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“In Defense of My Country”
Slavery, Secession, Civil War and the Students Who Served the Confederacy from
the University of North Carolina

A Senior Thesis Submitted to
The Faculty of the Department of History
In Candidacy for the Degree of
Bachelor of Arts in History

Submitted By
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April 15th, 2016

At the University of North Carolina, Silent Sam stands at the heart of memorializing the sacrifices of the students and alumni who fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War. Much of the current attention surrounding this monument, generated by the recent controversy regarding public Confederate monuments, ignores the roots of its very foundation; the men who attended the University and who served in the Confederate States Army. To examine the roots of the monument we must understand who the over twelve hundred students who served in the Confederate Army were and how they responded to the changing social, economic, and political conditions that led up to and resulted in the Civil War. The men who attended the University of North Carolina and fought for the Confederacy, were part of the southern elite and burgeoning southern middle class. The manner in which they responded to the issues of slavery, secession and Civil War were reflective of the value systems, social structures and political thought they were raised and educated to uphold. Yet not all of these students and alumni conformed to the collective fervor for secession, and many of these students rejected the continued use of slavery as the basis for the Southern economy. Nuance is required to understand why students and alumni chose to join the Confederacy. By contextualizing the biographical information available on these students and their experiences in antebellum southern society and the Civil War, we can better understand their identity and supposed representation by Silent Sam today.¹

Identifying the students and alumni from the University of North Carolina who fought in the Confederate Army was critical in creating a complete narrative around their experiences. The *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924* by Daniel Grant provided critical biographic information on all of the students, ranging from their place and date of birth and residence, the years they were enrolled and received their degrees, their professions outside of

¹ Silent Sam was constructed in 1913 at the height of Jim Crow. The monument was funded by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

the University and their ranks and units within the Confederate States Army.² Deaths in wartime are also accounted for in the book. The book was important for compiling quantitative data and looking at basic trends amongst the men who were enrolled in the Confederate Army. While technically a primary source, this book contains an enormous amount of information that has yet to be thoroughly examined in its entirety.

There has been an increased amount of scholarship dealing with the experiences of individual young southerners within American universities. *Intellectual Manhood: University Self and Society in the Antebellum South* by Timothy J. Williams examined how the University of North Carolina educated young southerners and developed them intellectually. Williams argued that the university cultivated a more complex intellectualism in students that encouraged them to uphold republican values and embrace higher education that promoted critical examination of the social and economic forces that controlled the South.³ At the heart of his argument was the belief that students were encouraged to embrace national unity over sectional or regional loyalty through their education. Williams cited many of the writings and speeches delivered by students before the Civil War. However, Williams did not focus on the experience of students within the context of their joining with the Confederacy. While he presented the nuances that existed within the student body over the issues of slavery and secession, he did not delve deeply into the years directly before the war, when students were more receptive to the rhetoric of secessionists.

Lorri Glover's *Southern Sons, Becoming Men in the New Nation* also examined the role of southern universities in educating and preparing the Southern elite to meet the demands of

² Daniel Lindsey Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*, Second Edition, (University of North Carolina, Central Alumni Office 1924), xv-xvi.

³ Timothy J. Williams, *Intellectual Manhood University, Self, and Society in the Antebellum South*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 12-15.

southern society. By contrast to Williams, however, Glover argued that southern Universities actually played a significant role in reinforcing sectional and regional loyalty, reinforcing the desire of the planter elite to maintain economic and social autonomy.⁴ Glover recognized the establishment of southern universities as an attempt to protect younger generations of southerners from subversive northern ideas of abolitionism and industrialization. According to Glover, southern universities were established with the primary purpose of grooming and educating southern sons to uphold the values of the planter elite and accept the social hierarchy that existed in the South.⁵ Glover looked more broadly at southern universities as a whole, and while her arguments certainly hold true with some of the students and alumni who attended the University of North Carolina, she did not thoroughly examine clash of political and economic thought which southern universities actually fostered during the antebellum period.

Additionally, knowledge of the background of the North Carolinian planter elite's origins provided an understanding of the basis for their value systems, and the Southern social hierarchy which students at the University of North Carolina were a part of and expected to uphold. *North Carolina Planters and Their Children 1800-60* by Jane Turner Censer examined the ways in which the lives of the Antebellum planter elite and their children within North Carolina contributed to their core beliefs and values. In particular, Censer looked closely at familial relationships and the economics of running a plantation economy in North Carolina. Furthermore, she provided a social context for understanding how and why the sons of the Southern elite responded to the social and political developments that occurred in North Carolina during the antebellum period. Censer argued that there was a more diverse social culture with the

⁴ Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons, Becoming Men in the New Nation*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 26-27.

⁵ Glover, *Southern Sons*, 39-41.

North Carolina planter elite that allowed them to advocated for greater social and economic change.⁶ She did not directly investigate the experiences of students before the Civil War at the University of North Carolina.

For more basic information on the chronology and functions of the University of North Carolina, William D. Snider's *Light On the Hill A History of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill* served as an excellent overview of the University's founding and its Antebellum history. The book centered around the role of administrators like David Lowry Swain, who served as president of the University from 1835 to 1868, and their role in forming the University into a strong bastion of public education.⁷ The book also documents the Hedrick Affair of 1856 which illustrated the heated nature of the debate over the western expansion of slavery at the university and the rising tide of sectional friction. Snider claimed that President Swain tried to spare the "seed corn" of young students from the coming war in the months leading up to the opening battles of the Civil War.⁸ Snider's analysis lacked depth and while he was correct that Swain was opposed to the Civil War as a member of the Whig party, Swain openly expressed encouragement and praise towards students who chose to leave the university to enlist. Although Snider's analysis of the university's development was objective, it was not thorough and he did not delve into the individual experiences of students.

While scholars have certainly looked at the experiences of students at Southern Universities and examined how they were educated and raised to become Southern leaders, understanding the personal motives of individual students requires further examination. Glover's and Williams' examinations of students do not thoroughly address why students at the University

⁶ Jane T. Censer, *North Carolina Planters and Their Children: 1800-1860*, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1984) xii-xvi.

⁷ William D. Snider, *Light on the Hill: A History of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 54-67.

⁸ Snider, *Light on the Hill*, 67.

of North Carolina, who by no means universally supported slavery or secession, chose to fight in the Confederate States Army. Highlighting the experiences of students directly before the Civil War is not a direction that many scholars have investigated. These experiences, and manner with which students and alumni responded to them, are crucial to understanding the decisions individual students and alumni made in months and weeks before and after the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Over 1200 students and alumni from the University of North Carolina fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War.⁹ Between 1861 and 1865, 321 (around twenty five percent) were killed or died as a result of serving in the Confederate States Army.¹⁰ The students and alumni who served came from all across the southern United States, and were representative of the political and social heart of the South at the outbreak of war in 1861. They were students, lawyers, politicians and ministers. They represented a highly educated political and social class intended to lead the United States and the South. Their social, political and economic values were formed, reinforced and upheld by rigorous higher education that was designed to cultivate southern political and religious leaders. Their education at the University of North Carolina was central to their formation as adult leaders and central to driving students to confront the major political and economic issues facing the United States, the South, and North Carolina in particular.

The University of North Carolina was founded in 1795 with the purpose of educating the southern elite. Its establishment reflected a dynamic shift in higher education that occurred in the southern United States. The establishment of state schools served to protect the social and

⁹ Daniel Lindsey Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*, Second Edition, (University of North Carolina, Central Alumni Office 1924), 1-708.

¹⁰ Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*, 1-708.

economic values of the South, as anxieties grew during the antebellum period regarding the challenges Northern education posed to slavery and to the southern social and economic hierarchy. Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1821, “If... we send 300,000 [dollars] a year to the Northern seminaries for the instruction of our sons, then we must have there 500 of our sons imbibing opinions and principles in discord with those of their own country. This canker is eating at the vitals of our existence, and if not arrested will be beyond remedy...”¹¹ Thomas Jefferson’s concerns reflected the justification that southerners had for the creation of southern state universities. Jefferson believed that universities in the South would cultivate and preserve southern values and safeguard the slave basis of the southern economy from subversive abolitionism.

As such, the University of North Carolina was an exclusively southern school. Between 1795 and 1861, no students from states north of Kentucky, Virginia or Maryland attended the university.¹² The vast majority of students during the Antebellum were North Carolinians from the piedmont and eastern North Carolina. Out of state, most students came from Alabama, middle and western Tennessee, and southern Virginia.¹³ These were large agricultural centers before the Civil War, and those students who came to the university were tied to a prominent southern planter background. Wealth defined access to southern higher education; at the time, the University of North Carolina charged more than any northern university aside from Harvard.¹⁴ Despite the cost of educating a young man, the rising southern upper middle class in and outside of North Carolina sent its sons to be educated at the University. Like many of the

¹¹ Thomas Jefferson to General James Breckinridge, Monticello, February 15, 1821, American History from Revolution to Reconstruction and Beyond, University of Groningen, <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl266.php> (accessed April 14, 2016).

¹² One Iowan is recorded to have attended during the Antebellum period. Williams, *Intellectual Manhood*, 4.

¹³ Williams, *Intellectual Manhood*, 4.

¹⁴ Glover, *Southern Sons*, 56-57.

universities in the South, it was an institution intended to challenge and compete with elite northern institutions, while protecting the social and political integrity of the South.

The successive younger generations of men who came to the University of North Carolina were intended to uphold a particular social code, while also becoming the new leaders of the United States. University education was essential to grooming the antebellum generations of southerners into leaders capable of performing their civic and social duties. “What is the object of education,” mused student Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson in his journal in 1841. He quoted Milton, “I call therefore a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the the offices both private and public, of peace and war.”¹⁵ He posed the question to President David Swain who replied, “The object of an education is to write and to speak.”¹⁶ His professor Dr. Mitchell also responded, saying, “To fit a man for after life.”¹⁷ Reflective of his experiences and values, Tomlinson answered that education was intended, “To enable a man to discharge the duties of life to the best advantage to himself and his fellow beings.”¹⁸

Evidently, Tomlinson and his fellow students grasped and embraced the tremendous importance that was placed upon their education. The purpose of their education was clear: it was meant to prepare them to become leaders within Antebellum America. Like universities throughout the United States during the Antebellum, the University of North Carolina emphasized a classical curriculum where oral and writing skills were key to a student’s

¹⁵Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson, “Ruffin W Tomlinson’s Journal,” ed. John L. Sanders “The Journal of Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson, The University of North Carolina 1841-1842,” *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (January 1853), 108, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23516675> (accessed April 14, 2016).

¹⁶Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson, “Ruffin W Tomlinson’s Journal,” ed. John L. Sanders “The Journal of Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson, The University of North Carolina 1841-1842,” *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

¹⁷ Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson, “Ruffin W Tomlinson’s Journal,” ed. John L. Sanders “The Journal of Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson, The University of North Carolina 1841-1842,” *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

¹⁸ Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson, “Ruffin W Tomlinson’s Journal,” ed. John L. Sanders “The Journal of Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson, The University of North Carolina 1841-1842,” *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

success.¹⁹ Formal speech education and rhetoric formed an important part of cultivating intellectual manhood and preparing young Southerners to inherit their political and social responsibilities.

Involvement in literary societies such as the Dialectic and Philanthropic societies was considered to constitute a large part of a Southern student's rite of passage to manhood. Within these debating societies, students were challenged to develop and use their oratorical abilities outside of a formal class setting. "You are now entering upon those duties, that will lay the deep and broad foundation for a man, if properly attended to. It is here you will form those qualities that will render you useful" said William Bonner Jr. in an inaugural address to new members of the Dialectic society in 1858.²⁰ Within the debating societies at the University of North Carolina, students discussed and debated a wide range of topics pertaining to social morality in Southern society (for men and women), state improvement and modernization (which included debates on constitutional reform), Indian removal, and slavery.²¹

Slavery was not a taboo subject for students and faculty who sought to address the relevance of slavery in the social, political, and economic context that existed North Carolina. Students debated slavery in the United States and North Carolina as an economic and political issue, rather than a moral one based on ideas of race.²² The economic necessity of expanding slavery into the western territories was not lost on students. Shortly after his graduation in 1848, Victor Clay Barringer wrote in his notebook,

From 38 to 40 in the square mile is about as large a population as slave labor can support. This estimate holds true in Delaware and in those parts of Virginia and Maryland which

¹⁹ Glover, *Southern Sons*, 39-41.

²⁰ William Bonner Jr., Inaugural Address, April 23, 1858, Folder 365, Dialectic Society Records, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill.

²¹ Williams, *Intellectual Manhood*, 174.

²² Williams, *Intellectual Manhood*, 192-93.

have approached to this reckoning. At an average of 110 to the square mile slavery is wholly unproductive and must go down voluntarily.²³

In addition to recognizing the extreme difficulties of sustaining slavery in the Southern states, Barringer understood the economic motivations of pushing slavery west. To Barringer, westward expansion of the United States created an incentive to continue using slave labor. In his notebook he broke down the economics of slavery mathematically, "... the entire area of slave territory is about 630,000 square miles... in 43 years slave labor will begin to be inadequate to its support, in 82 years it must be abandoned... any additions of slave territory to our Union tends directly to perpetuate the existence of slavery."²⁴ Barringer's understanding of the economic unsustainability of slavery reflected itself within larger debates occurring within the University of North Carolina and possibly the slave owning background of his family.

The undercurrents of anti-slavery sentiment at the University of North Carolina reflected a simple economic truth: North Carolina's economic development during the Antebellum period lagged behind that of most of the rest of the United States. The continued use and expansion of slavery did not seem to favor economic progress in North Carolina. The morality of slavery was also challenged during the antebellum period because of how intellectuals believed it perverted the morality of those who controlled the southern economy.²⁵

The University of North Carolina did not reject the push for reform against slavery. Students demonstrated a willingness to confront the issue and southern critics of slavery were welcome at the university. In his 1832 commencement address before the Dialectic and Philanthropic societies, Justice William Gaston openly criticized slavery before graduating

²³ Victor Clay Barringer, Victor Clay Barringer Notebook, 1850s, #1916-z, folder 1, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, (Southern Historical Collection hereafter cited as SHC).

²⁴ Victor Clay Barringer, Victor Clay Barringer Notebook 1850s, #1916-z, folder 1, SHC.

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students. He explained that it was the duty of students to debate and confront slavery openly and that the South had waited far too long to reform an economic system that was stifling Southern moral and economic development., "...it is Slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry and represses enterprize-it is fatal to economy and providence-it discourages skill-impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain head..."²⁶

Gaston did not approach his critique from the position of an abolitionist advocating for emancipation but from the position of a rational civic leader. He recognized that slavery lay at the heart of the growing sectional divide in the United States. He stated in his address, "There is no side on which danger may not make its approach, but from the wickedness and madness of factions, it is most menacing... Americans band together under the names of men, and wear the livery, and put on the badges of their leaders." Gaston's speech which was delivered in the midst of the aftermath of the Nat Turner slave revolt, served as a warning to young southerners of the dangers of regional rhetoric. He appealed to students to not give into sectional divide that came to define personal allegiance to the Union.²⁷

Though the clamour for reform at the university was never universal, it reflected the ways in which students were intended to address the major social, economic and political questions faced by North Carolina and the southern states as a whole. The sentiments and expressions of anti-slavery attitudes followed the course of events leading up to the Civil War. As a more regional identity took hold in North Carolina, and the South as a whole, the attitudes of students

²⁶ William Gaston, Address Delivered Before the Philanthropic and Dialectic Societies at Chapel Hill, June 20, 1832 William Gaston Papers 1744-1950, #00272, Folder 51-55, SHC, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill.

²⁷ William Gaston, William Gaston Papers 1744-1950, #00272, Folder 51-55, SHC.

towards slavery slowly changed. It is worth noting that Justice Gaston's commencement address was the very last graduation address to critique slavery at the university before the war.²⁸

The question of the constitutionality of secession, however, became a central topic of debate within the literary societies. As far back as 1828, students debated the right of states to secede from the Union, and the right of the federal government to prevent such action and preserve the unity of the United States.²⁹ In 1851, as sectional divisions began to take hold across the United States, both literary societies sided against pro-secessionist arguments.³⁰

Slavery was at the heart of the sectional crisis that gripped the United States. Southerners were not necessarily pushed by the rhetoric of secessionists to act against their own judgements and side with the Confederacy. The decision to identify with a southern "cause" was a calculated move that many students and alumni felt obliged to make.³¹ For alumni in prominent political and economic positions, their attitudes towards slavery and secession was often dictated by political allegiance their ties to the southern economy. "That in this long and murderous warfare upon her rights the South may have committed some errors in matters of her policy, is not improbable... but the tenacity with which she has clung to the one idea of excluding the slavery question from Congress is worth of all commendation..." former student and congressman Lawrence O'Brien Branch wrote to his constituents in 1860.³² For politicians and statesmen like

²⁸ Alfred L Brophy, "The Republic of Liberty and Letters: Progress, Union and Constitutionalism in Graduation Address at the Antebellum University of North Carolina", *North Carolina Law Review*, vol. 89. (September 2011), 1883, <http://www.nclawreview.org/documents/89/6/brophy.pdf> (accessed April 14, 2016).

²⁹ Williams, *Intellectual Manhood*, 196.

³⁰ Williams, *Intellectual Manhood*, 197.

³¹ Glover, *Southern Sons*, 183-84

³² Lawrence O'Brien Branch to his constituents, Congressional intervention in regard to slavery in the territories: May 15th, 1860, Making of America Books, University of Michigan, 4, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moa/abj4274.0001.001/4?page=root;rgn=full+text;size=100;view=image> (accessed April 14, 2016)

O'Brien the defense of slavery was truly a matter of upholding an economic system that was beginning to define regional identity.³³

The idea of secession from the union as a sign of loyalty to a regional identity began to take root at the University of North Carolina as well. Though anti-slavery positions, or at least a compromise between debating sides, had usually won out in literary society debates in the past, students were never universally set against slavery.³⁴ The anti-slavery rhetoric at the university progressively dissipated after the Nat Turner rebellion in 1831 and the rise of Northern abolitionism.³⁵ As the expansion of slavery into the western United States became a constitutional question during the 1850s, and secession became a serious possibility in the South, the nature of and the dialogue itself surrounding these issues changed. Anti-slavery sentiments were viewed increasingly as a challenge to an exclusively southern regional identity that students and alumni began to accept, or felt compelled to side with.

In 1856, prior to the election of James Buchanan, a political controversy broke out at the university that demonstrated the degree to which anti-slavery sentiment was considered subversive to the burgeoning pro-slavery, pro-secessionist identity. Benjamin S. Hedrick, a chemistry professor and recent graduate in 1851, told a student that he would be voting for John C. Frémont of the Republican Party in the presidential election. Frémont had been a member of the Free Soil Party, a political movement that rejected the expansion of slavery into the western territories of the United States. Hedrick's comment reached the desk of William Woods Holden, editor of the *North Carolina Standard*, who published an article on September 13, 1856, targeting not just Hedrick but the existence of subversive anti-slavery sentiment within centers of

³³ Branch served as brigadier general of the 33rd N.C. regiment and was killed at Sharpsburg in 1862. Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*, 68.

³⁴ Williams, *Intellectual Manhood*, 194.

³⁵ Williams, *Intellectual Manhood*, 194.

high education. He wrote, “If there be Fremont men among us, let them be silenced or required to leave. The expression of black Republican opinions in our midst is incompatible with our honor and safety as a people...”³⁶ Holden called for increased scrutiny of centers of education to root out “black republicanism” and called for the removal of educators who supported Fremont, “Let our schools and seminaries of learning be scrutinized; and if black Republicans be found in them, let them be driven out. That man is neither a fit nor a safe instructor of our young men, who even inclines to Fremont and black Republicanism.”³⁷

As a result, Hedrick became the center of a political controversy and in his defense in the *Standard*, he articulated his anti-slavery views, citing the American founders as men who opposed the expansion of slavery. “Fremont is on the right side of the great question which now disturbs the public peace. Opposition to slavery extension is neither a Northern or a sectionalism. It originated with the great Southern statesmen of the Revolution...”³⁸ Hedrick also cited the selflessness of what he believed the founders’ convictions on slavery to have been, claiming, “Many of these great men were slaveholders; but they did not let self interest blind them to the evils of the system.”³⁹

Hedrick’s comments, however, provoked backlash from students and trustees alike. Hedrick was burned in effigy and on the campus, the old bell was funereally tolled.⁴⁰ After meeting with a faculty committee appointed by President Swain to investigate the incident, trustee Charles Manly wrote to Swain claiming that the trustees and faculty wanted Hedrick to

³⁶ William Holden, "Fremont in the South," *North Carolina Standard*, September 13, 1856, Civil War Era NC, North Carolina State University, <http://cwnc.omeka.chass.ncsu.edu/items/show/24> (accessed April 14, 2016).

³⁷ William Holden, "Fremont in the South," *North Carolina Standard*, September 13, 1856, Civil War Era NC.

³⁸ Benjamin Hedrick, "Professor Hedrick's Defence," *North Carolina Standard*, October 4, 1856, Civil War Era NC, North Carolina State University, <http://cwnc.omeka.chass.ncsu.edu/exhibits/show/benjamin-hedrick/item/39> (accessed April 14, 2015).

³⁹ Benjamin Hedrick, "Professor Hedrick's Defence," *North Carolina Standard*, October 4, 1856, Civil War Era NC.

⁴⁰ Snider, *Light on the Hill*, 65.

resign out of concern for the potential scandal of his presence at a university responsible for educating young southerners. “The political essay of Prof. Hedrick which appeared in the Standard yesterday has given great pain to the Trustees & Friends of the University.... If he has any sensibility or proper self respect an intimation that it is the wish of the Trustees that he shall resign will be sufficient...”⁴¹ Manly leveled the accusation that Hedrick attempted to paint himself as a martyr for “Black Republicans” by not resigning.⁴² He wrote to Swain “if [Hedrick] wishes to be dismissed; that he may fly to Yankeedom as the great Proscribed; & find refuge in the bosom of Black Republicans with the blood of martyrdom streaming from his skirts, then he will not resign but will wait to be kicked out.”⁴³ When Hedrick refused to resign, his chair was declared vacant by the trustees, and he was forced to leave.

The incident was illuminating in the way that it revealed how reactionary politics on and around the campus of the university had become. There was very little room left for open debate within institutions like it on these issues, and the rhetoric and passion for secession steadily increased as the 1860 election approached. Slavery and secession were addressed as constitutional questions, and students who supported the expansion of slavery painted abolitionism as a northern attempt to subvert the constitution and impose its economic and political will over the South.⁴⁴

The passion with which students addressed the increasing rift between North and South was prevalent throughout the addresses that students delivered in the years directly preceding the Civil War. In his senior speech of 1858 entitled *The American Union a Failure*, future

⁴¹ Charles Manly to David L. Swain, October 4, 1856, Documenting the American South, University Library, University of North Carolina, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/unc08-14/unc08-14.html> (accessed April 14, 2016).

⁴² Charles Manly to David L. Swain, October 4, 1856, Documenting the American South.

⁴³ Charles Manly to David L. Swain, October 4, 1856, Documenting the American South.

⁴⁴ Elijah Benton Withers Senior Speech, “The American Union a Failure,” November 7, 1858, Documenting the American South, University Library, University of North Carolina, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/unc08-06/unc08-06.html> (accessed April 14, 2016).

Confederate Colonel Elijah Benton Withers declared, “A numerical majority of the Northern people, in their pretended zeal for the civil freedom of the slaves, are daily trampling upon our undoubted rights and destroying with impunity our property.”⁴⁵ Withers declared that northerners were acting in violation of the Constitution and undermining national unity by advocating for the abolition of slavery. He believed that the North was targeting the planter elite and wrote, “... their animosity to the master is often proportioned to their false sympathy for the slave, and thus they are daily widening the breach between us and weakening the strength of the Union by encouraging our slaves to resist our authority, and by taunting us with the midnight incendiaries of the inhuman slave maddened into frenzy.”⁴⁶ Withers’ indignation was shared in other student circles.

The slow development of North Carolina as a state and the lack of economic and infrastructural improvement within the state were also cited as failures of the federal government. In an address delivered to the Dialectic Society in 1857, student James Graham McNab accused the North and the federal government in particular of oppressing the South economically while supporting enemies of southern society and the southern economy, stating, “We (the South) are groaning under the most odious oppression, and smarting from long continued, and repeated aggressions. Taxed for what we do not enjoy, our funds go in Millions to strengthen the already too strong arm of our most deadly enemy.”⁴⁷ McNab rejected any idea in

⁴⁵ Elijah Benton Withers Senior Speech, “The American Union a Failure,” November 7, 1858, Documenting the American South.

⁴⁶ Elijah Benton Withers Senior Speech, “The American Union a Failure,” November 7, 1858, Documenting the American South.

⁴⁷ James Graham McNab Address to the Dialectic Society, “Our Union, Will it be preserved?” March, 1857, Documenting the American South, University Library, University of North Carolina, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/unc08-02/unc08-02.html> (accessed April 14, 2016).

his speech that the South was promoting a regional identity, claiming, “When we remonstrate we are sneered at, and insulted as dis-Unionists, aiming at the destruction of government.”⁴⁸

In addition, McNab identified northern abolitionism as the primary destructive force threatening unity and the republican vision of the founders in the United States. “The mad torrent of fanaticism, and intolerance bearing on its bosom thousands of the Hell hounds of abolitionism engaged in their unholy crusade against their countrymen ... may well cause every true patriot to shudder for our future ...”⁴⁹ McNab didn’t identify what a “true patriot” was, but patriotism was not meant to be defined by standing with a government that would not promote a Southern “cause”.⁵⁰

As a pro-slavery sectional identity took hold at the university, by no means did students and faculty outrightly accept secession as the inevitable response to the issues dividing the United States. While students stood up in defense of an institution that they were inextricably tied to, there was not a prevalence of fire eating rhetoric motivating students to opt for secession from faculty or commencement speakers. The commencement addresses delivered to graduates during the late 1850s reflected an attempt by President Swain and other prominent civic and educational leaders, as well as students, to instill loyalty to the Union.

In June 1859, President James Buchanan delivered the commencement address to the graduates of the university, invoking loyalty to the principles of the Constitution and union between the states, stating, “I would advise these young men to devote themselves to the preservation of the principles of the Constitution, for without these blessings our liberties are

⁴⁸James Graham McNab Address to the Dialectic Society, “Our Union, Will it be preserved?” March, 1857, Documenting the American South.

⁴⁹James Graham McNab Address to the Dialectic Society, “Our Union, Will it be preserved?” March, 1857, Documenting the American South.

⁵⁰James Graham McNab Address to the Dialectic Society, “Our Union, Will it be preserved?” March, 1857, Documenting the American South.

gone...”⁵¹ Buchanan openly expressed to students and faculty that secession would lead to the destruction of liberty and lead to endless conflict between separate states, “... Let the members of this Union separate; let thirty republics rise up against each other, and it would be the most fatal day for the liberties of the human race that ever dawned upon any land.”⁵²

Buchanan invoked the necessity for younger generations of Americans to uphold the republican values that they were educated to uphold and embody as leaders of the nation. Buchanan skirted the issue of slavery and instead appealed directly to students to promote unity and reject the call to secession.

The language of Buchanan’s appeal to students to lead the United States through the sectional crisis could also be found in the commencement address of William J. Headen. Headen who graduated with honors in 1860, delivered a commencement address entitled “The Sentiment of Honor.” Headen declared that honor was central to acting as a selfless and principled individual. He emphasized service and loyalty to the nation as expressions of this sentiment of honor that young southerners were meant to personify as leaders stating, “Actuated by this principle the statesman would see his country endure anything rather than impeachment of that national honor which constitutes not only her pride, her strength and security, but the vital spark of her prosperity.”⁵³

⁵¹ No Author “Commencement Exercises,” from *The North Carolina University Magazine* 9, no. 2 (September 1859), 108, Documenting the American South, University Library, University of North Carolina, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/true/commencement/commencement.html> (accessed April 14, 2016).

⁵² No Author “Commencement Exercises,” from *The North Carolina University Magazine* 9, no. 2 (September 1859), 108, Documenting the American South.

⁵³ William Joseph Headen Commencement Address, “The Sentiment of Honor,” June 7, 1860, Documenting the American South, University Library, University of North Carolina, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/true/mss06-02/mss06-02.html> (accessed April 14, 2016).

Headen's speech invoked a national military spirit and harkened back to heroes of the American revolution. Headen also invoked the idea of the citizen soldier standing up to serve his country.

Twas thus with the men whose names and deeds are dearest to the American citizen—with the man of the "calm gray eye" the chosen instrument of a people's redemption... with the youthful stranger from the luxuries of his native France and a host of others at the mention of whom we feel proud of our national character—proud of the splendid examples of heroism presented to the world... The sentiment of honor was a ruling principle in the lives of these illustrious men...⁵⁴

Headen's words presented a growing belief in military service as an expression of national honor. It also possibly reflected a growing paradox for young Southerners who were becoming ever more conscious of the rising tide of secession around them. While Headen's speech evoked national heroes of the American Revolution, civic and military service as an expression of national honor held different meanings for southerners. Headen may have been encouraging his fellow students to express their honor through service to the nation, but during 1860-61, students used expressions of loyalty and honor like those articulated by Headen to justify service to their native states. Headen eventually joined the Confederate Army himself as a lieutenant, and served in the North Carolina General Assembly from 1862-64.⁵⁵

The duality of Headen's implicit call to arms soon turned from pure rhetoric into reality. The election of Lincoln and the subsequent decision of South Carolina to secede from the Union on December 20th 1860 created an anxious environment amongst young southerners in North Carolina.⁵⁶ The anxious atmosphere that surrounded the immediate build up to hostilities in 1861 was reflected throughout the student body as well as the faculty. "I among the first will suffer

⁵⁴ William Joseph Headen Commencement Address, "The Sentiment of Honor," June 7, 1860, Documenting the American South.

⁵⁵ Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*, 270.

⁵⁶ Needham Bryan Cobb, *Autobiography of Needham Bryan Cobb (1836-1905) from 1836 to 1865 (written Between 1886 and 1895)*, 50.

from the dissolution..." John Wesley Halliburton wrote to his cousin in February 1861.⁵⁷

Halliburton who was native to East Tennessee, was a Unionist who found his pro-Union convictions challenged by not just by students but also his cousin and future fiancée Juliet Halliburton. He corresponded with her frequently in the months leading up to and following the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April 1861. Halliburton was convinced only chaos and war would result from secession. He wrote as much to Juliet in February 1861 asking,

What has she (South Carolina) gained? You now are in favor of dissolution. What do you hope to gain by it?... Will our slaves the sooner be given up? Will 3,000 miles of hostile border add to our security? Will a civil war make us richer? Will a servile insurrection add to our peace as much as the so called assassins of the North take from it? Can we be better off? If so, how?⁵⁸

Halliburton not only vocalized his opinions to Juliet who favored secession but to his fellow students. Halliburton was incensed and indignant over the accusations leveled at unionists by pro-secessionist newspapers sent to him by his cousin.⁵⁹ Halliburton rejected the idea that secession was constitutional and while he also was an opponent of Lincoln, he nonetheless stood vehemently opposed secession, "I have seen Lincoln's inaugural... It amounts to coercion. Still it does not make me a secessionist, only an anti-Lincoln man. His life is of less value than the Union. I can hate him and still love the Union. We must not dissolve a Government because it has one traitor in its borders."⁶⁰ Halliburton could not justify opposition to the Union simply out of his opposition to Lincoln.

⁵⁷ John Wesley Halliburton to his cousin Juliet, February 12, 1861, John Wesley Halliburton Papers #4414-z, SHC, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁵⁸ John Wesley Halliburton to his cousin Juliet, February, 1861, John Wesley Halliburton Papers #4414-z, SHC,

⁵⁹ John Wesley Halliburton to his cousin Juliet, February, 1861, John Wesley Halliburton Papers #4414-z, SHC,

⁶⁰ John Wesley Halliburton, to Juliet Halliburton, March 6, 1861 Documenting the American South, Documenting the American South, University Library, University of North Carolina, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/true/mss06-06/mss06-06.html> (accessed April 14, 2016).

Halliburton defended his “submissionist” views, by invoking the constitution.⁶¹ He rejected the hypocrisy demonstrated by southern newspapers of legitimizing secession when they cited the Declaration of Independence. “If we had to do as the declaration of independence says we would have to assent “That all men are born free and equal,” for this is one of its first doctrines and right for negro equality.”⁶² Halliburton was extremely critical of secession in ways that were not often reflected within that final prewar class of 1861. He believed that the republican system of government he and other students were intended to uphold and lead could still resolve the issues dividing the country.

Even after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, Halliburton still did not budge from his pro-union sentiment, which came as a genuine surprise to the other students. He wrote on April 22nd, “A few boys were called on (students I mean) and then I was asked to speak but declined as I was not in favor of Secession. They insisted and for five minutes I told them how I loved the Union...”⁶³ Halliburton claimed both in public and his letter that he was willing to die, “... For the Union of hearts, the Union of hands, and the Flag of our Union forever...”⁶⁴

Consequently, Halliburton and several students in his company came to blows with other students who were opposed to Halliburton’s pro-union identity. Interestingly there were also students and unidentified men who supported Halliburton and who demonstrated willingness to stand by him, “All were astonished that I should be the only Union man in the crowd... Timberlake and I went in a crowd of countries and I pretended that a secession flag should not be

⁶¹ John Wesley Halliburton, John Wesley Halliburton Papers, January-May, 1861, #4414-z, folder 2, SHC, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁶² John Wesley Halliburton to Juliet Halliburton, April 22, 1861, Documenting the American South, University Library, University of North Carolina, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/unc09-04/unc09-04.html>, (accessed April 14, 2016)

⁶³ John Wesley Halliburton to Juliet Halliburton, April 22, 1861, Documenting the American South.

⁶⁴ John Wesley Halliburton to Juliet Halliburton, April 22, 1861, Documenting the American South.

raised while I could prevent it.”⁶⁵ Halliburton wrote to Juliet. Halliburton was talked out of fighting with the other students who were for secession in the crowd by his friends, but he did not shy away from his pro-union convictions despite the hostility of the crowd around him.

Halliburton viewed his personal stance on secession as one that was in line with the republican values he had been educated to uphold. In his letters he cited founding documents to support his pro-union ideals. Yet Halliburton did not stay with the Union and followed his native state into the war. He expressed that he would do as much in his April 22nd letter “I shall wait until June and then if needs be will offer my services to Tenn.”⁶⁶ Halliburton joined the Haywood County Grays and in 1862 a regiment from Arkansas. He survived the war and eventually married his cousin Juliet. Halliburton’s decision to join the Confederacy despite his strong pro-Union convictions illustrated the tragic paradox that students like Halliburton faced. They were willing to stand with the Union, but there was a sense of compulsion to serve their native states. Halliburton believed that his service to Tennessee was necessary regardless of his actual pro-Union convictions.

While Halliburton attempted to stand with the union, most students at the university left after the bombardment of Fort Sumter. According to a letter by Halliburton dated April 26th, around 200 students had left by this point. “Students who were with us at the opening of the present year are now to be found in arms under the banners of every State in the Confederacy,” President Swain remarked in a circular letter in July 1861.⁶⁷ The university received multiple petitions to close until the following session to allow students and faculty to return to their native

⁶⁵ John Wesley Halliburton to Juliet Halliburton, April 22, 1861, Documenting the American South.

⁶⁶ John Wesley Halliburton to Juliet Halliburton, April 22, 1861, Documenting the American South.

⁶⁷ David L. Swain, Circular Letter July 31, 1861, University of North Carolina Papers #40005, folder 217, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

states. Swain and the remaining trustees rejected these petitions, and he attempted to keep the university open despite the dwindling number of students and faculty who remained.

However, Swain did not stand in the way of students who were set on departing for their home states. He could not prevent students from taking up arms for the Confederacy and certainly could not prevent conscription of able bodied students when they were called up later in the war. According to student Edward H. Armstrong, when a Confederate unit left Hillsboro on April 20th, 1861, Swain "...in alluding to the war said that the south was invincible by any force that our enemies can send against us. He thought that further bloodshed could be avoided, by every man in the South shouldering his musket. Lincoln would then see our strength and would know that it would be useless to attempt to coerce us."⁶⁸ Edward used Swain's declaration to try to gain his father's permission to join up, writing, "I beg you to let me be one to proceed to Federal Point, and frighten Lincoln out of his wits, if possible and if the Gov's prediction should prove untrue and war should actually be necessary, I should be happy to bear a part, humble though it be, in defense of my country..."⁶⁹

Armstrong felt that his service was necessary and justified. He wished to follow in the footsteps of the students who were departing the university in large numbers during the late winter, spring and summer of 1861. He expressed as much in the letter to his father, "I am compelled to go somewhere. Another of my classmates Lyon of Edgecombe leaves tomorrow

⁶⁸ Edward H. Armstrong to Thomas G. Armstrong, April 20, 1861, Documenting the American South, University Library, University of North Carolina, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/true/mss06-07/mss06-07.html>, (accessed April 14, 2016).

⁶⁹ Swain was often sometimes to as "governor" due to his tenure as governor of North Carolina before he became president. Edward H. Armstrong to Thomas G. Armstrong, April 20, 1861, Documenting the American South.

morning. Several will leave during the week.”⁷⁰ Armstrong left the university in 1861 and served as a captain. He died of wounds that he received at Spotsylvania Court House in 1864.⁷¹

The response of students to the issue of secession defined student loyalty to the South. Service to one’s home state became framed as service to one’s country as illustrated in Armstrong’s use of the words “... in defense of my country.”⁷² In a petition issued to the university in January 1861, students who wished to return to Louisiana referred to their home state’s sovereignty and duty to protect its own citizens.⁷³ For students and alumni throughout the United States, the election of Lincoln and the subsequent call for secession presented an inescapable call to action.

“All eyes were turned first to Washington then to Montgomery. Would there be war or no war? The young people... were anxious for war and local military companies all over the state were thirsting for an opportunity to show their metal in a fight.” 1854 Alumnus Bryan Needham Cobb wrote in his autobiography after the war. He claimed, “The Old North State was too slow for their fiery spirits.”⁷⁴ Students were eager to serve their native states. While men like Halliburton opposed secession, they nonetheless felt that their service was necessary. The number of students enrolled at the university during the years 1860-61 demonstrated just how universal the response to the southern call to arms was. In the fall of 1860, 376 students were enrolled at the university.⁷⁵ By October 1861 only 91 students remained. The graduating class of

⁷⁰ Edward H. Armstrong to Thomas G. Armstrong, April 20, 1861, Documenting the American South.

⁷¹ Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*, 18.

⁷² Edward H. Armstrong to Thomas G. Armstrong, April 20, 1861, Documenting the American South.

⁷³ Thomas Benjamin Davidson, Resolution, January, 1861, Thomas Benjamin Davidson Papers #1922-z, folder 1, SHC, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁷⁴ Needham Bryan Cobb, *Autobiography of Needham Bryan Cobb (1836-1905)*, 50.

⁷⁵ Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*. 1-708.

1859 numbered 125 students.⁷⁶ The graduating class of 1862 numbered only 24, and only 5 trustees attended the 1862 commencement.⁷⁷

The response of southern students at the University of North Carolina to secession and Civil War reflected their value systems that were cultivated and reinforced throughout their education. They were expected to be leaders, to fulfill the political and economic needs of the United States. The students were willing and welcome to openly critique the economics and morals of slavery within the walls of the university up until the late 1850s. Slavery and secession were naturally very divisive issues for students throughout the university and the students at the University of North Carolina demonstrated an ability to openly address these issues within the literary societies and to one another. When war loomed, the students of the university would not place their political or social beliefs above those of their native states. There was a sense of obligation, of duty to fulfill the demands of their native states even when these demands ran counter to their own judgements. The case of professor Hedrick also demonstrated that while the ruling political class and the southern press welcomed debate within the confines of the university, political views that threatened the perception of the university as an institution for the elite were not welcome, especially as the South moved closer and closer to 1860.

The students and alumni of the university did what was expected of them as students, and as future leaders. Just as these men were expected to lead in peacetime, they also were leaders during the war. Most of the over 1200 students who joined the Confederate Army served as officers. They used the language of liberty and republicanism to justify secession. While there were students who were willing to stand by their pro-Union sentiments, their loyalty to their

⁷⁶ Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*. 1-708.

⁷⁷ Snider, *Light on the Hill*, 67.

native states as in the case of Halliburton outweighed any other political loyalty. None of the students who departed the university between 1860-65 served the Union.

To confront the past and confront representations of the Confederacy, we must look deeper than the monuments which claim to depict them. The men who fought and died for the Confederacy were a complex group of individuals. Their most common link was their service to the Confederacy. Just as there is tragedy in the paradox students faced when determining what service to their country meant, there is also tragedy in how these men were represented after the war. While Silent Sam evokes a glorious memory of young southerners fighting for the Confederacy, it fails to portray the complex realities that young Southerners had to confront in the years preceding and during the Civil War.

Appendix A

Timeline of Antebellum and Civil War Events at the University of North Carolina

The Antebellum Years

Date	Event
1795	The University of North Carolina begins enrolling students.
1821	Thomas Jefferson's letter to General James Breckinridge.
1831	Nat Turner rebellion.
1832	Justice Gaston's address before a joint meeting of the Dialectic and Philanthropic societies. Gaston's address was the last commencement address to criticize the Civil War.
1835	David Lowry Swain is appointed president of the University of North Carolina.
1850	Compromise of 1850. Political struggle over the westward expansion of slavery heightens sectional tension between North and South.

1856	Scandal of Professor Hedrick. Hedrick is forced to leave the university in the wake of his comments on the upcoming election and his opposition to the westward expansion of slavery.
1857	James Graham McNab's address, "Our Union, Will it be Preserved?"
1858	Senior speech of Elijah Benton Withers, "The American Union a Failure."
1859	Commencement address of President James Buchanan.
1860	Headen delivers his "Sentiment of Honor" commencement speech glorifying military service to the state. Abraham Lincoln is elected in November. South Carolina secedes on December 20th.

The War Years

Date	Event
January 1861	Thomas Benjamin Davidson and fellow Louisianans deliver their petition to President Swain requesting the university suspend operations so students can return home.
February 1861	John Wesley Halliburton begins correspondence with his cousin Juliet over the issues of secession and the election of Abraham Lincoln.
April 12th 1861	Bombardment of Fort Sumter.
April 22nd 1861	John Wesley Halliburton describes encounter with pro-secessionist students. He declares he will serve Tennessee and follow the decision of his native state. Students steadily depart the university.
July 31st 1861	President Swain releases circular asking students to stay and continue studies at the university. By October only 91 students remain.
1862	Confederate Conscription Act is passed in April. Only 5 trustees and 24 students attend the June commencement.
1865	The Civil War ends. Over 1200 students and

	alumni serve in the Confederate States Army. About a quarter are killed or die of wounds.
1913	Silent Sam is constructed on McCorkle Place at the University of North Carolina. The monument is funded by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and alumni.

Appendix B

Prominent Students and Alumni During the Antebellum and Their Professions⁷⁸

- William Waightstill Avery: Born May 25, 1816,
 Graduated 1847,
 State Senator for North Carolina in 1856 and 1860, Lieutenant Governor 1856, Trustee University of North Carolina 1856-57, Confederate States Senator 1861, Colonel C.S.A., killed at Morganton North Carolina 1864.
- Edward H. Armstrong: Born 1841, in Wilmington,
 Student 1858-1861, joined the Confederate States Army in 1861, Captain C.S.A., Killed in battle at Spotsylvania Courthouse 1864.
- Rufus Barringer: Born December 2nd, 1821, Cabarrus County,
 Graduated 1842,
 Lawyer, Member House of Commons 1848, State Senator 1850, Brigadier General C.S.A.
- Victor Clay Barringer: Born March 29th, 1827, Cabarrus County,
 Graduated 1848,
 Lawyer, State Senator 1860,
 C.S.A.,

⁷⁸ Source: Daniel Lindsey Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*, Second Edition, (University of North Carolina, Central Alumni Office 1924), 1-708.

Died Washington D.C. May 27th, 1896

Lawrence O'Brien Branch: Born November 28th, 1820,
Student 1835-36, Graduated Princeton 1838,
Studied Law under John Marshall, Member of Congress 1855-61,
Brigadier General 33rd North Carolina Regiment C.S.A.,
Killed at Sharpsburg, Maryland, September 19th, 1862.

Needham Bryan Cobb, Born February 1st, 1836,
Graduated 1854,
Lawyer and Minister,
Chaplain and General Superintendent Army Colportage for North
Carolina Troops 1862-63,
Died May 31st, 1905.

Thomas Benjamin Davidson: Born September 5th, 1840, Mansfield Louisiana,
Graduated 1861, Joined the Confederate States Army 1861
Lieutenant C.S.A.,
Killed at New Hope Church, Georgia, 1864.

John Wesley Halliburton: Born April 20th, 1840, Woodville Tennessee
Graduated 1861
Haywood County Grays, C.S.A.

William Joseph Headen: Born March 29th, 1837, Chatham County,
Teacher, Member of the General Assembly 1862-64,
Lieutenant C.S.A.,
Died 1865.

James Graham McNab: Born November 17th, 1835, Eufala Alabama,
Student 1856-57,
Died in service May 1862,

James Johnson Pettigrew: Born July 4th, 1828, Tyrrell County, wounded Falling Waters
Graduated 1847, Assistant Professor U.S. Naval Observatory
Washington D.C. 1848, Member of South Carolina General
Assembly 1856,
Brigadier General C.S.A., Colonel 12th North Carolina
Volunteers 1861, Wounded at Seven Pines 1862, Commanded
Heath's Division in assault on Cemetery Hill Gettysburg 1863,
Died Bunker Hill July 14th, 1863.

Leonidas Polk: Born April 10th, 1806,
 Student 1821, West Point Graduate 1827,
 Bishop Louisiana 1841-1864,
 Lieutenant General C.S.A., attained highest rank of any U.N.C.
 man in the Confederate Army,
 Killed on Pine Mountain near Marietta Georgia.

Zebulon Vance: Born May 13 1830, Buncombe County,
 Student 1851-52,
 Member Congress 1858-61, Governor North Carolina 1862-66,
 Colonel 26th North Carolina infantry C.S.A.
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Civil War Era NC, North Carolina State University.

Hedrick, Benjamin. "Professor Hedrick's Defence," *North Carolina Standard*, October 4, 1856,

(accessed April 14, 2015). <http://cwnc.omeka.chass.ncsu.edu/exhibits/show/benjamin-hedrick/item/39>.

Professor Hedrick's defense of his support for the Republican party in 1856. Hedrick defended his political position on slavery by invoking the memory of the founders and claimed that his position was not a regional or Northern position.

Holden, William. "Fremont in the South," *North Carolina Standard*, September 13, 1856,

(accessed April 14, 2016). <http://cwnc.omeka.chass.ncsu.edu/items/show/247>.

William Woods Holden's newspaper article condemned Hedrick's political position in the 1856 election and called for increased scrutiny of educators who claimed to be against slavery and its westward expansion.

Documenting the American South, University Library, University of North Carolina

Armstrong, Edward H. "Letter from Edward H. Armstrong to Thomas G. Armstrong," April 20, 1861, (accessed April 14, 2016), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/true/mss06-07/mss06-07.html>.

Armstrong wrote his father asking for his permission to volunteer for the Confederate States Army. He cited collective fervor to volunteer that he witnessed around the university and the support that President Swain publicly displayed for students who chose to leave the university as justification for his desire to volunteer. Armstrong also believed that his military service was a selfless sacrifice to make in defense of his country.

Halliburton, John Wesley. "Letter from John W. Halliburton to Juliet Halliburton," March 6,

1861, (accessed April 14, 2016), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/true/mss06-06/mss06-06.html>.

Halliburton explained his pro Union position but also expressed dismay at Lincoln's inauguration saying "I can still hate Lincoln but love the Union." Halliburton openly rejected the response of Southern states towards the election of Lincoln and believed it was still possible to oppose Lincoln while still advocating against secession.

Halliburton, John Wesley. "Letter from John Halliburton to Juliet Halliburton," April 22, 1861,

(accessed April 14, 2016), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/unc09-04/unc09-04.html>.

Halliburton described the events that unfolded on the campus of the University and in Hillsborough following the bombardment of fort Sumter. He described his encounter with students and individuals who were shocked that he still openly supported the Union. He described almost coming to blows over the issue of secession and also explained that he would wait until June and then offer his services to Tennessee if they were needed.

Headen, William J. "The Sentiment of Honor," June 7, 1860, (accessed April 14, 2016),

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/true/mss06-02/mss06-02.html>.

This commencement address delivered by William J. Headen to the graduating class of 1860 extolled honor that prompts a man to preserve his good name and that of his friends; it is a principle motivated, not by perceived insults or selfish interests, but by a divine impulse to protect a nation's pride, strength, and security. Headen appealed to Southern ideals of patriotism and honor, while calling on students to uphold republican virtue.

Manly, Charles. "Letter from Charles Manly to David L. Swain," October 4, 1856, (accessed

April 14, 2016), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/unc08-14/unc08-14.html>.

Manly's letter to President Swain recounted the faculty meeting that was held in the wake of the scandal surrounding professor Hedrick's defense in the *North Carolina Standard*. Manly and the men at the meeting wished for Hedrick to resign and attacked his unwillingness to do so as attempt to paint Hedrick as a martyr for "Black Republicans".

McNab, James Graham. "Address of James Graham McNab, Our Union, Will it be

Preserved?" March, 1857, (accessed April 14, 2016),

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/unc08-02/unc08-02.html>.

McNab's speech in 1857 was an attempt to demonstrate how the North was responsible for the economic and social oppression of the South. McNab painted the South as an oppressed region whose resources were going to enemies of the Southern economy. He claimed that those in the South who were attempting to resist the oppression of the North were mislabeled as "dis-Unionists".

No Author. "Commencement Exercises," from *The North Carolina University Magazine* 9, no. 2

(September 1859), 108, (accessed April 14, 2016),

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/tru/commencement/commencement.html>.

These commencement exercises contained President James Buchanan's 1859 commencement address to graduating students. Buchanan appealed to students to reject secession and embrace national unity. He stated that secession would inevitably lead to conflict between regional factions and states.

Withers, Elijah Benton. "Senior Speech of Elijah Benton Withers, The American Union a

Failure," November 7, 1858, (accessed April 14, 2016),

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/unc08-06/unc08-06.html>.

Withers' senior address in 1858 attacked abolitionism and accused the North of enabling sectional divides to take hold in the United States. He accused the North of attempting to strip Southerners of their property and rights.

Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Barringer, Victor Clay. "Victor Clay Barringer Notebook," 1850s, #1916-z, folder 1.

Notebook of Victor Clay Barringer, an alumnus in 1861 who critiqued slavery from an economic point view in his notebook in the early 1850s. He understood that slavery could only be sustained through its expansion and believed that at some point it would inevitably have to be abandoned.

Davidson, Thomas Benjamin. Resolution, January, 1861, Thomas Benjamin Davidson Papers

#1922-z, folder 1.

A petition by Thomas Benjamin Davidson and several other students from Louisiana asking the university to suspend operations to allow students to return home to their native states to serve in

their home units. Petitions like these were rejected by President Swain but this did not stop students from leaving anyways.

Gaston, William. "Address Delivered Before the Philanthropic and Dialectic Societies at Chapel Hill, June 20, 1832" William Gaston Papers 1744-1950, #00272, folder 51-55.

Justice William Gaston delivered this speech to a joint meeting of the Dialectic and Philanthropic societies in June 1832. He condemned the immorality of slavery and called for students to be willing to confront the social and economic issues surrounding slavery as Southern leaders. His graduation address was the last to criticize slavery at the University of North Carolina before the Civil War.

Halliburton, John Wesley. "John Wesley Halliburton Papers," January-May, 1861, #4414-z, folder 1-2.

The collection includes letters from John Wesley Halliburton, a senior at the University of North Carolina, to his second cousin and fiancée, Juliet Halliburton, in Little Rock, Arkansas, from January to May, 1861. John corresponded with his fiancée over the pro-secessionist sentiment at the University of North Carolina and in Tennessee that he was opposed to throughout the first half of 1861. The scope of Halliburton's letters provide a great deal of insight into what was motivating student to join the Confederate States Army in 1861.

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Letter of Lawrence O'B. Branch to his constituents," May 15th, 1860, Making of America Books, University of Michigan, (accessed April 14, 2016)

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moa/abj4274.0001.001/4?page=root;rgn=full+text;size=100;view=image>.

An address published by congressman Lawrence O'Brien Branch to his constituents in North Carolina. Branch was a Southern Democrat who supported secession and justified his stance in this address to his constituency in May 1860. Branch was an alumnus of the University of North Carolina and was vehemently opposed to what he viewed as Northern aggression towards slavery. According to Branch this extended all the way back to 1848 and the Wilmot Proviso which legislated a ban on the extension of slavery into newly acquired western territories.

Bonner Jr., William. "Inaugural address, 1858," April 23, 1858, folder 365, Dialectic Society

Records, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Inaugural address of William Bonner Jr. in which he described to new members of the Dialectic society the importance of their membership and the importance of developing their oratorical skills within the Dialectic society. He associated public speaking with the development of manhood within students.

Cobb, Needham Bryan. *Autobiography of Needham Bryan Cobb (1836-1905) from 1836 to 1865*

(written Between 1886 and 1895), Print.

Autobiography and memoir of Needham Bryan Cobb who witnessed collective anxiety and fervor with which students anticipated the beginning of the Civil War in North Carolina. He claimed that young Southerners were eagerly waiting for a chance to serve their native states and they closely watched the events that unfolded in 1860-61 with anticipation.

Grant, Daniel Lindsey. *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina 1795-1924*. Second Edition, University of North Carolina, Central Alumni Office, 1924, Print.

An excellent primary source providing basic biographic information on former students from the University of North Carolina from its founding in 1792 to 1924 when the history was published. It provides information on students and alumni including when the student attended the university, their occupations after leaving the university and their ranks within the Confederate Army

Jefferson, Thomas. "Letter To General James Breckinridge, Monticello," February 15, 1821,

American History from Revolution to Reconstruction and Beyond, University of

Groningen, accessed April 14, 2016), [http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-](http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl266.php)

[jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl266.php](http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl266.php).

Letter from Thomas Jefferson to his friend James Breckinridge, in which he expressed the need to have Southern universities in order to preserve Southern values and prevent the subversion of those values by Northern educators.

Tomlinson, Ruffin Wirt. "Ruffin W Tomlinson's Journal," ed. John L. Sanders "The Journal of

Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson, The University of North Carolina 1841-1842," *The North*

Carolina Historical Review, Vol. 30, No. 1 (January 1853), (accessed April 14, 2016),

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23516675>.

Journal of student Ruffin Wirt Tomlinson. Tomlinson posed questions about purpose of Southern university education. The responses he received from his professor and from President Swain demonstrated the importance of higher education in preparing Southern men to lead and to serve the United States and the South.

Swain, David L. "Circular Letter" July 31, 1861, University of North Carolina Papers #40005, folder 217, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

President Swain attempted to dissuade the remaining students at the university from leaving to join the Confederate States Army in his circular letter to the faculty and students at the university in July 1861.

Secondary Sources

Brophy, Alfred L. "The Republic of Liberty and Letters: Progress, Union and Constitutionalism in Graduation Address at the Antebellum University of North Carolina", *North Carolina Law Review*, vol. 89. (September, 2011), (accessed April 14, 2016)

<http://www.nclawreview.org/documents/89/6/brophy.pdf>.

In a recent study of commencement and graduation addresses delivered at the University of North Carolina during the Antebellum published in the *North Carolina Law Review*, Alfred Brophy examined how orators at the University of North Carolina addressed the relevant issues of slavery, secession and constitutionalism on the campus of the University of North Carolina. Brophy argued in his piece that while pro Democrat and pro Whig sentiments on the major social, political and economic issues in the South were often divided, the core ideologies of Southern Democrats and Whigs were linked by respect for the Constitution and the rule of law.

Censer, Jane T. *North Carolina Planters and Their Children: 1800-1860*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1984, Print.

Jane Censer examined the educational and familial backgrounds of the major planter families in North Carolina. Her book gave excellent insight into the lives of the planter elite in North Carolina and how they raised their children.

Glover, Lorri. *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007, Print.

The opposite conclusion of Timothy J. Williams' book *Intellectual Manhood*, this book looked at the rise of the southern gentry and how Southern values of honor and loyalty to family and an economic institution helped propel the southern states into war in 1861. Glover examined how of why southern universities were intended to educate the southern social and political elite. She argued strongly that Southern universities were successful in creating a regional identity centered around the sons of the ruling classes in the South. She argues that this identity paved the way for students to enter into the arms of the Confederacy.

Snider, William D. *Light on the Hill: A History of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. Print.

General history of the university of North Carolina that provides reliable general information about the university during the antebellum period and the Civil War. The book also outlined the Hedrick affair in 1856. While Snider focusses on the impact of particular individuals and personalities, and events on the University, he does not take a deeper look into the experiences of students during the Antebellum. His book provided important statistics and anecdotes on the departure of students from the university at the beginning of the Civil War.

Williams, Timothy J. *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self, and Society in the Antebellum South*. University of North Carolina Press, 2015, Print.

Timothy J. Williams outlined how students at the University of North Carolina were educated in the antebellum south and looks at how students were molded into civic, religious and academic leaders. The book contained a wealth of primary and secondary materials contained in the archives of the University of North Carolina. Williams argued that the University of North Carolina encouraged students to challenge the social and economic structures that existed in the Antebellum while imbuing them with republican virtues. He did not examine the events leading directly up to the Civil War and how they shaped the experiences and responses of students.

