Humanities and Technology Association

The Humanities and Technology Association was founded in October 1978 to bring together a wide variety of disciplines to promote understanding of the cultural interaction of the humanities, science, engineering and technology and to help define how humanistic concerns interface with technological achievements and advances. In cooperation with Southern Polytechnic State University, the association cosponsors the annual Interface conference held in the Atlanta area in October. The Humanities and Technology Association is incorporated as a non-profit educational organization under the laws of the State of Georgia.

Subscriptions to the *Humanities & Technology Review* and the organization's newsletter are benefits of membership in the association. Annual membership dues are $15.00 for individuals and institutions.

Information concerning membership in the Humanities and Technology Association is available from:

Dr. Terry Morris
Box 252, Shorter College
315 Shorter Avenue
Rome, Georgia 30165

"EVERY WHEEL, SPINDLE, AND PINION AGAIN REVOLVING": NORTHERN EVANGELICALS, TECHNOLOGY, AND THE CIVIL WAR

Patricia C. Click
University of Virginia

During the first half of the nineteenth century, evangelicalism dominated the religious outlook in the Northern United States. It had adherents in Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Disciples of Christ churches. Evangelicals believed in the necessity of a personal conversion experience in which the individual accepted God's grace and dedicated his or her life to the glorification of God. Although modern Americans tend to associate the term "evangelical" with conservative fundamentalism, the nineteenth-century Northern evangelicals were not politically or socially conservative. As Victor Howard's *Religion and the Radical Republican Movement, 1860-1870* (1990) and Curtis D. Johnson's *Redeeming America: Evangelicals and the Road to Civil War* (1993) clearly show, Northern evangelicals took the lead in school and prison reform, as well as abolition. They also encouraged the development of technology. Northern evangelicals, in fact, exerted an influence over social and political life that far exceeded their numbers.[1]

This paper will focus on the writings and work of the Reverend Horace James, an evangelical Congregationalist minister from Medford, Massachusetts. James's ideas about abolition and technological improvements--ideas that reflected those of many of his fellow evangelicals--were intimately tied to a common ideological framework that was fostered by the evangelical outlook. Although this outlook was very abstract and complex, it grew out of a conviction that it was possible to perfect individuals and, through them, society at large. Northern evangelicals optimistically embraced the notion of progress.

Before discussing the relationship between evangelicalism, abolition, and technology, it is necessary to clarify some points about nineteenth-century evangelicals. Their progressive interest in social and moral reforms grew out of their belief that the millennium --a thousand years of peace--was just around the corner. Most nineteenth-century evangelicals were post-millennialists; they thought that the Second Coming of Christ, as prophesied in Revelations, would occur only at the conclusion of the millennium. Post-millennialist evangelicals looked forward to the millennium and kept their eyes open for any signs of its approach. In particular, they believed that the unprecedented technological progress of the nineteenth century strongly confirmed that the United States was moving steadily toward the millennium.[2]

In *Between God and Gold: Protestant Evangelicalism and the Industrial Revolution, 1820-1914* (1993), Robert A. Wauzzinski shows how evangelicalism and industrialism grew to be intertwined in the antebellum period. Although modern readers might find this conjunction of God and Mammon an odd one, Wauzzinski underscores the common focus on progress. Wauzzinski's book includes several case studies of nineteenth-century evangelicals, including the great revival speaker Charles Grandison Finney and Baptist academic Francis Wayland. Finney's revivals aimed to perfect society by saving individual souls. Significantly, Finney did not discourage individuals from capitalistic efforts; rather, he encouraged successful businessmen to become involved in benevolence and thus use their money to glorify God and improve social conditions. Francis Wayland similarly focused on perfecting society by starting with the individual. He believed that perfectionism was leading toward the millennium, and that America was taking the lead. Wayland's nationalism was closely tied to capitalism. America, he noted, enjoyed "advantages. . . over savage nations. . . because of the greater possession of fixed capital or pre-exerted industry." At one point Wayland declared that it had been "reserved" for Americans "in the providence of God, to be the first people upon earth who should commence the fulfillment of the prophecy 'men shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks.'"[3]

Although post-millennialistic evangelicals were very optimistic, they remained vigilant in detecting anything that might impede the coming of the millennium. Increasingly during the antebellum period, they came to believe that slavery was thwarting the movement toward the millennium and therefore needed to be eradicated. Many Northern evangelicals, in fact, had concluded that the Civil War was about slavery rather than maintenance of the Union long before most other Northerners reached this conclusion. The connection between a belief in technological progress and support of abolition seemed very logical to them. Most Northern evangelicals had a fairly simplistic understanding of slavery; they could not fathom that anything of technological value could grow out of a culture that was based on a slave labor system. In their minds, slavery was not merely anti-technological; its presence also discouraged the development of new labor-saving technologies. If technology equaled progress, then slavery was the very opposite of progress. Thus, for example, Francis Wayland grew more pessimistic about the absolute possibilities of individualism and laissez-faire capitalism as long as slavery existed in the United States.[4]

Although not of the national stature of Charles Grandison Finney or Francis Wayland, Horace James shared the core of their evangelical beliefs with respect to individualism and perfection. In addition, while Finney and Wayland merely professed anti-slavery sentiments, James had the opportunity to go to the South during the war to put his beliefs into action. As the war progressed, he moved from anti-slavery to immediate abolition, even arguing that abolition was a necessary step toward perfection. In late April 1863, Major General John G. Foster, Commander of the 18th Army Corps, appointed James, who at the time was an army chaplain who was serving as a captain in the Union Army, "Superintendent of all the Blacks" in the Department of North Carolina.[5]

James was ordered to supervise and care for the former slaves who were gathering in various freedmen's camps in North Carolina. These freedmen camps had been founded at the sites of Union occupations on the Carolina coast. Major General Ambrose Burnside's expedition through eastern North Carolina in the opening months of 1862 had led to the Union occupation of a number of coastal areas.

Although the North never commanded a great amount of territory in eastern North Carolina, army strategists realized the value of maintaining control of critical positions that permitted access to local sounds and rivers. Local slaves, meanwhile, recognized that the Union occupations meant sanctuary. As had been the case in parts of Virginia and South Carolina, once slaves in or near the occupied areas heard that the Union army had established a foothold, they streamed into the Union camps with hopes of obtaining freedom. Within weeks of the official occupation, large numbers of slaves organized themselves into refugee camps at or near Union headquarters in the occupied areas. By January 1864, over 17,419 slaves had fled to federal lines in eastern North Carolina: 8,591 to New Bern, 2,426 to Beaufort, 2,741 to Washington, 860 to Plymouth, 2,712 to Roanoke Island, and 89 to the Hatteras area.[6]

James, a direct descendant of New England Puritans, assumed his job as superintendent of blacks with the confident enthusiasm of a man who had trained for life to tackle it. Looking back, it does seem that the bearded man of scholarly demeanor, whose wire-rimmed spectacles framed eyes of piercing intensity, had been predestined for the job. Born in Medford into a family of shipbuilders on May 6, 1818, James received his earliest spiritual training from his father Galen, an evangelical Congregationalist who had helped to found two churches in Medford, and later co-founded a religious newspaper, *The Congregationalist*. After common school, James spent two years at Phillips Academy in Andover, which reinforced his strong evangelical leanings. At Yale, he decided to study for the ministry, and following graduation, he attended and was graduated from Andover Theological Seminary. In 1843, he married Helen Leavitt and assumed the co-pastorship of the Original Congregational Church of Wrentham. Nine years of ministry there were followed by a pastorate at the Old South Congregational Church of Worcester.[7]

During these years James became an outspoken advocate of free public schools, temperance, and anti-slavery. He also maintained close ties with proponents of both anti-slavery and abolition, including his wife's cousin, the influential abolitionist Joshua Leavitt. At one point, he had, in fact, applied to serve as a chaplain for one

of the Massachusetts all-black Union regiments. Although he was not chosen for that duty, during the first week of October 1861, the men of the 25th Massachusetts, a white regiment, elected him to the position of chaplain. James was mustered into service on October 29, 1861, in Worcester. Initially he had hoped for gradual emancipation and had entered the war believing that the Northern goal should be the restoration of the Union. By the summer of 1862, he had changed his mind, asserting that the immediate elimination of slavery--abolition--should be the North's primary goal. In accomplishing this end, the North would be performing God's work, leading the South from its wicked ways and purifying the Union.[8]

James was in Plymouth, North Carolina, with the regiment at the time of his appointment as superintendent of blacks. Once he assumed his new position, he set about to put his philosophy, an amalgam of mid-nineteenth-century evangelical, abolitionist, and republican ideas, into practice. Like many outspoken Northern evangelicals, James had been shaped by the instruction he received at Yale from theologian Nathaniel William Taylor, Timothy Dwight Professor of Didactic Theology. In his required course on Moral Philosophy, Taylor argued that humans had free will, and thus could choose not to sin. "There can be no sin in choosing evil," Taylor asserted, "unless there be power to choose good." Taylor reasoned that human beings would choose sin if they thought it would bring more happiness than God; thus the evangelical who hoped to inspire people to change their ways needed to show that God would bring greater happiness. Taylor taught that God's grace could restore those who chose God over sin to a state of purity.[9]

The evangelicals' word for this renewal was "regeneration," a word that appears frequently in James's writings. The evangelicals emphasized that since sin derived from voluntary choice rather than human nature, anyone could achieve salvation by choosing to follow God instead of the way of sin. Individual sinners who were "born again" through a conversion experience were regenerated and sanctified. According to James, the aim of evangelism was to convert the individual and then, through him, to reform and perfect society. "The first object of the Gospel is to secure personal holiness," James declared. "It first regenerates the man; and then, through

him reforms society and perfects institutions." On various occasions James specifically noted that North Carolina and the South were "destined not only to be overrun, but to be regenerated." James typified the evangelical outlook in underscoring that Southerners had it within themselves to choose good instead of sin. Through the regeneration of individual Southerners, the South itself could be regenerated.[10]

Northern evangelicals believed the South needed to be regenerated because Southern planters, and with them the South, had fallen into a state of sin. More specifically, these evangelicals believed that holding slaves was the root cause of the Southern state of sin. Therefore, the Southerners' renunciation of slavery was a necessary step in the South's regeneration, which they thought would ultimately lead to the millennium. Northern evangelicals were not necessarily advocating equality; in fact, on more than one occasion Horace James emphasized that he "was not personally a believer in equality"--that the former slaves would assume a status somewhat below that of white Americans. He did, however, believe that freeing slaves was necessary in order for the Southern slaveowners to throw off the bonds of sin. The distinction here is tricky and troubling to our modern sensibilities, but it must be understood in order to understand the evangelical mindset. Northern evangelicals were interested in the welfare of the slaves, but they were moved to act because of the sin of slaveholding. James, for example, noted that while slavery did "unspeakable injury to the colored people," it imparted "still greater injury to their masters." As long as they chose to own slaves, slaveholders were sinners, and without repentance would be denied salvation.[11]

Why were Northern evangelicals bothered by what they saw in the South--so bothered that they thought it necessary to come South and work for Southern regeneration? Quite simply, they still believed in the Union of states, and although they did not always appreciate Southern ways, they considered it impossible for the two sections to divorce. Consequently, Southern sin was national sin. The *American Missionary*, a publication of the evangelical American Missionary Association, put it very succinctly: "As a nation we have sinned and provoked the God of heaven and earth. . . . Slavery

has been the COUNTRY'S SIN. It is true that the seat of slavery has been chiefly at the South, but the people of the North have consented to the deed; and therefore the sin is national." At another point, the *American Missionary* asserted that God "had a controversy" with the United States on account of the "great sin of the nation," slavery. "The South has held men in cruel bondage," noted the religious journal, "and the North, by its connivance, has sustained the accursed system." The aim, then, as James boldly declared, was "first and foremost, a UNION RESTORED, ESTABLISHED, AND PURIFIED."[12]

An understanding of the concept of shared guilt--the implications of slavery for Northern non-slaveholders--helps explain the evangelicals' great interest in eradicating slavery. An understanding of what they felt the sin of slavery was doing to the nation helps explain the urgency they brought to their abolitionist efforts. Finally, an understanding of the evangelical's beliefs about the relationship of slavery to the millennium helps to clarify their staunch support of the Union war efforts. Evangelicals believed that the one impediment to the nation's continued progress toward the millennium was slavery--the sin of slavery was keeping America from "fulfilling its millennial role."[13]

Like his fellow evangelicals, Horace James presumed progress as an ideal. Most of all, he valued spiritual progress, but he thought that economic and technological progress were evidence of spiritual progress--signs that God was smiling on America. "Behold civilization and Christianity advancing hand in hand with the ships of our commerce, the representatives of our nationality and the missionaries of our faith," James declared in a sermon. Once again, James was merely reflecting the beliefs of his fellow evangelical clergy. Although a few complained that secular advances detracted from spiritual growth, most thought the products of the industrial revolution were signs of the millennium. They pointed to improvements in printing that enabled a wider distribution of religious tracts, steamboats and railroads that opened the country and foreign lands to missionaries, and the affluence that helped maintain evangelical colleges as centers of influence. Economic and technological progress heightened the evangelicals' faith in the coming of the mil-

lennium. Christ's Second Coming would take place in a society marked by economic progress.[14]

In the South, however, slavery led to technological stagnation. Throughout his stay in the South, James found nothing that he could admire. "In proportion to one's advance southward," he wrote to *The Congregationalist*, "things appear to be slack-twisted and shiftless. Everything from a mouse-trap to a meeting-house has a screw loose in it, and needs mending. Is it the negro that is the cause of this, or what?" James believed that the South was "a poisoned region. . . .in need of disinfecting."[15]

In a speech to his regiment at New Bern, North Carolina, James tied abolition to "material greatness" and the development of technology, implying that slavery, which was "subversive of all business prosperity," prevented the material growth that God intended. "Why should our dear republic be exempted from the great law of growth?" James asked rhetorically. "Why fetter it in its uprising? Why stint and limit an organization so superior, so freighted with sublime possibilities, so well fitted, as experience shows, to shed a blessed light upon the nations that sit in darkness, and be an element of hope to the world?"[16]

Hope existed in the regenerative power of the Gospel. James predicted that once the "shameful political apostasy" of slavery was "annihilated," industries throughout the country would be stimulated. Once "slavery, our bane and the pest of our civilization," was "utterly abolished in the providence of God," the way would be clear for the coming of the millennium. The nation would move forward with "every wheel, spindle, and pinion again revolving" in a productive fashion. James looked forward to a time when the Southern states would "begin to stimulate free labor, establish free schools, call out the energies of all classes by elevating, rather than depressing them, and level up society to a standard of general intelligence and thrift."[17]

In his work as superintendent of blacks, James had the opportunity to put his philosophy into practice, especially at the Roanoke Island camp, which he planned as a model for future colonies of free blacks throughout the South. On Roanoke Island, James encouraged the incorporation of technology. In particular, he was interested in promoting light industry and domestic manufacturing, based on the local resources, in hopes that they would enable the former slaves to be self-supporting. James drew upon the skills that the people brought with them to Roanoke Island; he encouraged basket making, shoemaking, barrel making, shingle splitting and shaving, and boat building. He organized shad fisheries and hired an assistant to oversee them. James thought that "the Roanoke fisheries alone would yield fortunes every year if pursued in a business-like manner." James also believed that the island would be "the seat of a profitable commerce, in cotton, corn, turpentine, resin, tar, timber, fish, oysters, wood, reeds, cranberries, and grapes." He looked forward to the "scientific cultivation" of the scuppernong grape, which "might be made to produce, on Roanoke alone, an income of $100,000 annually."[18]

On a trip to the North, James solicited over $8,000 from Northern supporters to purchase a combination sawmill/gristmill, which he saw as the centerpiece of the Roanoke Island colony. Horace James believed that a sawmill was the way for "enterprise, thrift, and productiveness" to "enter the gates which have been opened by the demon of war." Once in place, the mill was an impressive assemblage of machinery, consisting of a 70-horsepower engine that powered several circular saws, a turning lathe, and a grist mill. James thought that the mill was "the best piece of machinery in eastern North Carolina," and called it a "peaceful engineery of labor."[19]

James believed that the sawmill would show that free labor and technology were vastly superior to a system based on slavery. In addition to supplying the needs of the Roanoke freedmen's colony, the mill would make it profitable to harvest timber from the island's woods and sell the finished product to the government. There were precedents for such purchases, especially when the Union army could not meet the demands for building barracks. James estimated that most of the lumber produced at the mill was worth $25 per thousand feet, and some was worth $40 per thousand feet. He predicted that he would be able to "earn money enough, by lumber, shingles, wood and other articles of merchandise, to meet the expenses of the negro Department" in his district.[20]

James gloated about the success of the sawmill enterprise in a

letter to *The Congregationalist*. One passage in particular stands out as an analog to his discussions of the regenerative power of the Gospel.

> It is a solid satisfaction to me to see this mill, sawing up lumber so beautifully, and grinding corn so rapidly. I sat and enjoyed it for some Hours! . . .
>
> Everybody is congratulating me that the mill is such a grand success and the croakers who have been belying this enterprise had better not show their heads hereabouts! I am already beginning to build schoolhouses and store-houses, and churches and private dwellings, and mean to make this island shine in a few weeks.

Both evangelism and the mill aimed to improve or "perfect" society. On a macro level, James hoped that the evangelical work would reform Southern society, abolish slavery, and enable the United States to resume its progress toward the millennium. On a micro level, the mill would serve much the same purpose in the freedmen's colony.[21]

In a published letter to his Northern friends, James dramatically urged the creation of a "NEW SOCIAL ORDER IN THE SOUTH," noting that the North should "fight with our right hand, and civilize with our left, till the courage, the enterprise, and the ideas of the North have swept away the barbarism and treason of the South." Most Northern evangelicals truly believed that the South was a primitive, almost barbaric place in need of the civilizing reform of Northern anti-slavery principles. In a modern, industrial society, all citizens, black and white, would have the opportunity to work for wages and obtain economic independence. Abolition and the consequent technological improvements would lead to a system of free labor.[22]

In a letter written after the war, James further articulated the relationship between free labor and citizenship. He noted that "Christians and philanthropists" wished to instruct the former slaves in work habits that would lift them "from subserviency and helplessness into a dignified independence and citizenship." The goal was "to prepare them to enjoy the rights and perform the duties of free men under the law in our great republic." James absolutely be-

lieved that Northerners had a responsibility to come to the South and contribute their talents to this social reform. "We may be sure that this is a work which *the South will not do*," James asserted.[23]

Horace James was influenced by ideas being articulated by the radical Republicans: free labor, free soil, democracy, and industry. Although he did not identify himself as a radical Republican, he often made reference to the need for "republican" institutions or "republican" social values: economic growth, democracy, and social mobility. James believed that all wage earners who worked hard enough would be able to become property owners.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that Horace James approached these "republican" ideas from the context of his evangelical world view. When he urged the establishment of a new social order in the South, he had in mind an economy of small farmers and manufacturers--an economy in which the laborers owned the product of their labor and where hard work would bring material and spiritual success. In other words, technological and material progress--clear evidence of spiritual progress--would supplant the material and spiritual stagnation that accompanied slavery. While the strong abolitionist views that he adopted in 1862 appeared radical even to some Northerners, the reasons for them were not particularly radical. In the context of Northern evangelicalism, abolition was a corrective that would remove the sin of slavery. In addition, it would indirectly bring about technological improvements and enable the nation to resume its progress toward the millennium.

ENDNOTES

1. J. Christopher Soper, *Evangelical Christianity in the United States and Great Britain: Religious Beliefs, Political Choices* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), pp. 46-7; Clara DeBoer, *Be Jubilant My Feet* (New York: Garland, 1994), p. 14; Victor B. Howard, *Religion and the Radical Republican Movement, 1860-1870* (Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), pp. 1-21; Curtis D. Johnson, *Redeeming America: Evangelicals and the Road to Civil War* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993), p. 5; Nancy D. Wadsworth, "Reconciliation Politics: Conservative Evangelicals and the New Race Discourse," *Politics and Society* 25 (September 1997): 344-5. See also Mary Kupiec Cayton, "Who Were the Evangelicals?: Conservative and Liberal Identity in the Unitarian Controversy in Boston, 1804-1833," *Journal of Social History* 31 (Fall 1997): 85-107. Curtis Johnson notes that evangelicalism was shaped by four ideas: the authority of the Bible, the necessity that the Christian live "a just and holy life," the importance of the redemption of America, and the Second Coming of Christ. See Johnson, *Redeeming America*, p. 6.

2. Johnson, *Redeeming America*, p. 162; James H. Moorhead, "Between Progress and Apocalypse: A Reassessment of Millennialism in American Religious Thought, 1800-1880," *Journal of American History* (December 1984): 533.

3. Robert A. Wauzzinski, *Between God and Gold: Protestant Evangelicalism and the Industrial Revolution, 1820-1914* (Rutherford, NJ and others: Associated University Presses, 1993), pp. 126-50.

4. Wauzzinski, *Between God and Gold*, p. 141. Although he was an advocate of individual rights, Wayland did not believe that Southerners had the right to hold slaves. At one point he indicated that he thought that God's "hatred of sin, of oppression, of treachery" would eradicate Southerners' individual rights with respect to holding slaves.

5. Maj. Gen. Foster, Special Orders No. 138, 14 May 1863, Department of North Carolina, Special Orders Issued, vol. 35, no. 6, Record Group 393, Pt. I, series 3242, National Archives.

6. Horace James to Maj. Gen'l. M. C. Meigs, 26 December 1864, Record Group 92, series 1105, National Archives; Horace James, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864* (Boston: W. F. Brown & Co., 1865), pp. 3-4.

7. Stephen Edward Reilly, "Reconstruction Through Regeneration: Horace James' Work with Blacks for Social Reform in North Carolina, 1862-1867" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Duke University, 1983), pp. 3-19.

8. Reilly, "Reconstruction Through Regeneration," pp. 19-21; Compiled Service Records, 25th Massachusetts Infantry, Horace James, Box 13141, Record Group 92, National Archives [Freedom and Southern Society Project, University of Maryland, #N-64]. At the battle of Roanoke Island, James took over the operation of a gun when the men operating it became disabled. See Augustus Woodbury, *Major General Ambrose E. Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps* (Providence: Sidney S. Rider & Brother, 1867), p. 504.

9. Reilly, "Reconstruction Through Regeneration," pp. 8-9, 37; Nathaniel W. Taylor, "Man, a Free Agent without the Aids of Divine Grace," quoted in George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 49; William G. McLoughlin, *The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900: An Anthology* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1976), p. 2; Hugh Davis, *Joshua Leavitt: Evangelical Abolitionist* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), p. 27.

10. Lawrence Thomas Lesick, *The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America* (Metuchen, NJ and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980), pp. 7, 85, 88, 232; Horace James, *Address of the Rev. Horace James of Worcester, Mass., at the*

Anniversary of the American Home Mission Society, New York, May 7, 1856 (n.p., n.d.), p. 2.

11. James, *Annual Report*, p. 46. Horace James, *The Two Great Wars of America. An Oration Delivered in Newbern, North Carolina, Before the Twenty-Fifth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, July 4, 1862. By Rev. Horace James Chaplain* (Boston: W. F. Brown & Co., 1862), pp. 23-29.

12. *American Missionary* 8 (August 1864): 194; *American Missionary* 8 (April 1864): 90; James, *The Two Great Wars of America*, p. 23.

13. Johnson, *Redeeming America*, p. 162.

14. Horace James, *The Christian Patriot. A Sermon. Worcester [MA], 26 September 1861* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 5-7; Robert A. Wauzzinski, *Between God and Gold*, p. 33; Moorhead, "Between Progress and Apocalypse," p. 533.

15. *The Congregationalist* (3 January 1862): 2.

16. James, *The Two Great Wars of America*, pp. 24-25.

17. James, *The Two Great Wars of America*, pp. 23-29.

18. James, *Annual Report*, p. 27, 33; Horace James to Major Genl B. F. Butler, 9 February 1864 and Horace James to Lt. Col. J. B. Kinsman, 11 February 1864, Records of the Department of Negro Affairs for Virginia and North Carolina, Record Group 105, series 4108, National Archives; Horace James to [Benjamin Butler], 22 April 1864, Letters Received, Department of Virginia and North Carolina, vol. 4, no. 37, Record Group 393, Pt. I, series 5062; "Letter from Chaplain James," 27 June 1863, *The Congregationalist* 15 (3 July 1863): 106; "Colony at Roanoke Island, North Carolina," *The National Freedman's Relief Association Paper for July, August and September [1863]*, American Missionary Association Archives,

New York (microfilm); *The Congregationalist* 16 (1 April 1864): 55; *The Freedmen's Advocate* 1 (March 1864): 10.

19. James, *Annual Report*, pp. 23, 28.

20. "Letter from New Berne," 6 October 1864, *The Congregationalist* 16 (21 October 1864): 170; Horace James to Lt. Col. J. B. Kinsman, 28 June 1864 and 7 July 1864, Records of the Department of Negro Affairs for Virginia and North Carolina, Record Group 105, series 4108, National Archives.

21. "Letter from New Berne," *The Congregationalist* 16 (21 October 1864): 170.

22. Horace James to the Public, 27 June 1863, Letters Received, Department of North Carolina, Record Group 393, Pt. I, series 3238, National Archives.

23. Horace James to the Secretary of the American Missionary Association, 20 October 1865, American Missionary Association Archives, North Carolina (microfilm).