon the argument as advanced by Mr. Murray. He said that the affirmative must prove the following:
1. That cancellation of the war debts will be beneficial to the United States and Europe.
2. That the Allies are unable to pay.
3. That cancellation would be a sound policy.
   A. And that it is adequate for home production.
   B. And that it will bring about the restoration of the gold standard.

Then Mr. Russell proceeded to prove that cancellation of the war debts would be
1. Unnecessary.
2. Unsound.

He said it would be unnecessary because Congress has prepared a way, and that
the Allies will be able to pay in time. Further, that cancellation would be unneces-
sary because the debts are secure, as we have contracts by bonds to make them
secure. The speaker stated that England owes 44% of the debts and has resources
even enough to pay. She has reduced her debt by one hundred and eighty million
already. France owes 33% of the war debts and will pay in time, just as she paid
her Franco-Russian War debts. France has thirty-nine million thrifty, determined
Frenchmen to pay the debt. Practically all of them have employment, too.

Mr. Russell said that the cancellation of the war debts would be unsound eco-
onomically and politically. The debts are owed to the people of the United States
and not the Treasury; therefore, if the debts were cancelled, it would cause the
people to be taxed. Reduced production means reduced consumption; thus the
people pay the penalty by suffering. Cancellation of the war debts would be
politically unsound because it would jeopardize the supremacy and leadership of
the United States. It would cause robbery soon, and the United States must pro-
tect herself. Mr. Russell did well and received much applause for his efforts.

The second speaker of the affirmative, Mr. Yancy L. Sims (Howard), began
by attacking the arguments of Mr. Russell. Mr. Sims said that taxation of the
American people would not cause a revolution, because the United States has most
of the money of the world, and that much of it is spent foolishly. Supremacy
is selfishness and causes wars.

Mr. Sims furthered his side of the argument by stating that payment of the war
debts would paralyze us and intensify our present conditions. The Allies have
no gold and cannot produce much, because they have a struggle to feed their peo-
ple at home. Thus, the only way the debt can be paid is in goods, and we do not
want goods. All producers, steel men, and manufacturers of textiles, object to
payments in goods. Imports declined 52%, still there is a demand for a higher
protective tariff. President Harding and Congress are forming a new tariff now.
Various port laws hinder the Allies in paying by goods, too. Payment in the
future cannot remedy the present economic conditions. The blood of the Allies
saved us from autocracy and money fails to pay for spilled blood. Mr. Sims
summarized by saying that cancellation of the war debts:
1. Will remedy the present crisis, and will promote trade and industry.
2. It is otherwise desirable—payment in goods would paralyze and intensify the
   economic crisis.

Mr. Sims was keen and on the alert. He handled the subject with much ease
and precision, for which he was applauded greatly.

Next came the second negative speaker, Mr. Marion Page (Atlanta). He pro-
ceeded by remarking that his colleague had proved that cancellation of the war
debts would be unnecessary and unsound. He maintained the following:
1. Would cancellation of the war debts be advantageous to the United States
   and Europe?
2. Would it be justifiable?

Mr. Page said that the affirmative furthered the propaganda of the idealist.
What about our Liberty Bonds and the people? What are the people to do? The
common people will be taxed if the Allies do not pay. Cancellation is disadvan-
tageous because
1. It would cause domestic conditions to increase.
2. The budgets would become balanced.
3. Gold would be restored.

My opponents cannot prove this because the English pound has increased, and France has received four payments from Germany. Thus, time is the only thing necessary to pay the debts. Morally, is it right to cancel the debts? To do so would cancel the breach of contract of Congress with the people. The Government owes the people a solemn obligation. Payment would aid the American people. It is our task to look out for the world and America; therefore, we are not morally justified. Congress has no power to give a cent of the people's money away. We cannot afford to cancel on account of the morale and prestige of the Allies and our self-respect. Who respects the man who cannot overcome his difficulties? Fortitude and zest made France pay before, and she will pay again.

Mr. Page was fiery and somewhat humorous. The audience evidenced much pleasure at his delivery.

In this intellectual contest, the rebuttals put large question marks in the minds of the audiences. The "Howardites" were hopeful, but doubtful, as were the Atlanta followers, although some were sure Howard had the decision, and some were sure Atlanta had it.

The judges were: Dr. Howard Lincoln Hodgkins, President of George Washington University; Hon. B. R. Cressinger, Comptroller of the Currency; and Mr. C. R. Wilson, United States Attorney. While waiting for their decision, Dr. Durkee and Professor Gregory made some timely remarks. They encouraged the debaters. Mr. John Miles, presiding officer, announced the decision of the judges, which was in favor of Howard.

The contest was a credit to the young men who participated, their coaches, and their debating societies; also the Committee on Intercollegiate Debates.

William S. Maize, '22.

Congressman Dyer's Address.

The University had a rare treat on Wednesday, April 19, 1922, when Congressman Dyer paid it a visit. He attended our chapel exercises, where he made an excellent address. He was presented to the faculty, student body, and friends by President J. Stanley Durkee with a few introductory remarks.

Congressman Dyer said that he deemed it an honor to have the privilege of addressing such a fine body of young men and women. He liked the interest that we seem to have in our work, and said that we as colored men are preparing ourselves to battle race prejudice.

The speaker continued: "I believe in a struggle for freedom, regardless of creed, color, or sect. I believe in the eradication of lynching, a battle for right and justice because God desires it. If the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill passes, there shall be no more Jim-crow cars and lynching; because I advocate a standard of man for man and not one based on color or sect. You as students will break down injustice through your value and worth. Through the aid of Tuskegee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, we have learned the details about five thousand lynchings, many of which were based on no evidence at all. Now the people of the world know the truth of the situation by the passing of the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill by the House of Representatives. In citing the lynching of some colored women, I say, 'We must protect our womanhood and we want equal protection in all races.' Here is a statement by the
worthy Mr. Lincoln on ‘Obedience.’ It is worth noting that the Fourteenth Amend-
ment to the Constitution of the United States was passed during his administration.”

Next, Congressman Dyer stated the purpose of the Anti-lynching Bill and dis-
cussed its constitutionality. He said that the Attorney General of the United States
says the bill is constitutional. If necessary, he is willing to let it go to the Supreme
Court, the judicial body of the United States to be scrutinized. All were urged
to write home to get their friends and relatives to write to their senators, asking
them to vote for the bill that it might pass the Senate.

In conclusion the Congressman said, when he used to get discouraged, he visited
Lincoln’s tomb, thought of the great man and was inspired to press forward. His
advice to us was, to think of and follow Lincoln, go to God for help for justice
through prayer.

To show their esteem for Congressman Dyer, the students gave him a yell; then
at the request of President Durkee, they sang the Alma Mater. On the way out
from chapel, many shook hands with the visitor and complimented him for his
address and sterling efforts to bring about liberty and justice for all.

William S. Maize, ’22.
Annual Public Meeting of the Howard University Y. M. C. A.

Mr. Pickens Speaks.

The Annual Public Meeting of the University Young Men's Christian Association was held Sunday, April 2, at 4:30 p.m., in the Rankin Memorial Chapel. Mr. William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., delivered the address. Centering his discourse around the theme, "The Necessity for a Common Platform for Both Races," he brought a message of helpfulness to the large appreciative audience that received it.

Mr. Pickens very clearly and emphatically pointed out the fact that the interests of the two races are so greatly inter-related and so completely inseparable that whatever affects the one for good or evil, affects the other in like manner. In speaking of the question of education, he emphasized the fact that the more educated people a community has, the better is the environment for all the people of the community, to whatever racial group they may belong. "Backward fellow-citizens," says Mr. Pickens, "are an insurmountable obstacle to the highest development of the most forward groups and individuals."

Turning to the question of disregard for law and order, as expressed in mob violence and illegal discrimination, the speaker expressed as his firm conviction that the one safe means of having a law-abiding citizenry is for each citizen to practice obedience to the law in all of his dealings with his fellow-men. "The lynching of colored men," he says, "will ultimately lead to indiscriminate lynching of all men." Continuing, Mr. Pickens argues that justice for the white man is more secure where greater justice is given the Negro; and that where justice is denied the Negro, the white man himself does not himself get his full share.

One of the high points in the speech of Mr. Pickens was the thought that for the Negro man to defend and honor his own women, he must acquire the habit of defending and honoring all women, irrespective of their racial connection. Aping after the lower element of the white race, too many colored men are disregarding their responsibilities as men, attempting to narrow them down to the colored women alone. This will ultimately lead to utter disregard for all women.

The country needs such messages as these and it is gratifying, indeed, to have them come from men who have some measure of leadership. Race antagonism is destructive. It prevents the much needed spirit of cooperation which alone can bring each race into its highest development. We have experimented long enough with malice and insanity. The day has now arrived for the exercise of brotherhood coupled with common sense.

The Associations, representing the best that there is in both races, must be depended upon, to a great extent, to bring about this new order of things.

L. K. M.

Tau Delta Sigma Notes—The Business Side of Tau Delta Sigma.

The Tau Delta Sigma Fraternity has not only purchased its home at 913 Rhode Island Avenue Northwest, but has also incorporated it.

For the welfare of the members who live in the Chapter House there has been established a boarding department. Although the board is furnished for less than the men could get it elsewhere, yet there is a profit realized which is added to the Incidental Expense Fund. Herbert F. McGirt, Chairman of the Trustee Board,
heads this Department and has succeeded in adding modern equipment to this part of the system until it is very attractive and serviceable.

The laundry department, superintended by Z. A. Carter, Chairman of the Auditing Committee, has from the beginning been of great value. All the men who live in the house patronize this department as well as most of the fraters who are not inmates of the Chapter House.

The great value of this system has come to the men by way of training in their conduct with actual business. A budget system is now under consideration, which will be of much interest as well as profit to the Fraternity.

EARLE H. GRAY,
Chairman of the Publicity Committee.

Howard Ready to Face Rivals in Debating Contests.

ANNOUNCEMENT is made of representatives to defend Howard in its dual debate with Atlanta University and in the triangular debates with Lincoln and Union. The Howard team to debate Atlanta University on April 14, in the Andrew Rankin Memorial Chapel, will be composed of Milo Cravath Murray, of Nashville, Tenn., and Yancy L. Sims, of Atlanta, Ga.

The Triangular Debating League, consisting of Atlanta, Howard and Union Universities, will hold its debates on the evening of April 28. The Howard team to meet Union in Washington will consist of Frederick Harold Robb, of Hartford, Conn.; Louis Eugene King, Buckeyestown, Md., and Harold Edward Bledsoe, Martin, Texas. The Howard team to meet Lincoln University at Lincoln will be Earl Russell Alexander, of Washington, D. C.; Edward A. Simmons, of Charleston, S. C., and Zephaniah Alexander Looby, of Antigua, B. W. I. The alternates are Albert C. Gilbert, of New York City; James Arthur Curry, of Thomasville, N. C.; James Garland Wood, Cotton Plant, Ark.; Arnold E. Stowe and Frank Williams, of Fayetteville, N. C.

With the final selection of the three teams to represent Howard University, all preliminary arrangements regarding the coming intercollegiate debates have been determined and the student body is looking forward with confidence to the results. The personnel of the teams represents previous debating experience as well as a high standard of forensic ability which is undoubtedly due to the unusual interest in debating this year. There has been keen competition among the prospectives for the honor of representing the University in debating.

One of the contributing factors to the unusual interest shown in debating this year has been the formation at Howard of a national honorary debating fraternity to which only varsity debaters are eligible. The conference held at Howard on March 25, to which delegates from Lincoln and Virginia Union Universities came, led to permanent organization of the honorary debating society to be known as the Delta Sigma Chi Fraternity. The historic Kappa Sigma Debating Society of Howard, the Kappa Gamma Chi of Virginia Union University, and the Delta Rho Forensic Society of Lincoln University merged into the new national honorary fraternity. This is the first honorary fraternity to be established among Negro college men. Its aims are similar to those of the Delta Sigma Rho existing among the leading white colleges—the development of a closer relationship among debaters in Negro colleges, the promotion of higher ideals in debating, and the awarding of honorary keys for meritorious work. The provisional officers of the fraternity are: J. Garland Wood, of Howard University, President; Frederick D. Johnson, of Virginia Union University, Vice-President, and E. Luther Brooks, of Lincoln University, Secretary-Treasurer.
Howard R. O. T. C. Band's Initial Concert a Success.

The Howard University R. O. T. C. Band was recently heard before a large and appreciative audience in its first public concert at the Republic Theatre in Washington. Under the direction of Sergeant Dorcy C. Rhodes, this young musical organization has within one year developed to such an extent that its music is receiving the praise of the public. The rendition of "Rosine's Barber of Seville" and "Atlantis" suite in four parts by Safraneck showed the very careful training which the band is receiving at the hands of its director.

Quite a number of calls are being made to have the band appear in nearby cities. No definite arrangements have as yet been made, but it is expected that a number of trips may be made shortly to Philadelphia, New York City, Baltimore, and perhaps Norfolk.

Howard to Have Both Varsity and Freshman Baseball Teams.

For some time candidates for the Varsity and Freshman baseball teams have been at work and from all appearances Howard will be able to put forth a most representative baseball team this year. Already from the battery candidates the Varsity team is sure of five good pitchers, three left-handers and two right-handers. For catchers the Varsity will have two men from last year and a number of promising recruits. The infield has a fair nucleus from last year to work around, and with the acquisition of the new men who are showing promise will round out strongly. The outfield is causing considerable worry, as the outfield material is very poor in their field work. Among the prospectives for the team are some very good hitters and all in all the Varsity team may be expected to be up to the usual standard.

One of the interesting things in baseball at Howard this year will be the official Freshman team, which will have an individual and independent schedule. Up to date there have been six regularly scheduled games. The material for the team is exceptional. The infield that has been used for practice has proved exceptionally fast and accurate.

Howard Students Show Great Interest in Study of Italian.

The Howard University Library was recently presented with a copy of the complete Latin and Italian works of Dante. The book is a critical text of the works of Dante and was issued under the auspices of the Italian Dante Society of Italy. It is a volume of nearly one thousand pages on India paper with a binding of heavy board covered with leather and adorned with clasps, the binding being made to imitate that of a medieval book. The inscription on the fly-leaf of the book reads:

"Presented by the Italians of the United States of America on the initiative of Luigi Carnovale, Chicago, Illinois, in commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the death of Dante, September 14, 1921."

It is an interesting fact that with the opening of the Spring Quarter the Howard University has a class in both the college and evening school studying the Divine Comedy of Dante in Italian, and as far as can be learned this is the first time that this subject has been studied in a Negro college.
Howard Track Teams Training Hard for Penn Relay Games.

The Howard University Varsity and Freshman track teams are making great preparation for the coming Penn relay games to be held on Franklin Field at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., on April 28 and 29, 1922. The teams will be composed of eleven men, who are to compete in five different events.

Last year the Varsity relay team was successful in winning the event in which it was entered. This year Howard has been entered in a faster class by the authorities in charge of the Penn Meet and will be competing against such schools as the University of Pittsburgh, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Notre Dame, Boston College, and a number of other colleges in that class. The coaches at Howard realize that they must put forth every effort to have the men in thorough condition for the entrées. The Freshman relay team to be entered in the meet is doing exceptional work and the time being made by the team compares favorably with that of the Varsity team.

Howard is also entering a man in the hammer throw, the javelin and discus throw. This man has remarkable ability in these three events and it is expected that he will win at least one of his events and place in each of them. His work with the hammer is close to 165 feet at each throw and 150 feet for the javelin and 154 feet for the discus.

Much interest is being exhibited in the coming meet and everyone is expecting Howard's representatives to make a good showing for the University.

May Queen.

My lady brown
Now wears a crown
   Of pink and red, red roses;
Black curls flow down
On gauzy gown
   As she in smiles reposes.

Green shades and blue—
And every hue—
   Abounds in-scented bowers;
Where maids entrance,
Who skip and dance
   Before her throne of flowers.

Each maiden trips
With tinted strips
   The May-pole fast enfolding;
The while the scene
The dusky queen
   Sits quietly beholding.

And on they play
Until the day
   In joy serenely closes.
My lady brown
Has worn a crown
   Of pink and red, red roses.

—Wendell P. Gladden, Jr.
Some Facts Concerning Present-day Radio Development.

The marvels of radio as a means of entertainment are uppermost at present in the public mind. Many a home has its radio outfit, by means of which entertainment is provided for the whole household. The progress made in radio communication during the last ten years has been phenomenal. Ten years ago it was deemed impossible to transmit the human voice without wires over any considerable distance. Today the voice is being transmitted daily over thousands of miles. This improvement has not been accomplished "overnight," but has been the outcome of many years of experimentation and research.

Radio is transmitted by means of ether waves or vibrations in the ether. These waves are produced by alternating currents of very high frequency. The transmitting apparatus creates these waves, which impinge upon the antenna or aerial of the receiving station. The waves are then led to the receiving apparatus by means of the lead-in.

The instrument that makes the radio telephony possible, the vacuum valve or electron relay, was invented by three men, Dr. Lee DeForest, Dr. Reginald Fessenden and Dr. Fleming, men who have devoted their entire lives to radio communication. The type of vacuum valve now used consists of a tungsten filament, a plate and small spiral wire known as the grid. The operation of this wonderful device depends upon the fact that the grid, which is placed in the path of the electrons (negative electricity) flowing from the lighted tungsten filament, receives a negative charge which decreases a local battery current flowing between the plate and the filament. An external positive charge flowing from the antenna when applied to the grid will to some extent neutralize the negative charge and thus increase the local battery current, but an external negative charge will cause greater absorption of electrons and thus reduce the battery current still more. Hence, if an alternating current, alternating at the frequency of the voice, be impressed between the grid and filament, the positive alternation increases the local battery current and the negative alternation decreases it, thus making the telephone receivers vibrate at the same frequency as the voice that is being transmitted from the radio telephone station.

Radio telephony is now used for the broadcasting of musical programs, operas, theatrical performances, lectures, public health talks and sermons. Lonely farmhouses hear their crop reports and weather forecasts through their wireless telephone instruments as quickly as the cities get them, and for entertainment are able, at selected evening hours, to choose from a great program of attractive effort by good artists. Ships at sea can also pick up opera and theatrical performances. In fact, any individual equipped with a radio set is never isolated from civilization regardless in what part of the world he may be.

Nothing comparable with the national interest in radio telephony has ever been known in the United States. The demand for apparatus to receive the information broadcasted by the telephone came up almost overnight at a time when apparatus of design which lent itself to quantity production had not been developed.

The result is that the demand has not been less than double the supply, although factories are working day and night. What will the improvement in radio development be in ten years hence if it advances as much as it has in the ten years past?

FRANKLIN L. TERRY.

Prof. William Coleman, Instructor.
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