CHARLES F. DEEMS:
THE MINISTRY AS PROFESSION
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

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In his study of the lives and careers of New England ministers from 1750 to 1850, Donald M. Scott discerned a shift from "office" to "profession" as the dominant characteristic of the clergy. Whereas the New England minister of 1750 had been closely tied to the local community in the comprehensive role of pastor, intellectual leader, and defender of social and political order, his counterpart a century later was more consciously identified with his denominational colleagues in ministry, was more likely to move frequently in the course of his career, and had assumed a more limited, specialized pastoral role less connected with social, intellectual, and political authority or responsibility. With the fragmentation of their calling other ministers eschewed the pastoral role entirely and devoted all their time to educational, philanthropic, or reform causes.

Scott's conclusions are based primarily on Congregationalism and obviously relate to the disestablishment of the New England churches in the early nineteenth century as well as the other momentous social and political changes of that era. However, the concept of "professionalization" is useful in analyzing clergy from other denominations in the same period. Such trends as specialized professional education for ministry, the sense of denominational identity, and the creation of various specialized roles for ministry connected with constituencies other than the local congregation heralded the Protestant ministry generally after 1800.

While the concept of "office" never characterized the Methodist ministry in America in any formal sense the development of a "professional" motif in the nineteenth century is evident in a number of ways. College and seminary training, while slower in coming than in some other denominations, did emerge, as did a substantial set of differentiated pastoral, educational, journalistic, and administrative roles for ministry. The life and career of Charles Force Deems (1820-1893), an interesting but often overlooked one, illustrates many aspects of the Methodist ministry in the nineteenth century.

Charles F. Deems

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Deems attended Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania from 1835 to 1839. The college had come under Methodist sponsorship in 1833, and among the faculty were scholars who combined a deep piety with genuine intellect. The Methodist professors Deems encountered at Dickinson included John Price Durbin, Robert Emory, William H. Allen, and John McClintock. With no Methodist theological seminaries yet established, the denomination's colleges then assumed the role of providing for an educated ministry, and so Deems started his career with this professional advantage shared with a select number of his colleagues.

Upon graduation from Dickinson Deems chose to enter the Methodist ministry, and a year spent in New York City enabled him to meet prominent Methodist clergy and laymen of that growing metropolis. In 1840 he received appointment from the American Bible Society to be its agent in North Carolina. As the representative of an interdenominational society he was in a good position to work with clergy and laymen from all the Protestant denominations. Loyal to his Methodist connections, however, he did make it a point to meet Methodist pastors, preach in Methodist revival meetings, and join the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In turn the local Methodist clergy were pleased that one of their own denomination had been selected for a key ecumenical position in the state. In 1842 Deems wrote to his friend John McClintock at Dickinson, asking that the college consider granting an honorary degree to one of the North Carolina Methodist ministers, Samuel S. Bryant, who had impressed him favorably.

David L. Swain, the president of the University of North Carolina, was looking specifically for a Methodist to join his university faculty, and

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4 The American Bible Society, founded in 1815, was one of the new avenues of non-pastoral ministry opening to the clergy in the early nineteenth century. I concur with the observation of Lois Banner that the ABS and other benevolent societies of the period should not be viewed as narrow instruments of social and political elites to enforce social control in the new American republic, but rather as representative of genuine humanitarian concern and the search for more effective models of ministry. See her article, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control: Critique of an Interpretation," *Journal of American History* 60 (June 1973), 23-41.


6 Deems to McClintock, March 17, 1842, Charles Force Deems Papers, Spahr Library, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.
he decided that Deems was just the man he needed. Deems accepted President Swain's offer. From 1842 to 1847 he resided in Chapel Hill, teaching rhetoric and logic, and becoming the first Methodist ever to preach regularly in the university chapel. Although he did help to organize a Methodist congregation in Chapel Hill, Deems finally concluded that he could be of more service to his denomination elsewhere. An invitation came to join the faculty of Randolph-Macon College, then located in Boydton, Virginia but supported by both the Virginia and North Carolina Methodist Conferences. Deems declined the first invitation from the college in 1846, but the next year he changed his mind, encouraged to do so by the favorable reception he received upon addressing the college's literary society. Moving to the small Virginia town in January 1848, he took up assigned teaching duties in natural science.

Deems spent only one year at Randolph-Macon, but it was long enough to generate some personal misunderstandings with the college's popular president, William A. Smith, a leader coming to be well-known in Southern Methodist circles. The young professor felt somewhat isolated in the small village of Boydton, and missed some of the associations and opportunities he had had in Chapel Hill. Apparently President Smith exercised rather firm control over faculty activities, and Deems was disappointed that he could not arrange a visit to New York in May 1848. He had been invited to speak at the annual meeting of one of the national religious benevolent societies, but did not receive Smith's permission to be absent from his college duties. Deems maintained that his absence from the college for a brief time could have been arranged without difficulty.

The publication of a number of Deems' sermons, addresses, and

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7 AM, pp. 78-82; Swain to Deems, July 4, 1842, David L. Swain Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. The significance of the denominational backgrounds of faculty at Chapel Hill is discussed in Luther L. Gobbel, Church-State Relationships in Higher Education in North Carolina Since 1776 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938), pp. 40-63.

8 AM, pp. 82, 84; Kemp P. Battle, History of the University of North Carolina, 2 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1907), I:519.


11 Smith, a native Virginian, assumed the presidency of Randolph-Macon in 1846 when the college faced serious financial and academic problems. The sectional division of American Methodism over slavery had just taken place, and Smith was emerging as a defender of slaveholding among Southern Methodists. While that may have been a factor in his selection as president, he was also chosen because many considered him the most capable man to begin a needed program of reform and reorganization. See Irby, pp. 103-09; R. E. Blackwell, "William Andrew Smith," Dictionary of American Biography, IX: 361-62; William W. Sweet, Virginia Methodism (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1955), p. 321; Lewis M. Purifoy, "The Southern Methodist Church and the Pro-Slavery Argument," Journal of Southern History, 32 (August 1966), 325-41.
poems in the 1840s marked the beginning of an important aspect of his career, that of writer and editor.\textsuperscript{13} His prolific literary efforts also came to encompass major books, collected sermons and essays, and edited journals and newspapers. Writing and publishing for large, geographically extended, and anonymous audiences rather than for the known persons of one’s own locale was another “professionalizing” trend in nineteenth-century ministry.\textsuperscript{14} While at Randolph-Macon Deems began to edit a monthly publication, the \textit{Southern Methodist Pulpit}. Published from 1848 to 1852, it printed sermons by Southern Methodist ministers, circuit-riding veterans as well as college-trained younger men, and included church news as well as editorial comment. Publication ceased not for lack of either sermons or subscriptions, but because the editor felt that it had served its purpose of aiding a denomination (the Methodist Episcopal Church, \textit{South}), still “too young and weak to burden itself with many enterprises.”\textsuperscript{15} In compiling material for the various issues Deems had become acquainted with leading Methodists throughout the South. This project also contributed to the professional consciousness of the clergy by enabling them to share ideas with colleagues scattered over an entire region rather than simply those they encountered on a face-to-face basis. It also encouraged them to enhance the quality of their sermons, a key aspect of the developing focus of the professional pastoral role.

Deems resigned from the Randolph-Macon faculty late in 1848, at least partly because his relationship with President Smith had become strained. Smith was not pleased that Deems had publicly announced his resignation before the college was in a position to name a replacement, claiming that Deems had promised not to do this. The president also thought that his young professor was spending too much time editing the \textit{Southern Methodist Pulpit}, to the point where it interfered with his teaching duties.\textsuperscript{16} However, their most serious difference concerned the way Deems was handling a matter that became known as the “Christopher Duncan affair.”

The origins of this problem went back to 1847, when Deems was still in Chapel Hill. In February of that year the \textit{Richmond Christian Ad-
published by the Virginia Conference but also read by many North Carolina Methodists, contained an article entitled “What Makes Infidels?” and signed by a Christopher Duncan. The article, actually written by Deems, warned against the bad example of Christian parents who outwardly professed faith but who did not show the evidence of faith in deeds of kindness and generosity. Deems used the illustration of the father of some Methodist students at Chapel Hill, Ruffin Tucker, who had refused Deems’ request for a contribution to help build a sanctuary for the Chapel Hill Methodist Church. In Deems’ view Tucker was not presenting a good example of Christian generosity to his children, who might as a result lose interest in the church, or even worse, become “infidels.”

Although the article used no actual names, and was written under a pseudonym, Tucker rightly suspected that the article referred to him and had been written by Deems. Questioned about it, Deems would not actually admit his authorship. Realizing that perhaps his judgment had been questionable, Deems hoped that the furor would gradually die down. Several persons, including Leroy M. Lee, editor of the Advocate, and President Smith, did have positive knowledge that Deems was the author of the controversial piece. Just before Deems left Randolph-Macon in December 1848 Smith called him in for a final visit, and admonished him to clear up past misunderstandings and act more circumspectly in the future. The young professor agreed to do so.

Returning to North Carolina, Deems spent 1849 in the preaching ministry, assigned to the New Bern circuit. In 1850 he was called back to academic work, this time as president of Greensboro Female College (now Greensboro College). Founded in 1838, this Methodist school prospered under Deems’ leadership. He was determined that the college, one of very few established for the higher education of women in the antebellum South, would have high academic standards and instruction of real intellectual content. Improving the study of the natural sciences was one of his major goals. While Deems clearly wanted the college to offer more than a “finishing school” education, he emphasized that the lives of educated young women should still center on their responsibilities in the home as wife and mother. Like other evangelical writers of the day Deems defined an increasingly important domestic sphere for women as the guardians of piety, morality, and virtue. It was through this kind of appeal

17*Richmond Christian Advocate*, February 4, 1847.
18*Trial Proceedings*, pp. 21-22, 25, 46, 141.
20*Trial Proceedings*, pp. 43-45.
to women in their churches and schools that mid-nineteenth century ministers exercised a key aspect of their pastoral role. 22

With the passing of time relations between Deems and Smith seemed to improve, enough so that in 1853 Randolph-Macon College awarded an honorary degree to Deems on the recommendation of President Smith. 23 However all was still not well between them, and Smith felt that Deems was criticizing him unfairly among North Carolina Methodists. So in 1854 Smith went before the annual meeting of the North Carolina Conference, presenting evidence that in the past Deems had not always acted in a professional manner becoming to a minister of the gospel and citing the "Christopher Duncan" article as an example. He further sought adoption of a statement to that effect by the Conference. Bishop George F. Pierce, the presiding officer, secured an agreement from all parties that a committee of ten, five selected by Deems and five by Smith, would study all of the evidence and make a full report. Seeking a spirit of harmony, the committee concluded that Deems had indeed made some errors of judgment in the past, but that the two men should now put their differences to rest. This was done, and the matter seemed closed. 24

The misunderstanding with Smith had not really jeopardized Deems' position with his North Carolina colleagues. After all, Smith had been more or less of an "outsider" at the Conference. However, facts unfavorable to Deems had been brought out into the open for the first time, and Smith did not hesitate to present the Randolph-Macon students with his side in the whole controversy. Deems feared that no response at all would be interpreted as a tacit admission of wrongdoing. 25 So he went to the annual meeting of the Virginia Conference in 1855, and reversed the roles that he and Smith had played the year before. This time Smith was on his "home ground," and after listening to the charges Deems brought against Smith the Conference voted a complete acquittal of their respected college president. 26

Five of the six charges Deems presented against Smith were semantic quibbles over what had been decided in 1854, and whether Smith, in his subsequent comments on the matter, had violated pledges he had made or misinterpreted their meaning. The sixth charge was a general one that

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23Deems' Speech, pp. 19-21.
25Deems to John H. Bryan, February 19, 1855, John H. Bryan Papers, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.
26Trial Proceedings, pp. 149-52.
Smith had slandered Deems’ reputation. The ensuing testimony, which mainly repeated evidence already known and decisions already made, must have wearied everyone present. All other matters before the delegates had to be set aside while these two men made charge and countercharge. When the delegates voted almost unanimously to acquit Smith it was hoped that perhaps now these men had had enough of such controversy.

In the course of his difficulties with President Smith, Deems generally had the support of North Carolina Methodists, many of whom were eager to be more independent of the Virginia Conference in matters such as education. In a certain sense Deems was becoming the catalyst for changes that would put the North Carolina Conference on a more equal footing with its neighbor to the north. In 1856 the North Carolina Conference assumed control of Normal College, a small, struggling teacher’s college in the state, and subsequently the Conference discontinued financial support of Randolph-Macon. Deems became one of the new trustees of Normal College, and upon his recommendation the name was changed to Trinity College. Trinity in turn became the forerunner of Duke University.27

Deems was also on a five-man publishing committee that began issuing the North Carolina Christian Advocate in early 1856. With this weekly paper North Carolina Methodists would no longer have to rely upon the Richmond Christian Advocate for news and opinions. Reports on Deems in the new weekly were usually favorable.28 A “Methodist of Granville County” wrote: “We feel proud that we are a citizen of the same state, and a member of the same church.”29

Following four years of service at Greensboro Deems had returned to the preaching circuit in 1854, and then in 1858 became presiding elder of the Wilmington District, where he supervised Methodist pastors and churches in the Lower Cape Fear area.30 It was there that Deems had contact with the many slaves and free blacks who attended Methodist worship services.31 He was interested in the church’s mission to the slaves and accepted the reality of slaveholding among Southern Methodists. At the 1857 meeting of the North Carolina Conference Deems had moved adop-

28North Carolina Christian Advocate, August 22, 1856; October 3, 1856; October 24, 1856; October 31, 1856.
29Ibid., July 11, 1856.
30Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1858-1865 (Nashville, 1859-70), pp. 54, 148, 250.
31AM, pp. 139-40, 145-46, 149-50.
tion of a resolution calling on the Methodist Episcopal Church, South to remove the rule against slaveholding from the official discipline. The rule, although widely ignored, had remained in force even after the schism with northern Methodism and it was not until 1858 that it was officially removed.

During these antebellum years spent in North Carolina Deems acquired a "Southern" identity and Southern connections that he retained even after moving to New York following the Civil War. He owned slaves himself, supported North Carolina's decision to leave the Union despite some personal reservations about the action, and lost one of his sons to the Confederate cause at the Battle of Gettysburg. Even so, from another point of view some of his ideas were more typical of a "Yankee" outlook in the antebellum years. He favored the work of the national religious benevolent societies, work which some Southerners regarded as part of a threatening "Yankee" religious culture. Various groups of Primitive and "Old School" Baptists opposed foreign missions and benevolent society work on theological grounds, but some rural Methodists were also skeptical of the coming of college-educated ministers and religious workers with their ambitious projects. By his advocacy of a prohibition law modeled after the one Neal Dow secured in Maine in 1854, his enthusiasm for the New York-based benevolent societies, and his assumption that lay representation on church councils was a needed reform in Southern Methodism, Deems set himself apart from some of his colleagues. Nevertheless he remained on good terms with the great majority of them.

In late 1865, amid the desolation and uncertainty following the Civil War, Deems and his family settled in New York City. Deems planned to begin editing and publishing a weekly newspaper, the Watchman, that would seek to bring about national reconciliation. The journal mixed general secular and religious news with editorial comment on the issues of the day. While avowedly "national" in its outlook, the Watchman did have a distinctly southern tone. It was read and supported largely by Southerners, advertised Southern firms, and editorialized in defense of the basic soundness of Southern life and institutions. Deems urged a quick reunion of the sections based on willingness to forgive and forget the past. Although the Watchman was officially endorsed by the Methodist

24AM, pp. 170-71, 185-86.
Episcopal Church, South in 1866 and seemed to get off to a good start, it quickly foundered for lack of adequate financial support. Publishing costs were high, subscriptions did not increase as expected, and his southern friends on whom Deems had counted for assistance found themselves too impoverished after the war to contribute large funds. On February 5, 1867 the last issue appeared. 37

By 1867 Deems was at a critical juncture in his professional career. His ministry to that point had consisted of a series of pastoral, educational, and journalistic endeavors, mostly within the denominational setting of Southern Methodism. In a general sense North Carolina had been his “parish,” although his frequent moves had precluded close association with any one locale. Now he was in a place well removed from either North Carolina or Southern Methodism, and had seen a major undertaking fail. 38 His decision to remain in New York led him into some entirely new avenues of ministry. He discovered that while the minister as “professional” could never have the authority and status of an “office,” he could yet have the flexibility to shape in a more limited sphere new opportunities where none had existed before.

Out of the problem Deems and other southerners living in New York faced in finding churches that would, in an atmosphere of Reconstruction hostility, accept them was born the Church of the Strangers. Deems formally founded this interdenominational congregation in January 1868 with a small group of southerners who had begun to meet for worship, with Deems preaching, at the chapel of New York University in July 1866. In 1870 the congregation acquired the former sanctuary of the Mercer Street Presbyterian Church. The railroad magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt, whose young wife was a member of the church, donated $50,000 to make the purchase possible. 39 The acquaintanceship of Deems and Vanderbilt had even greater significance a few years later, when at Deems’ urging Vanderbilt gave $500,000 to the Southern Methodists for the construction of the university in Nashville that bears his name. According to Deems’ sons their father and the legendary “captain of industry . . . had the greatest possible regard for each other.” 40


38 His sense of gloom was perhaps most acute early in 1867, with the Watchman about to fold and a more radical Reconstruction program about to begin in Congress. He confided to David L. Swain that “the whole prospect looks dark to me . . . They [Radical Republicans] will be in supreme and undisputed power. All my letters from the South are full of painful statements of the condition of affairs and I am afraid they are to grow worse.” Deems to Swain, January 24, 1867, Swain Papers.

39 AM, pp. 196-217.

40 Ibid., pp. 253, 268; Bucke, ed., II:308-09.
The Church of the Strangers, begun as a ministry to a small group of southerners, emerged as a respectably medium-sized congregation by the 1870s. Although interdenominational it followed Methodist practices in a number of areas, such as communion and baptism. In the years following the Civil War this church and its pastor were in no position to affiliate with either branch of episcopal Methodism—geographically northern but socially and culturally identified with the South. In many respects it was a typical middle-class Protestant church of the Gilded Age, with its Christian Endeavor society for young people, its “Sisters of the Stranger” women’s society for missions and relief of the poor, its involvement with a gospel mission and with a ministry to a prison. The church’s distinctive name reflected the personal feelings that the initial members had had in the post-war years, and also Deems’ insistence that no pews in the church would ever be rented and thereby create a spirit of exclusivity and privilege. 41

The years in New York were also the most productive ones for Deems as a writer. Perhaps his most significant work was a voluminous life of Christ, published in several different editions in the 1870s and 1880s. To this were added volumes of sermons, devotional material, biblical commentaries on John’s gospel and James’ epistle, a book of hymns edited with the poet Phoebe Cary, and writings on the relation of Christianity to science. 42

Deems’ theological position could best be described as “evangelical liberalism,” in that he wished to conserve the historic affirmations of Christianity—the sovereign creator God, the reality of human sinfulness, the atoning work of Jesus Christ the divine Son of God—but in a way that seemed comprehensible to modern man in the light of an increasingly scientific and secular world view. 43 His portrayal of Jesus, while not denying the divinity of Christ, concentrated on Christ’s humanity in an effort to show Jesus as the highest form of character and the perfect example for all mankind. 44

For Deems, who worked within an Arminian tradition of man’s freely chosen ability to respond to the Gospel, Christianity was primarily not

41 AM., pp. 223-38, 265, 325.
44 The Light of the Nations, pp. vii-xi, 710.
rigid dogmatizing nor even theological speculation, but heartfelt obedience to Christ and faith in Him.\(^{45}\) He criticized the “chiliastic sensuous ideas” of the premillenialists who sought to interpret the literal nature of eschatology. In Christ’s own teaching on His return Deems found the focus not on particularities of future events but on the need and motivation for strong character and loving service in this life.\(^{46}\) He warmly approved the writer of James for his emphasis on the need for faith that brought forth works.\(^{47}\)

It was in the area of religion and science, or more specifically the relation of Darwinian evolution to the Christian faith, that Deems confronted one of the most critical theological questions of his time. His interests in the relations of science and faith predated *The Origin of Species*, going back to his teaching days before the Civil War. Then he had argued that, while nature was an imperfect and incomplete guide to the character of God, still God was present in the processes of nature.\(^{48}\) Therefore the Christian need not fear the conclusions of science, because science only explained the “how” rather than the ultimate “why” of things. Nothing in science could ever really conflict with religion because God the Creator was the source of all truth and knowledge. In his address at the opening of Vanderbilt University in 1875 he declared that the religious man “knows and feels that it would be as irreligious in him to reject any truth found in Nature, as it would be for another to reject any truth found in the Bible.”\(^{49}\)

Sensing the mutual antagonism of some scientists and some theologians who regarded evolution and Christianity as incompatible, Deems organized the American Institute of Christian Philosophy in 1881 as a forum for Christian evolutionists such as himself. It was modeled after a similar organization in Great Britain, the Victoria Institute, that Deems had observed there the previous year. Historian James R. Moore describes the Victoria Institute as a conservative attempt to defend Christian orthodoxy from the attacks of agnostic and atheistic Darwinians, and its American counterpart had somewhat the same purpose. Assembling such noted educators and clergy as James McCosh of Princeton, Noah Porter of Yale, John Bascom of Wisconsin, Borden Bowne of Boston, Alexander Winchell of Michigan, and Lyman Abbott, it sponsored summer conferences and published scholarly papers in an effort to impress upon Christians, but especially students in colleges and seminaries, the themes of “no real conflict” between science and religion, evolution as


\(^{46}\)*The Light of the Nations*, pp. 590-99.

\(^{47}\)*Gospel of Common Sense*, p. 140.


\(^{49}\)“Science and Religion,” *Popular Science Monthly* 8 (February 1876), 444.
simply the unfolding of divine plan and purpose, and the inadequacy of naturalistic science alone to explain the true meaning and significance of processes in nature.\(^50\)

Deems believed that the pursuit of science was properly motivated by a love of God, and noted approvingly that great scientists such as Copernicus, Brahe, Kepler, Newton, and Faraday had been Christians. In accepting the new scientific evidence on the origins of life Deems wanted above all to maintain the place of divine intellect in guiding the processes of evolutionary development. Any notion of blind chance as the controlling factor in the direction of evolution would have been abhorrent to him.\(^51\)

Temperance was another issue to which Deems devoted attention. As a young man in 1847 he had stated that "there is no question of national or state policy now equal in importance to the question involved in this great moral reform."\(^52\) In the 1880s he felt the same way, placing temperance above issues like civil service reform or the tariff. After 1883 he supported the Prohibition Party because he felt neither major party took a sufficiently forthright stand on the issue. After his death a memorial chapel in his honor was built by temperance advocates in Prohibition Park on Staten Island.\(^53\)

The pastoral ministry was especially important to Deems during his long service to the Church of the Strangers. He reflected the view of some urban ministers in his evaluation of D. L. Moody’s late nineteenth-century urban crusades: well-intentioned but at times prone to distract church members and disrupt established churches, creating “roving” habits while not really reaching out to the unchurched. Even so the Church of the Strangers must not have suffered too greatly in this regard, growing to over 500 members by 1892, with evidence of a close bond between pastor and flock.\(^54\)

In his professional life Charles F. Deems had touched many lives and involved himself in many things. His legacy continued in the Deems Fund he established at the University of North Carolina, and in the Deems Lec-


\(^{51}\) Deems, “The Rev. Dr. Munger on ‘Evolution and the Faith,’ ” Century Magazine 32 (September 1886), 807-08.

\(^{52}\) Address Delivered Before ... the Sons of Temperance, p. 26.


tureship on science and religion which members of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy established at New York University.\textsuperscript{55} At various times in his life circumstances had seemed to cast shadows on his way. The friction in his relationship with President William Smith, some of which must be attributed to Deems, was one such time, indicative of the dangers of personal ambition and rivalry in professional lives. But it did not spell the end of his ministry. In the fractured relations of North and South, and of science and faith, he made notable efforts at reconciliation. His acceptance of slavery in the Old South shows the influence of culture upon his thought, but in other ways he attempted to be a shaper of values rather than a passive reflection of them. If it is true that the profession of ministry in nineteenth-century America involved limits and specialization, it is also true that one person could in the course of a life combine diverse settings and roles, those planned and those not, into a meaningful pattern. Sometimes the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{AM}, pp. 287-88, 318-23; Deems to Kemp P. Battle, May 2, 1890, Kemp P. Battle Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.