CONFEDERATE NATIONALISM IN GEORGIA, LOUISIANA, AND VIRGINIA DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

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To my parents, Dr. William and Gwendolyn Garrett, for their unwavering love and support

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation revolves around the construction of Confederate identity in the states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia and adds regional specificity into the discussion of Confederate nationalism. The "hodgepodge" nature of the Confederacy only emphasized the importance of understanding the foundation of Confederate nationalism and its uniformity, not regional variations. Whether or not Confederate identity formation during the war transcended state and regional variation or differed from place to place within these three Confederate states is the important question this study addresses.

Confederate nationalism was not monolithic. Instead, this project identifies five themes which allowed southerners in the states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia to construct an identity for themselves as Confederate citizens which they believed differed from the identity of their American counterparts. The five themes of Confederate nationalism were the American Revolution, religion, slavery, white supremacy, and states' rights. The five themes needed to accentuate the common connections which bonded citizens in the Confederacy together, highlight the differences between Confederate and American citizens, and provide justification for the war. The first four themes of Confederate nationalism promoted unity regardless of geographic location while the fifth theme of Confederate identity, states' rights, proved to be divisive. Within the state of Georgia, Governor Joseph E. Brown waged a campaign against

conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus; two governmental policies he believed were detrimental to states' rights.

In addition to questions about Confederate identity formation, this project also explores the lives of free African Americans and Jews who called these three states of the Confederacy their home. This study adds free African Americans back into the historical narrative of Confederate nationalism and re-examines their role in the seceded states in detail. This dissertation asks how the presence of free people of color and Jews impacted Confederate nationalism. Did the presence of free African Americans and Jews sustain or hinder Confederate nationalism in Georgia, Virginia, and Louisiana during the Civil War?

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There are a number of people that I would like to thank because when I began this dissertation journey more than six years ago, it seemed like such a daunting task. This process was made more manageable as a result of the numerous people who helped me as I went through this remarkable experience.

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Two of the last people that I need to thank are my parents, Dr. William and Gwendolyn Garrett, who have always given me constant love and unwavering support. When I was in the process of writing my dissertation proposal, my dad had just been diagnosed with cancer. I remember when he told me from his hospital bed that he wished he was feeling better so that he could read my proposal and go over it with me. Unfortunately, he was never able to do so. Even though he passed away before I completed this project, I felt his presence with me every step of the way telling me I could do it. My mom has also been a constant source of support as I did research and wrote the dissertation manuscript. The cute cards she sent me whenever I reached an important milestone in this journey not only made me smile but made me determined to see it though. Plus, she never hesitated to help translate a diary entry if I had trouble doing so. As a result, I am certain she will always remember the lyrics to the song “Farewell to the Star

Spangled Banner" with fondness. Whenever I told her the task seemed too daunting, my mom always said "you can do it." Well, Mommy and Daddy, I did it!

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INTRODUCTION

"The ordinance of secession was passed yesterday afternoon and was made public to day at 12. The excitement is intense. The mildest joy seems to prevail. All is war and bloodshed is the way of talk."[1]

Robert A. Granniss, a clerk at Kent, Paine, and Company in Richmond, wrote in his journal about the feelings of his fellow Richmonders after the adoption of the Virginia secession ordinance. For Granniss, a southern transplant from New York, his diary entries up until April 1861 contained no outward anxiety about the election of Abraham Lincoln. While Granniss did mention Lincoln in his journal, along with the secession of Florida and Mississippi from the Union, he did so without adding any additional commentary.

In fact, judging by Granniss' words, initially he appeared not to take any stance on the issue of secession and refrained from saying whether or not he believed Virginia would be better off remaining in the Union or leaving it to join a confederation of southern states. On April 2, he wrote, "The Southern Confederacy is in full blast and Virginia still remains in the Union. The secessionists are gaining ground here and it is impossible to tell the ultimate result." Based on what he wrote, it is not clear whether Granniss supported secession at this time. Granniss only spoke out in favor of secession after the attack on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861 and Lincoln's subsequent call for 75,000 troops to put down "the rebellion." After the firing on Fort Sumter and the passage of Virginia's secession ordinance, Granniss readily admitted that his feelings "had undergone a radical change" and as a result, he saw "no course but secession."[2]

Evidence suggests Granniss acted like the majority of all Virginians because he was not initially in favor of secession. School teacher Aquila Johnson Peyton wrote in his diary on November 19, 1860 that he saw "no just grounds for the secession of my state at present."

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[1] Robert A. Granniss, April 18, 1861, 215, Robert A. Granniss Diary, Virginia Historical Society.

[2] Granniss, April 17, 1861, 209-210, 215.

However, when faced with the news that Virginia voted to secede rather than submit to Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops to put down the southern rebellion, Peyton hailed secession as "good news."[3] In addition to the euphoria witnessed by Granniss and experienced by Peyton after Virginia's secession from the Union, citizens in Georgia and Louisiana experienced the same sense of jubilation after their states seceded.

Louisiana resident and southern transplant Francis Dunbar Ruggles, who would give his life for the Confederacy at the Battle of Fredericksburg in 1862, discussed the reaction of southerners to secession in a letter to his father. Ruggles told his father that he had been present in three states when the ordinances of secession passed and mentioned southerners in these locations "rejoiced unanimously."[4] Lemuel P. Connor, a Louisiana secession convention delegate, wrote his wife, Fanny, about the celebrations in New Orleans after the official formation of the Confederate States of America. Connor mentioned "a great illumination especially on Canal Street" and how houses were "lit up with gas and candle lamps."[5] In Georgia, the *Macon Daily Telegraph* noted the firing of a one hundred and nineteen gun salute by the Jackson Artillery "in honor of the sweeping secession majority in the Convention." Another article published in the paper the same day mentioned how an "electrical current seemed to pervade the very air, for upon the first discharge [by the Jackson Artillery] every one shouted

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[3] Aquila Johnson Peyton, November 19, 1860, April 18, 1861, Aquila Johnson Peyton Diary, Virginia Historical Society.

[4] Francis Dunbar Ruggles to "Dear Father," February 6, 1861, Francis Dunbar Ruggles Papers, Williams Research Center. Although Ruggles does not directly state the three states where he witnessed the passage of secession ordinances, this information can be inferred from his letters to his father. Since he lived in New Orleans, Louisiana one could assume that he most likely witnessed the jubilation over secession in his home state. His February 6, 1861 letter to his father was sent from Nacogdoches, Texas. Texas passed an ordinance of secession on February 1, 1861. Therefore, based on the date and location of the letter, one can also assume Ruggles may have witnessed celebrations in Texas after the adoption of the secession ordinance in this state. Unfortunately, the third state remains a mystery.

[5] Lemuel P. Connor to Fanny Connor, February 4, 1861, Lemuel P. Connor Papers, Williams Research Center.

"The Ordinance has passed," and in an instant the city was alive with every manifestation of joy."[6]

While the initial sense of euphoria over secession seemed to connect southerners together, since secession celebrations played out in various states and cities, this joy would soon be replaced by the realities of war. The newly formed Confederate States of America needed something that would build upon the initial bond created by secession and that something was the conception and maintenance of Confederate nationalism in order to emphasize the common interests among southerners in the new nation, while at the same time highlighting the differences which separated American and Confederate citizens. This dissertation examines the building blocks of a separate Confederate identity during the Civil War. The "hodgepodge" nature of the Confederacy only emphasized the importance of understanding the foundation of Confederate nationalism and its uniformity, not regional variations. Whether or not Confederate nationalism transcended state and regional variation or differed from place to place within the eleven states of the Confederacy is the important question this study will address.

The themes of Confederate nationalism had three purposes during the war; Confederate nationalism accentuated feelings among southerners that they were citizens of the Confederate States of America because they shared common interests, which justified the creation of the Confederacy since American citizens did not believe the same things about government. To ensure continuity and to emphasize the southern revolution was conservative in nature, in spite of the fact that Confederate citizens sought to establish a new nation and break old ties with the Union, the themes of Confederate nationalism were derived from an antebellum southern past.

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[6] *Macon Daily Telegraph*, "Secession," "A Gala Day in the City," January 21, 1861. Three days later, on January 24, 1861, the *Daily Telegraph* discussed further secession celebrations in the city which included the illumination of houses, the burning of tar barrels, and the performance of music to excite the city's inhabitants. See *Macon Daily Telegraph*, "The Secession of Georgia Abroad," January 24, 1861.

The themes central to this past were the American Revolution, religion, slavery and white supremacy, and states' rights. As mentioned earlier, an important component of the themes of Confederate nationalism was the fact that they illustrated critical differences which existed between Confederates and Americans.

In the case of the American Revolution, Confederates felt they were the true descendants of their revolutionary ancestors and simply waged war to carry the revolution to its rightful conclusion. The heroes of the American Revolution, men like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, were southerners which only strengthened the Confederate belief that they, and not northerners, were the true descendants of these revolutionaries. The contributions of northerners like John and Samuel Adams to the revolutionary cause ceased to exist and were expunged from the Confederate discussion about the Revolution. According to Confederate citizens, religion highlighted one crucial difference between southerners and northerners; God appointed southerners, not northerners, as the protectors of the enslaved African American race. This would be a constant topic of religious sermons delivered on Confederate fast days. The themes of slavery and white supremacy were prominent not just in the southern antebellum past but in the American antebellum past. Southerners in the Confederate nation believed they were the guardians of the institution of slavery and white supremacy. Northerners, at least in the eyes of Confederates, wanted to end slavery and establish racial equality within the United States. As with the American Revolutionary principles and the institution of slavery, Confederates became the guardians of states' rights. Members of the new southern nation celebrated the Virginia and

Kentucky Resolutions, written by Virginians Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in 1798, which established the supremacy of the individual states over the federal government.[7]

The Selection of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia

The South was a section of the nation, but divided into regions that were distinct and often defined by differing climates, topographies, and economic interests. Within these regions were states that reflected these differences. This dissertation will focus on the construction of Confederate identity in the states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia. The selection of the three states included in this study was not done randomly. Each state was in a different region within the Confederacy and each one faced somewhat unique circumstances which may or may not have shaped the way Confederate nationalism developed in each location. In the state of Louisiana, one theme of Confederate nationalism rested upon the institution of slavery in spite of the large free African American population within the city of New Orleans. The impact of an affluent and free African American community on a Confederate nationalistic view that was based in no small measure on the institution of slavery and white supremacy likely affected nationalistic tendencies within this state.

The situation that confronted the citizens of Georgia and posed a possible threat to Confederate identity there was shaped in part, by the forceful personality of Governor Joseph Brown. At numerous times throughout the existence of the Confederacy, Governor Brown opposed the government policies of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus on the basis that these measures were unconstitutional and threatened the important principle of states' rights. Brown repeatedly reminded his fellow Georgians during the war that one of the founding principles of the Confederacy was states' rights and he felt upholding this principle took

[7] The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions stated the federal government possessed specific powers. If the states decided the federal government violated these specific powers, states then had the right to nullify the law which exceeded the power of the government.

precedence over doing whatever it took to win the war. How was Brown's concern for states' rights reconciled with the nurturing of a Confederate nationalism within that state? Was states' rights in Georgia different from states' rights as understood by citizens of Louisiana and Virginia?

In the case of Virginia, cities and towns such as Alexandria, Norfolk, and Williamsburg fell relatively early to Union forces.[8] Therefore, the constant presence of Union troops throughout the state of Virginia and the fact that many of the battles of the Civil War took place here may have added additional pressures in the attempt to create a unified Confederate identity. According to historian Harry T. Shanks, while there were torchlight processions, illuminated windows and bonfires in favor of secession in Richmond, there were also public meetings held in the western Virginia counties of Monongalia, Wetzel, Tyler, and Parkesburg that condemned secession and the severing of the state's ties to the Union. As a result of the secession vote in Virginia, a portion of the state seceded and formed a new state, West Virginia, which would be admitted into the Union in 1863.[9] Did these two events have any impact on how the themes of Confederate nationalism took shape in Virginia?

This dissertation examines Confederate nationalism in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia, introducing regional specificity into the historical discussion of Confederate identity- formation during the war. A regional study which compares and contrasts the themes of Confederate nationalism in different geographic locations has never been undertaken before. This study further adds to the existing literature on Confederate nationalism by examining the lives of free and enslaved African Americans in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia during the war. Free

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[8] Union forces occupied Alexandria on May 24, 1861. Williamsburg fell to the Union on May 6, 1862, while Norfolk fell to Union forces on May 10, 1862.

[9] Harry T. Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie Press, 1934), 208-210.

African Americans, especially in Louisiana, were active participants who carved out a niche for themselves as loyal Confederate citizens in the portrait of Confederate nationalism that emerged within the state.[10] Additionally, this study broadens the scope of existing literature on the debate over states' rights, conscription and habeas corpus in Georgia through the inclusion of soldiers' petitions. These petitions displayed support for the governmental policies of conscription and habeas corpus and argued winning the war was more important than protecting states' rights.

South Carolina

In a study of this nature that will examine the themes of Confederate nationalism in order to compare and contrast how these elements manifested themselves in the states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia, one might find the exclusion of South Carolina from this study a bit odd since South Carolina was the first state to secede from the Union. The states selected for this study were chosen because they shared certain basic characteristics, first and foremost is the fact Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia chose not to secede immediately after the election of Abraham Lincoln. The second characteristic these three states shared was based on the final secession vote; it was far from unanimous.[11] Nonetheless, the omission of South Carolina was intentional

[10] The number of free African Americans who lived in the Confederacy at the start of the war is evidence that the story of the Confederate States of America cannot be told without the story of free African Americans. According to the 1860 census, there were 351,000 free people of color who lived in the eleven states that would become the Confederacy. The studies of Confederate nationalism by Paul Escott and Gary Gallagher fail to mention free or enslaved African Americans. While Drew Faust does mention enslaved African Americans in *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, the African Americans in her work lack agency and take no action to chart their own course during the war. This could not be farther from the truth. This study argues that in New Orleans, free people of color actively sought out ways to define their own participation in the Confederate war effort and defined themselves as "Southern Rights" African Americans. See Paul Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War: How Popular Will, Nationalism, and Military Strategy Could Not Stave Off Defeat* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), and Drew Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

[11] In South Carolina, the vote on secession was unanimous. The secession vote in Georgia was 166 to 133. In Louisiana, the final vote was closer, with 117 in favor and 13 against secession. In Virginia, the secession vote was 88 to 55.

because the actions of the state and its inhabitants during this time defined South Carolina as possessing a different mindset from the rest of their southern counterparts.

An article entitled "The Crisis" appeared in *The New Orleans Courier* on November 9, 1860 and illustrated that some southerners characterized the debate in South Carolina on the topic of secession as premature and irrational. The piece said although "she [South Carolina] carries with her the good wishes and sympathies of at least three-fourths of our population no one will seriously deny, however premature some may consider her action at the present period."[12] The *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* reprinted an article from the *Lynchburg Virginian* that characterized the secession of South Carolina as "a rash act." The essay went on and said that South Carolina should be left to enjoy all the "fruits of secession and isolation…She brought nothing into the Union; let her go out as she came."[13] At this point in time, it looked like once again South Carolina would stand alone on the issue of secession.

A letter from Sarah Ann Caperton Preston to her sister, Harriet Caperton, also indicated a certain lack of sympathy with the position of South Carolina. Preston wrote South Carolina "made Lincoln's election an excuse to do what she has been anxious to do for twenty years, viz- to go out of the Union!"[14] Preston's statement made it seem like she felt it was only a matter of time before South Carolina left the Union and that the state might have used any disagreement in order to justify secession. The son of Virginia native Rachel Susan Cheves, who attended college in South Carolina, wrote to his mother about the "bloodthirsty set here at college" and

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[12] *The Courier*, "The Crisis," November 9, 1860. A day later, the same newspaper advocated calm and rational reasoning in the face of the growing crisis and wrote, "This is no time, as we have said before, for unnecessary excitements, for passionate appeals, or ed captandum reasoning." See *The Courier*, "The First Blow Struck," November 10, 1860.

[13] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, January 1, 1861.

[14] Sarah Ann Caperton Preston to Harriet Caperton, February 12, 1861, Caperton Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

stated he was "glad to find that there was no chance of immediate war."[15] Aquila Johnson Peyton also weighed in on the subject of South Carolina. Writing in his diary, Peyton described the decision of South Carolinians to secede from the Union as "unwise and premature."[16]

In addition to the newspaper articles and the letters and diaries of citizens which defined South Carolinians as possessing a different mindset on the issue of secession, the previous secession attempt by South Carolina also set them apart. In 1828, South Carolina developed the nullification doctrine to protest what the state's inhabitants characterized as an unfair tariff. The central argument of nullification was that each state was a sovereign power and therefore, had the right to determine whether or not a law passed by the federal government was constitutional. If a law passed by the government was deemed unconstitutional, nullification allowed individual sovereign states the ability to secede from the Union if the court system failed to address their complaint. Angry over the "tariff of abominations" which raised duties on imports from thirty three and a third percent to fifty percent, South Carolinians threatened to secede from the Union in 1832 but found themselves isolated when no other southern state supported their stance on the tariff issue.[17] These unusual circumstances within South Carolina separated them from their southern counterparts and within the state, a sense of identity based on the above mentioned factors had the potential to produce themes of Confederate nationalism which may have been unique to South Carolina.

Sources

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[15] Jos. C. Haskell to Rachel Susan (Bee) Cheves, February 28, 1861, Rachel Susan (Bee) Cheves Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[16] Peyton, January 2, 1861.

[17] Manisha Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 24. For further discussion of this issue, see William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina 1816-1836* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1965).

To create a comprehensive picture of Confederate nationalism during the Civil War, this study examines a variety of printed and oral primary source material. Music is one of these sources. In the past, historians have tended to overlook or downplay in historical studies on Confederate nationalism the role music played in shaping and defining Confederate identity. E. Lawrence Abel's *Singing the New Nation: How Music Shaped the Confederacy, 1861-1865*, is one study that recognizes the importance of songs in the creation of Confederate identity. Songs, according to Abel, were a way to disseminate feelings about Confederate identity to a large portion of the population.[18] Thus, music became the medium which disseminated the themes of Confederate nationalism to the public and attempted to convince them of the common interests which united all southerners in the Confederate States of America. Music had the ability to transcend literacy rates because one did not need to be able to read to attend a performance where Harry Macarthy sang the rousing and patriotic tune, "The Bonnie Blue Flag" in order to comprehend the themes of Confederate identity the song reinforced.[19] According to Drew Faust, the large number of newspapers which stopped publication during the war, combined with the South's low literacy rate, "ensured a wider audience for oral than for printed genres."[20]

Historian Benedict Anderson defined songs and poetry as the cultural products of nationalism. He mentioned the singing of national anthems on national holidays and how this produced what he termed an experience of simultaneity. At exactly the same moment, people who did not even know each other would be singing the exact same song lyrics. According to

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[18] E. Lawrence Abel, *Singing the New Nation: How Music Shaped the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2000), 6.

[19] On April 22, 1862 the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* advertised a concert by singer Harry Macarthy, "the author of that popular song, and of a good many other patriotic songs" who "has returned from a most successful engagement at Richmond and commences one here." A similar announcement about a concert by Harry Macarthy also appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer*.

[20] Faust, 17-18.

Anderson, the singing of songs like the Marseillaise, or in the case of the Confederate States of America, the Bonnie Blue Flag, was the "echoed physical realization of the imagined community."[21] Songs offered a nationwide outreach and thus were extremely crucial in the development of and the progression of Confederate nationalism during the war. For the Confederacy, songs became the physical representation of the five themes of Confederate identity.

In addition to songs, sermons, which were simultaneously an oral and a printed source, also influenced the development of Confederate nationalistic identity. The collection of sermons given on nationally proclaimed Confederate fast days in Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia added an additional component to Confederate nationalism. Sermons declared that Confederate citizens were God's chosen people who needed to seek God's favor in order to achieve victory on the battlefield and their independence from the United States.

In addition to music and sermons, newspapers also played an important role in defining and shaping Confederate nationalism. Newspapers published in the Confederacy, like the *Richmond Enquirer*, the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, and the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, contributed to the formation of Confederate identity through the publication of songs, poems, sermons, and articles which reinforced the key themes of Confederate nationalism. In addition to newspapers, other "state specific" sources will include the letters, diaries, and journals of the men and women who lived in the states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia. These manuscripts and diaries illustrate how the war affected the lives of ordinary southerners and how some of the same individuals defined their existence as citizens in the Confederate States of America.

Historiography

[21] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso Publishing, 1991), 147.

This dissertation is in dialogue with and contributes to the existing literature on the historical topics of Confederate nationalism, nationalism and the predecessor of Confederate nationalism, southern nationalism. In addition to lacking regional specificity, previous historical studies on Confederate nationalism tended to identify factors which created a sense of identity within the Confederacy and then answered the question which seemed to consume historians; why did the South lose the war. The work of historians Gary W. Gallagher, Drew Faust, Paul Escott, Anne Sarah Rubin and George Rable follow this trend. Paul Escott's work, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism*, examines Confederate identity from the viewpoint of elite white men, most importantly Jefferson Davis, without taking into account the role women played in defining Confederate nationalism. This study corrects this oversight by incorporating the voices of women into the discussion of Confederate nationalism by relying on the manuscripts and diaries these women left behind.[22] Women who remained on the home front helped define and reinforce the themes of Confederate nationalism as a result of the patriotic songs they wrote, such as "God Defendeth the Right," "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner," and "The Confederate Flag."[23]

Drew Faust successfully added women into the narrative about Confederate nationalism in her works *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism* and "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate

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[22] Paul Escott argues that Jefferson Davis, as president of the Confederate States of America, was instrumental in the construction of Confederate nationalism. Initially, according to Escott, Davis connected the identity of the new southern nation to the American Revolution. As a result of the increasing losses on the battlefield by 1862, Davis adopted a new strategy which emphasized how different the North and South were from one another. Escott argues the government's construction of Confederate nationalism ultimately failed because the federal government failed to address the concerns of non-slaveholding men and women during the Civil War and adopted polices like conscription which seemed to favor the wealthy at the expense of the poor. See Escott, 38-45, 110-125, 179-183, 190.

[23] Mrs. Kate DuBose wrote the lyrics for "God Defendeth the Right," while "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner" has been attributed to Mrs. E. D. Hundley. Susan Blanchard Elder was responsible for the song, "The Confederate Flag." For a more thorough discussion of the songs written by Confederate women during the Civil War, see Mary Lee Cooke, "Southern women, Southern voices: Civil War Songs by Southern Women" (D. M. A. diss., University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 2007), 29, 49, 53.

Women and the Narratives of War."[24] Instead of looking for newly invented factors which inspired the loyalty of southern citizens toward their new nation, Faust points out the key to understanding Confederate nationalism is realizing its foundations began in the South's antebellum past. For Faust, religion and slavery became the key components of Confederate identity.[25] Faust's work was critical to this study because it emphasized that the key to understanding the factors involved in creating and shaping Confederate national identity lay in the past.[26]

Nearly ten years later, *The Confederate War*, by Gary Gallagher argued the South simply lost the war on the battlefield and that the supposed loss of Confederate morale did not lead to the Confederacy's defeat. According to Gallagher, a large number of southerners identified with the Confederate nation as a result of the achievements of Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia, which in turn created patriotism and resolve among members of the Confederacy.[27] Unlike the previous studies on Confederate nationalism, this study does not

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[24] In "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," Drew Faust discusses how the Confederate government and the press wanted to find a way which allowed women to contribute to the Confederate war effort and be included in the rhetoric of Confederate nationalism. The government relied on the concept of personal sacrifice to tie women to the new nation. Faust concluded that as the tide of war began to shift in favor of the Union, the patriotism of Confederate women began to decline. Faust believes it highly likely the declining patriotism of Confederate women may be the reason the South lost the Civil War. See Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," *Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (March 1990): 1200-1228.

[25] Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, chapters 2 and 4.

[26] In addition to Escott and Faust, this work has also been influenced by Anne Sarah Rubin's *A Shattered Nation*. Rubin, like Faust, believed the Confederacy "created a national culture in part by drawing on the usable American past." By looking at the "usable American past," Rubin identifies the American Revolution, religion and slavery as three of the elements which contributed to Confederate identity. See Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 11. Rubin's components of nationalism for the Confederacy also included hatred against the Yankees which added rage to the South's nationalist identity.

[27] Gallagher, 7, 73, 110. Gallagher also believes that southerners began to think nationally as a result of their loved ones, and friends fighting miles from home.

speculate about why the Confederacy ultimately did not achieve its independence.[28] Instead, this dissertation is more concerned with identifying the themes which fostered a sense of Confederate national identity during the war and determining whether the manifestation of these themes varied by geographic location.

This study also contributes to the existing body of literature on the historical subject of nationalism. The questions about what constitutes a nation and what allows citizens to feel a connection with a nation and its other citizens were critical to this project. Adrian Hastings, when discussing the emerging English Protestant nationalism, wrote about the quandary which Americans faced; "How to be culturally American when the core of their identity was emphatically English?" This dissertation takes Hastings' question about the problem Americans faced during the Revolution and applies it to the Confederacy. How did southerners define their existence as Confederate citizens when the core of their identity was American? Southerners characterized their identity as members of the Confederacy through the use of familiar themes. Then Confederates depicted themselves as the guardians of these themes. Hastings also mentioned how the concepts of nationalism were not just cultural constructs. The elements of nationalism could be politically constructed as well.[29]

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[28] *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* by George Rable is yet another work about Confederate nationalism that incorporates women into the narrative. Similar to Faust's conclusions in "Altars of Sacrifice," Rable stated that in the face of mounting losses and personal traumas, southern women started to oppose the Confederate war effort by 1862. Therefore, Rable believes women on the home front, who faced food shortages, high prices and hunger, bore the responsibility for the downfall of the Confederacy. See George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 74-75.

[29] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 71.

For the Confederacy, citizens felt a connection with one another and their nation, belonging to what Benedict Anderson termed an "imagined community,"[30] through the adoption of themes which allowed southerners to fondly remember the past and their identity as Americans. For the purposes of Confederate nationalism, it was as much about identifying the themes which established the identity of southerners as Confederate citizens as it was about highlighting how the themes of Confederate identity reinforced the differences between Confederates and Americans. As Ian Binnington said, "nationalism functions partly through its identification of the other and the depiction of that other in ways that are unlike the national self."[31] The five themes of Confederate nationalism created an identity for Confederate citizens that was different from the identity of United States citizens.

The work of Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, argues that once citizens felt a connection to one another in this "imagined community," these individuals began to seek out items that bound them all together, such as memories, places and social practices. No doubt Hobsbawm's own work was also heavily influenced by David Potter's "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa." In his work, Potter articulates his belief that the core basis for nationalism was a common culture and the perception of common interests. He doubted whether or not the feeling of common culture and the feeling of common interests could "support a superstructure of nationality without the other."[32] The five themes of Confederate nationalism emphasized the common interests which existed among citizens in the Civil War South.

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[30] Benedict Anderson defined an "imagined community" as a community where there exists a deep bond of camaraderie between citizens who will never know or meet most of the other members of the nation. See Anderson, 6-7.

[31] Ian Binnington, "They Have Made a Nation: Confederates and the Creation of Confederate Nationalism" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2004), 28-29.

[32] David Potter, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Verse," *American Historical Review* 67 (July 1962): 924-950, 937.

Historians Avery O. Craven and John McCardell each discuss the topic of southern nationalism in their respective works. Craven and McCardell both argue southerners constructed a southern nationalism in order to defend their section once people in the south began to believe they were under attack from the north. Craven argues, similarly to John McCardell, that southern nationalism promoted a distinct southern literature, improvements in the field of southern education, and a defense of slavery which depicted the South as the superior region.[33] In essence, southern nationalism was a protective mechanism enacted by southern citizens who felt the need to protect and defend their way of life. During the Civil War, Confederates used the five themes of Confederate nationalism, the American Revolution, religion, slavery and white supremacy, and states' rights, in the same manner.

In recent years, the field of southern nationalism, and as a result Confederate nationalism, has undergone a change as a result of the inclusion of different primary sources. Whereas in the past, historians like McCardell and Craven focused on printed source material, this study includes the orally transmitted source of music and asks how the songs produced during the Confederacy's existence helped create and sustain the themes of Confederate nationalistic identity. Additionally, historians are now asking where overlooked populations like African Americans and women fit in the discussion of southern nationalism. Craven and McCardell both concentrated their attention on how whites used southern nationalism to defend their region from attacks by the north. This dissertation asks how African Americans and women impacted the development of Confederate identity.

Background on Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia

[33] Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 247-256. John McCardell, *The Idea of a southern Nation; Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1979), 6, 8.

In order to understand how the themes of Confederate nationalism manifested themselves in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia, it is important to place the states in context and examine what they looked like on the eve of the Civil War. Who lived in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia in 1860 and how did these individuals earn a living? What products manufactured within these states would eventually aid the Confederate war effort? What foodstuffs did each state produce? How many slaves and slave owners resided in these three southern states the year before the war? How did each individual state react to the election of Abraham Lincoln as president and where did Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia stand on the issue of secession? The answers to these questions will allow the reader to place these states, which will be the focus of this dissertation, into context.

According to the 1860 census, the state of Virginia had the largest overall population followed next by the state of Georgia. Louisiana had the smallest population of the three states examined in this study. Virginia was the Confederate state with the largest white population which meant Virginia would be able to supply the Confederate war effort with much needed manpower. Out of the three states examined in this study, Louisiana had the smallest number of white inhabitants. As a result of the South's dependence on the institution of slavery, there were large numbers of enslaved African Americans who lived in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia. The state of Georgia possessed more enslaved African Americans than either Louisiana or Virginia but the state of Virginia had the largest number of slaveholders. Georgia was second with 41, 084 slaveholders while the state of Louisiana came in eighth place in terms of the total number of slaveholders with 22, 033.[34]

[34] 1860 census, University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, http://www.mapserver.lib.virginia.edu. In the Confederacy, Georgia possessed the second largest number of slaveholders with 41, 084. Only Texas, Arkansas and Florida had fewer slaveholders than Louisiana.

In addition to the enslaved African American population, 351, 000 free African Americans made their home in the eleven states which would form the Confederacy. More free African Americans made their home in Virginia than in Louisiana or Georgia. Even though Louisiana had a significantly smaller free African American population, this state had large communities of free African Americans. In Louisiana, the largest community of free African Americans, 10, 939, lived in Orleans Parish, whereas the largest free black community in Virginia, Dinwiddie, had 3, 746 people. Out of the three states examined in this study, Georgia had the smallest free African American population.[35] In addition to whites and African Americans, a large foreign born population further added to the racial diversity within these three states. At the start of the Civil War, Louisiana had the largest number of foreign born residents. This meant that more than eleven percent of the state's population in 1860 was foreign born.[36] The numbers relating to the population of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia in 1860 are presented in tables 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3

Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia each manufactured products and produced foodstuffs which would become critical to the success of the Confederate war effort. The location of numerous rolling, flour, and iron foundries, as well as iron and metal works within the state meant Virginia would be able to support the war in critical ways that fed and equipped soldiers in the Confederate Army. Historian Emory M. Thomas believes that Richmond's significance to the Confederacy could be summed up in one word, iron. "Without Richmond and her iron industry," Thomas said, "the Confederates' war-waging capacity would suffer a staggering

[35] 1860 census, University of Virginia Library Historical Census Browser, http://www.fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus.

[36] 1860 Census. See also Anne J. Bailey, *Invisible Southerners: Ethnicity in the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 1.

blow."[37] Richmond's foundries helped rank Virginia third in the country in terms of iron production. In terms of manufactured products, the city of Richmond ranked thirteenth, but more importantly, it ranked first among all southern states in the same category.[38]

In addition to Richmond, the Virginia cities of Petersburg and Norfolk stand out in terms of importance. At the start of the Civil War, the city of Petersburg possessed four cotton mills, three flour mills, five iron foundries, and served as a river port and a major rail junction.[39] In Norfolk, the Gosport Navy Yard was the nation's premier naval base and the largest shipbuilding and repair facility in the South.[40] All of these reasons made Virginia critical to the Confederacy's survival and ultimate success. In terms of agriculture, the state of Virginia was among the leaders in the production of corn and wheat. According to Daniel W. Crofts, the state also produced livestock, seafood, garden crops and tobacco.[41]

Georgia's importance to the Confederacy was the fact that it was a major transportation hub with several milling enterprises located throughout the state. By 1861, Atlanta possessed flour and grain mills, a pistol factory, and was the hub of one-third of the state's 1200 miles of railroad tracks. However, Atlanta was not the only city in Georgia that would be of significance

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[37] Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate State of Richmond: A Biography of the Capital* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 23-24.

[38] John G. Deal, "The Population of Richmond, Virginia during the Civil War" (M.S. Thesis, University of Richmond, 1996), 18.

[39] A. Wilson Greene, *Civil War Petersburg: Confederate City in the Crucible of War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 4-7. Virginia ranked third behind New York and Pennsylvania in terms of rail mileage as a result of the nineteen railroads and 1,321 miles of track within the state. According to William A. Link in his work, *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*, in the year before the Civil War, Petersburg was ranked among the top fifty manufacturing cities in the U.S. See William A. Link, *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

[40] James I. Robertson, *Civil War Virginia: Battleground for a Nation* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 9.

[41] Daniel W. Crofts, "Late Antebellum Virginia Reconsidered," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 107, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 253-286, 254-256.

to the Confederacy. Augusta possessed the largest powder works in the United States and would prove invaluable to the Confederate war effort. The Augusta powder works produced nearly three million pounds of gunpowder during the war. In addition to Atlanta and Augusta, the city of Athens had several textile mills and the capital of Milledgeville, until 1864, produced weapons in the state penitentiary. And when the Civil War began, Georgia was second only to Virginia in terms of southern railroad track mileage.[42]

At the start of the war, Georgia was a major producer of cotton, corn and rice. The year before the war, Georgia produced 701,000 bales of cotton, which established the state as the fourth highest producer of cotton in the South.[43] In 1860, the state produced over 30 million bushels of corn and 52.5 million pounds of rice. Historian Kenneth Coleman argues these numbers established Georgia as second only to South Carolina in terms of rice production. The central and southwest regions of the state also produced the crops of oats, sweet potatoes, wheat, and tobacco. Within the state there was also a productive textile and lumber industry which employed thousands of workers. The city of Savannah, which had a population of 22, 292 in 1860, was the center of the state's lumber activity and the state's most important shipping port for foreign exports.[44]

The significance of the state of Louisiana can be explained by examining the city of New Orleans. Not only was New Orleans the south's largest city and a major port, it was also the site of large commercial, financial, and industrial firms that would be needed in order to finance the

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[42] F. N. Boney, *Rebel Georgia* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997), 5, 43.

[43] Christopher C. Myers, ed., *The Empire State of the South: Georgia History in Documents and Essays* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2008), 94. The states which produced more cotton than Georgia were Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

[44] Kenneth Coleman, *A History of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 165-166, 170-172.

Table 1.1 Population of Georgia

Population	1860
Total	1, 057, 286
White	591, 550
Black	465, 698
Free black	3, 500
Slave black	462, 198
Foreign-born white	11, 643
Slaveholders	41, 084

Source: 1860 Census, University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, http://www.mapserver.lib.virginia.edu. According to the census, there were also 38 Native Americans in Georgia.

Table 1.2 Population of Louisiana

Population	1860
Total	708, 002
White	357, 456
Black	350, 373
Free black	18, 647
Slave black	331, 726
Foreign-born white	80, 549
Slaveholders	22, 033

Source: 1860 Census, University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, http://www.mapserver.lib.virginia.edu. According to the census, there were 173 Native Americans in Louisiana.

Table 1.3 Population of Virginia

Population	1860
Total	1, 596, 318
White	1, 047, 299
Black	548, 907
Free black	58, 042
Slave black	490, 865
Foreign-born white	35, 053
Slaveholders	52, 128

Source: 1860 Census, University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, http://www.mapserver.lib.virginia.edu. According to the census, there were 112 Native Americans in Virginia.

war. Furthermore, the city possessed manufacturing centers that supplied armaments, clothing, and tenting during the first year of the war. Louisiana also led the South in terms of shoe production. The city of New Orleans was home to the Southern Shoe Factory. This company, within two months of its founding in 1861, made two hundred and fifty pairs of shoes daily. The city housed three powder mills and naval shipyards, which would manufacture the ironclads the *Louisiana* and the *Mississippi* during the war. The state also was a large producer of cotton and sugar. Louisiana produced one-sixth of all cotton grown in the United States in 1860 and also one-quarter to one-half of all the sugar the United States consumed. As a result, in 1860, Louisiana ranked second among all states in the U.S. and first in the south in terms of per capita wealth.[45]

As far as slavery was concerned, each state heavily depended on the institution to support their way of life and produce their agricultural crops. However, in Virginia the state's five distinct regions, the Tidewater, Piedmont, Shenandoah Valley, Southwest and the Northwest, placed varying degrees of significance upon slavery. The Tidewater and Piedmont regions in the eastern part of the state produced tobacco and relied extensively on the labor of slaves to produce these crops. While slavery existed in the Shenandoah Valley and the Southwest region, it was not relied on to the same extent that it was in the Tidewater and Piedmont areas.

By 1860, the Northwest region of Virginia leaned more toward free labor than the slave labor system which dominated the rest of the state. While three-fifths of the state's white population lived in the western part of the state, more than four-fifths of the state's African

[45] John D. Winters, *The Civil War in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), 59-63.

American population lived in the eastern part of Virginia.[46] As a result, historian Daniel W. Crofts argues that there were in essence two separate states within the state of Virginia when the Civil War began.[47] This was apparent after Virginia passed their secession ordinance on April 17, 1861. Citizens in the counties of Monongalia, Wetzel, Harrison and Preston organized meetings where they denounced secession. The western counties of Virginia passed their own secession ordinance on May 23, 1861 and in 1863, they were admitted to the Union as the state of West Virginia.[48]

As evidenced by Virginia's secession date, this state chose not to secede from the Union immediately after Lincoln's election. Georgia and Louisiana followed suit. Newspaper articles and prominent individuals in these three locations were divided on the issue of secession. While some sources urged caution and rational behavior in the wake of Lincoln's election as president, others pushed for immediate secession. In the state of Georgia, Alexander H. Stephens, soon to be elected Vice-President of the Confederate States of America, urged moderation since he did not believe "the election of no man…sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union." He urged the citizens of Georgia not to be swayed by their emotions and instead he advised them to address this crisis with reason.[49]

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[46] Link, 3, 30. According to Link, there were many long-standing differences between the Northwest part of the state, which relied on free labor, and the eastern part of Virginia, which relied heavily on slave labor. The first difference occurred over the issue of representation to the state house and senate. Those in the northwest region, not surprisingly, wanted to base representation on the number of whites who lived in the area. Inhabitants in the east wanted representation based on the number of whites as well as the number of slaves in the area. Additionally, citizens in the northwest part of the state believed internal improvement favored the slaveholding regions of the east. For more information on this issue see Link, 9-25.

[47] Crofts, 260.

[48] Shanks, 210-211.

[49] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "Speech of the Hon. A. H. Stephens," November 20, 1860.

On November 27, 1860 the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* published an editorial entitled "Our Rights" that counseled against secession in order to solve the South's problems. The article stated it was pure folly to talk about the protection of the South's rights and then think about "yielding those rights by the simple act of secession." Seven weeks later, the same newspaper proclaimed that the "Union and the Constitution were worth preserving" since one could not reasonably hold them responsible for the "actions of corrupt parties or their leaders who endangered the one and perverted the meaning of the other."[50] Ultimately, four days after this last article appeared in the *Southern Recorder*, the delegates to the Georgia secession convention voted in favor of secession. In Georgia, the vote for secession was 166 in favor and 130 against.[51]

Virginia was extremely conflicted over whether or not to sever its ties with the Union. In the week after the presidential election, the *Richmond Enquirer* published an article which discussed the various reactions by Virginia newspapers to Lincoln's election. The *Lynchburg Republican* and the *Fredericksburg Herald-Whig* both advocated secession. "When the cotton states do secede, we shall advocate secession with them," the *Republican* wrote, "and resist the right of the Federal Government to coerce them back." Even though the *Republican* was for immediate secession, they still expressed a willingness to take any steps which could "possibly preserve the Union upon constitutional grounds." The *Transcript* and *Intelligencer*, from Portsmouth and Petersburg, respectively, were against secession. According to the *Portsmouth Transcript*, it was the "dictate of patriotism and prudence that we should remain in the Union for

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[50] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "Our Rights," November 27, 1860, "The Convention," January 15, 1861.

[51] William W. Freehling and Craig M. Simpson, *Secession Debated: Georgia's Showdown in 1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), xxi. In Louisiana, the final vote on secession was 113 in favor and 17 against which was certainly less acrimonious than the situation that occurred in Virginia.

the present" since Lincoln had no power to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law or adopt pieces of legislation that would be hostile to the South.[52]

When the Virginia secession commission first voted on the issue on April 4, 1861, the vote was forty-five in favor of secession and ninety against secession.[53] The state did not pass a secession ordinance until April 17, 1861, in part because the make-up of the convention included not only secessionists but also men whose political leanings at the time were best described as moderate and unionist.[54] However, when Virginia finally passed the secession ordinance, it was a direct result of President Lincoln's request for 75,000 troops from each state in the Union to put down the rebellion. And even when Lincoln's actions backed Virginia into a corner and forced its hand on the issue of secession, the vote for secession, like the one that preceded it in Georgia, was not unanimous. The vote for secession in Virginia was 88 in favor and 55 against, meaning that Virginians were indeed reluctant secessionists.

In Louisiana, the situation was much the same. Some newspapers in New Orleans, such as the *Daily Picayune* and the *Bee*, urged moderation while the *Daily Delta* favored immediate secession. In fact, in the days following Lincoln's election as president, the *Daily Delta* criticized the *Daily Picayune* and the *Bee* for taking a wait and see approach in the days following the election. On November 10, 1860, the *Daily Delta* published an article which invited all "true men of the South" who were prepared to unite "for the defense of the rights of our section" to meet that evening at Armory Hall.[55]

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[52] *Richmond Enquirer*, "The Southern Press on the Result of the Election," November 13, 1860.

[53] Link, 235.

[54] Shanks, 159. According to Shanks, unionists denied the right of secession but were opposed to the attempt to enforce Federal law in a state that had seceded. Moderates supported the right of secession but still wanted to negotiate with the Federal government before seceding from the Union.

[55] *Daily Delta*, "Minute Men," November 10, 1860.

In the pages of the *Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet*, Louisiana residents warned secession would only lead to the South's ruin. An individual who identified himself only as "Cincinnatus," wrote an editorial which appeared in the *Daily Gazette and Comet* on November 22, 1860. The author reasoned the United States Constitution protected the institutions of the South and if Lincoln, once he was president, tried to violate the Constitution, the South could simply impeach him. "Cincinnatus" implored his fellow citizens to place their faith in the Constitution and its laws because secession would lead to "anarchy and end in a Military Despotism." Louisianan Edward Delony shared the same opinion as "Cincinnatus" on the issue of secession. "I am opposed to immediate and separate secession by each State, now urged," wrote Delony, "as a most dangerous and fatal policy." According to Delony, who supported a conference of southern states, secession offered the South "no assurances of safety and security" and was therefore, a bad idea.[56]

While the *Daily Gazette and Comet* published editorials which rejected the idea of southern secession, they also published essays which advocated for the secession of the slaveholding states. On December 12, 1860, the newspaper published the remarks of Governor Thomas O. Moore on the secession crisis. Moore believed the southern states had cause to secede from the Union because the Republican Party, whom he argued was hostile to the institution of slavery, had been elected based on a sectional vote. Moore did not believe it was in Louisiana's best interests "as a slaveholding State, to live under the Government of a Black Republican President."[57] The members of the state's secession convention agreed with

[56] *Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet*, "The President Elect," November 22, 1860, "Southern Conference," December 19, 1860.

[57] *Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet*, "Message of the Governor of the State of Louisiana," December 12, 1860.

Governor Moore and on January 26, 1861, Louisiana seceded from the Union. The final vote on secession was 117 in favor and 13 against.

Chapter Organization

The chapters of this dissertation are arranged topically. The first four chapters highlight the five themes of Confederate nationalism which tied southerners in the new nation together and re-emphasized the idea of an "imagined community." The five themes of Confederate nationalism were the American Revolution, religion, slavery and white supremacy, and states' rights. As mentioned earlier, Confederates saw themselves as the true descendants of their revolutionary ancestors who fought to protect the sacred concepts of liberty and self-government, much like the revolutionaries of the eighteenth century. Another facet of Confederate identity centered on southerners identifying themselves as God's chosen people because they had been entrusted by God with the protection of the enslaved African American race. The fast day sermons delivered by Confederate clergymen during the war emphasized this belief. This is the focus of the second chapter. Even though Confederates admitted the impetus for secession stemmed from their desire to protect the institution of slavery, the fact is that the majority of white southerners did not own slaves and therefore, slavery had the potential to divide rather than unite Confederate citizens. As a result, the concept of white supremacy, which Confederate citizens closely aligned with slavery, promoted unity based on race and replaced class with caste. The last theme of Confederate nationalism, states' rights, was divisive during the war and this is highlighted by examining its manifestation in the state of Georgia.

The fifth chapter examines how the Confederate flag, along with the music the flag inspired, reinforced the belief in a southern community of like minded individuals. The five themes of Confederate nationalistic identity were intangible. Therefore, the Confederate flag

became the physical representation of the five themes of Confederate nationalism and highlighted the common bonds which were thought to exist amongst citizens in the new nation.

The final two chapters discuss perceived internal threats to Confederate nationalism. White Confederates viewed free African Americans and Jews as a threat to Confederate nationalism because their loyalty was always in doubt. For affluent free African Americans in Louisiana, class transcended race, which allowed free people of color to be included in the state narrative on Confederate nationalism. In the wake of mounting losses on the battlefield and the downturn in the economy, members of the Confederacy chose to blame Jewish citizens for these issues, in spite of the fact the evidence illustrates Jews were loyal to the southern nation.

CHAPTER 1

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"We are fighting for our liberties against those who would make of us the most abject slaves"

Frederick E. Wimberly, a member of the Sixth Regiment, Volunteer Infantry, spoke these words in Jeffersonville, Georgia on May 26, 1861. His speech consisted of sixteen handwritten pages that defined the southern cause and helped contribute to the formation of Confederate identity. Wimberly insisted the new government inspired by the North was "one utterly submissive of our dearest rights and liberties" and therefore not "the government adopted and transmitted by our fathers." He believed the rights guaranteed to the southern people by the United States Constitution, specifically the right to own slaves, had been violated by the North. In his speech, Wimberly referred to the common blood given by revolutionary ancestors from all parts of the United States and how from their common blood "sprang the tree of American liberty."[1]

Wimberly's words reminded southerners that even though enormous differences separated colonial Americans in 1776, they were still able to set aside their differences and come together for the cause of American independence. And this is what southerners needed to do in order to wage a successful war against the North. Wimberly characterized the fight of his home state of Georgia and the Confederacy as one to protect individual liberties and freedoms, references which were meant to invoke the memory of the American Revolution and the revolutionary ancestors who waged a successful war for independence against Great Britain.

[1] Frederick E. Wimberly Speech, May 26, 1861, 7, 10, Virginia Historical Society. Frederick Ezekiel Wimberly was born in Jeffersonville, Georgia on September 26, 1836. He died on September 17, 1862 in Sharpsburg, Maryland during the Battle of Antietam.

Historian Drew Gilpin Faust argues southerners saw themselves as the "true heirs of the American revolutionary tradition."[2] Through the use of a number of different media such as songs, newspapers, speeches, sermons and personal correspondence, Confederates were able to create an image of themselves that reinforced this idea that their struggle for independence was merely a continuation of the fight waged by colonists during the American Revolution. The primary sources from this time not only established Confederates as the true heirs of the American revolutionary tradition, but also highlighted the similar values between Confederate citizens and the nation's founders.

Paul D. Escott's *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* examines the role Jefferson Davis played in shaping Confederate identity and argues that Davis initially defined southerners as true revolutionaries who declared their independence from the United States and carried on the revolution of 1776. However, Escott said that once the devastating losses at New Orleans and Shiloh occurred, Davis crafted a new strategy, based on the cruelty of the Union Army, to bond southerners in time of war.[3] While Davis' personal beliefs about the elements that would define Confederate nationalism changed, this dissertation contends the media which established Confederate identity such as newspapers, sermons, songs, and the personal correspondence of southerners continued to identify the American Revolution as one of the themes of Confederate nationalism.

Everyone in the South knew the story of how, despite impossible odds, the colonists achieved their independence from Great Britain. Literature published in the Confederacy highlighted the significance of 1776 and connected it to the 1861 revolution undertaken by the

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[2] Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 14.

[3] Paul Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 38-45, 179-183.

Confederate States of America. The American Revolution, for the Confederacy, became the first theme of Confederate nationalism. As mentioned in the introduction, the themes of Confederate identity had three purposes: provide justification for the war, establish the vast differences which existed between Confederate and American citizens, and highlight the common interests of members of the Confederacy. When southerners used the American Revolution to characterize the war as a fight to protect the constitutional freedoms and liberties established by the original thirteen colonies, it shifted the focus of the war from slavery to a higher purpose and emphasized the differences between Confederates and Unionists. Additionally, the theme of the American Revolution reinforced the common interests among Confederate citizens by attempting to highlight the common purpose they hoped to achieve with victory; the protection of the rights and liberties guaranteed by the United States Constitution. If southerners failed to win their revolution, they were convinced that their own enslavement, at the hands of despotic northerners, awaited them. This potential outcome also united Confederate citizens.

The use of language which cast the North and Abraham Lincoln as the present day equivalent of Great Britain and King George III, and the appropriation of revolutionary heroes like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson for the southern cause, established a Confederate identity immensely different from American identity as interpreted by northerners. Furthermore, the Confederacy expunged northern revolutionaries, like John and Samuel Adams, from their discussions about the American Revolution to illustrate that southerners, not northerners, were the only true descendants of the heroes of the revolution. Confederate citizens used specific words such as “liberties” and “independence” to characterize their struggle and connect it to the American Revolution. These words were designed to invoke comparisons to the American

Revolution. All of these reasons enabled Confederates to construct an identity for themselves which they believed differed from their previous identity as American citizens.

This study will show how the theme of the American Revolution manifested itself in the Confederate states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia and explain whether this theme produced and reinforced Confederate nationalism or created a Confederate regionalism. In the state of Georgia, speeches by prominent state officials, newspapers and personal correspondence all combined to establish the Confederate war effort as an extension of the American Revolution. Meanwhile, music disseminated the message to the southern people that the Confederate fight for independence was merely a continuation of the fight waged by the British colonists during the Revolution.

While Georgia pondered whether or not to secede from the Union after the election of Abraham Lincoln, a number of prominent men from the state championed the cause of secession in a series of speeches before the Georgia secession convention. Henry L. Benning, a former associate justice on the Georgia Supreme Court, delivered his pro-secession speech on the evening of November 19, 1860. Benning believed the war was about the constitutional principle which guaranteed southerners the right to own slaves. According to Benning, northerners violated this constitutional right and the only option that would protect the South's constitutional right to own slaves was secession. The end of Benning's speech contained a rousing sentiment designed to equate the cause of secession with the American Revolution. Benning concluded his speech by saying, "Let us follow the examples of our ancestors and prove ourselves worthy sons of worthy sires."[4] Benning asked the men and women of Georgia to take a leap of faith, secede from the Union and wage war to protect their personal liberties. This is exactly the same path

[4] William H. Freehling and Craig M. Simpson, *Secession Debated: Georgia's Showdown in 1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 144.

their Revolutionary forefathers followed when they separated from Great Britain and fought for their independence. Benning's advice to Georgians that they follow in the footsteps of their revolutionary ancestors was a sentiment that appeared regularly during the course of the war.

Earlier that same week, Robert Toombs delivered his own speech on the issue of secession. The last two pages of his written comments contained references to the Revolution. Toombs equated the arguments he heard about the tyrannical rule of the North to those used by the colonists over eighty years ago when they discussed abuses by Great Britain. Toombs said, "Arguments that I now hear in favor of this Northern connection (to tyranny) are identical in substance, and almost in the same words as those which were used in 1775 and 1776 to sustain the British connection (to tyranny.)"[5] Even before Georgia seceded and officially became part of the Confederacy, prominent men within Georgia's borders cast secession as having the same driving force as the American Revolution. That driving force was the right to have protection against tyrannical forces that sought to curtail personal liberties. Therefore, it is not surprising that during the war, Georgia officials continued to use Revolutionary rhetoric to cast the Confederate struggle for independence as a continuation of the American Revolution.

On November 5, 1863, Georgia Governor Joseph E. Brown gave a speech to the state legislature where he portrayed the southern war as having the same principles as the war of 1776. It is evident that southerners did not want the world to view them as radicals but as revolutionaries who were trying to successfully conclude the revolution waged by their ancestors eighty plus years ago. Brown said, "We of the South are fighting for the great principles of self-government, bequeathed to us by our fathers of the revolution of 1776. In imitation of our

[5] Freehling and Simpson, 48-49.

fathers of the first revolution, we submitted to wrong, till our grievances were intolerable…"[6] Brown's statement sought to highlight the continuity between the Confederate war and the American Revolution and the suffering of southerners and British colonists at the hands of their tyrannical oppressors.

Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens, in a speech before the Georgia Legislature on March 16, 1864, equated the struggle of southerners with the struggle waged by the American colonists during the Revolution and asked his fellow citizens to emulate the example set by their revolutionary forefathers. He reminded his fellow Confederates of the "time that tried men's souls" when "every city on the coast, from Boston to Savannah, was taken by the enemy…as completely as Kentucky, Missouri, Louisiana, and Tennessee are now." Stephens encouraged southerners to "take courage from the example of your ancestors" and not to despair because the colonists who fought for their independence did not face setbacks with despair.[7] Besides speeches by prominent citizens published within the state, Georgia's newspapers also sought to illustrate the similarity between the values of Confederates and the values of the colonists who fought for American independence during the Revolution.

In the pages of the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, prominent Georgians Howell Cobb, Martin J. Crawford and Robert Toombs issued a plea "To the People of Georgia" during the first months of the war. Their plea urged Georgians to donate shoes, clothing, and blankets to men who fought on behalf of their state. The imagery in the article depicted revolutionary forefathers Thomas Jefferson and George Washington as passing the torch of freedom and liberty to the

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[6] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, November 8, 1863.

[7] Alexander Hamilton Stephens, *The Great Speech of the Hon. A. H. Stephens, Delivered Before the Georgia Legislature, on Wednesday Night, March 16th, 1864, to which is Added Extracts from Gov. Brown's Message to the Georgia Legislature*, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/stephens/menu.html, 4.

members of the Confederacy for safekeeping when the plea proclaimed the current struggle was one to "maintain the heritage of our Liberty and Independence, transmitted to us by our Revolutionary fathers of 1776."[8] This article reinforced the belief that southerners, not northerners, were the true descendants of the revolutionaries of 1776 and established a fundamental difference between American and Confederate citizens.

The following year, the *Milledgeville Union* discussed the recent occupation of New Orleans by Union forces. The essay encouraged its readers to not see the loss of the largest city in the Confederacy as a setback. Instead, the piece encouraged its readers to "emulate their [forefathers] example, by enduring all for the sake of their country's independence."[9] Ordinary men and women during the Revolution endured hardship during the war and received, as a reward for their sacrifices, independence. The *Union* told its readers that they too needed to make sacrifices in the name of Confederate independence and implied that they too could hope to receive independence for their efforts. This was not the only time Confederate citizens were asked to emulate the example of the American colonists. As mentioned previously, Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens asked Confederates to follow the example of their colonial ancestors and not give in to despair in his 1864 speech before the Georgia Legislature.

The Revolution seemed especially inspirational when Southern war efforts floundered. In 1863, when the problems the Confederacy faced seemed to double with every passing day, the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* encouraged its readers to remember the American Revolution and

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[8] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "To the People of Georgia," September 6, 1861. Prominent Georgians Howell Cobb, Martin J. Crawford and Robert Toombs wrote the piece. Howell Cobb was president of the Provisional Confederate Congress. He later entered the Confederate Army and initially commanded the Sixteenth Georgia Infantry as a colonel. Martin J. Crawford and Robert Toombs were both elected to the Confederate Provisional Congress. Crawford served in Congress from 1861 until February 1862. Toombs served in the Provisional Congress until his appointment to the position of Secretary of State by Jefferson Davis. Toombs held this position for only a few short months, resigning in July 1861 to accept command of a Georgia brigade stationed in Virginia.

[9] *Richmond Enquirer*, May 2, 1862.

"take courage from the examples of your ancestors," and recalled a "time that 'tried men's souls'" when "every city on the coast, from Boston to Savannah, was taken by the enemy." The essay, appropriately titled, "Liberty and Independence," said that "the principles they [American revolutionaries] fought for, suffered and endured so much for, are the same for which we are now struggling. State Rights, State Sovereignty, the great principle set forth in the declaration of Independence-the right of every State to govern itself as it pleases."[10] While the articles in Georgia newspapers highlighted the similarity between the Confederate cause and the American Revolution, the state's newspapers also mentioned the Fourth of July holiday. Some newspapers felt the holiday belonged as much to Confederate citizens as it did to American citizens and therefore, southerners had a right to celebrate the day.

The Confederacy appropriated this holiday as their own because the revolution of 1776 established the sovereignty of the thirteen colonies as free and independent states, which made secession in southern eyes legal. And the belief that celebrated revolutionary heroes like Thomas Jefferson and George Washington shared with them similar fundamental beliefs and qualities like perseverance, self-sacrifice, and respect for constitutional principles was also a factor in the appropriation of the Fourth of July holiday by the Confederacy. In Augusta, the *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* hailed July fourth as "the day commemorative of our release from the thralldom of British rule, and of our independence as free and separate States."[11] Readers could infer from the above article that the Fourth of July was significant to Confederates because it established their right to secede from the Union since each state was a free independent entity. In Savannah, the *Daily Republican* advocated that the South continue to celebrate the Fourth of July. The essay said the "name of Washington and his great achievement-the emancipation of

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[10] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "Liberty and Independence," April 3, 1863.

[11] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, July 4, 1863.

the continent from British tyranny" should always be remembered by the people. Next, the article tied the Confederate fight to the American Revolution by reminding its readers southerners fought "a second revolution against puritanical intolerance." The article asserted Confederates should honor the Fourth of July "now and for all time to come."[12]

Floyd County, Georgia resident Marcellus Augustus Stovall, who served as lieutenant colonel of the Third Georgia Battalion, clipped out an article that expressed a vastly different opinion about the Fourth of July and pasted it into his scrapbook. While the article once again proclaimed to its readers that "the people of the South battled for the same sacred rights which brought about the war between the American colonies and the mother country," it also told southerners that the Fourth of July should no longer be celebrated in the South. Now that the South seceded from the Union, the article decreed that there should be "no celebrations on the same day that might tend to bring about recollections of past glories common to both people, and foster a spirit of reconstruction." The piece advocated that Confederates adopt February 22, the day of Washington's birth, as their new national holiday since the day "will bring to our minds the great deeds performed by Washington and his illustrious compatriots." The article's last line put it succinctly when it said, "Let the Yankees have the stars and stripes and the Fourth of July."

The piece portrayed the Confederate struggle for independence as a continuation of the American Revolution when it asserted each group of individuals fought for the common principle of self-government and held "similar hopes and aspirations."[13] And now that the Confederacy sought to establish itself as an independent nation, some individuals wanted to make sure there would be no connections to their former country through the creation of a new

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[12] *Savannah Daily Republican*, "Fourth of July," July 4, 1864.

[13] Marcellus Augustus Stovall, Marcellus Augustus Stovall Scrapbooks, Volume 3, Georgia Historical Society.

national holiday that paid homage to George Washington, the southern born hero of the American Revolution. In addition to newspaper articles which established the Confederate war effort as an extension of the American Revolution in the eighteenth century, music also highlighted the belief that the Confederate Revolution was merely an extension of the American Revolution. Music was yet another attempt to convince Confederates, and the rest of the world, the revolution they began in 1861 was intimately related to the revolution of 1776.

In 1863, the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* published "A Southern Song" which attempted to define southerners who seceded from the Union as rebels and connect them to the revolutionary rebels of 1776. In the song, George Washington is referred to as a rebel, Thomas Jefferson is seen as a traitor but the words rebel and traitor do not hold negative connotations for southerners in this song. In "A Southern Song," a rebel is defined as a "sacred name" and the word "traitor" is depicted as "glorious" because "by such names our fathers fought-By them were victorious." The song concluded with a reference to "our rebel flag" which served as a rallying point for all members of the southern Confederacy.[14]

As "A Southern Song" illustrates, the lyrics of Confederate songs created a distinct image that tied the American Revolution to the southern war for independence and thus allowed southerners to believe they fought the same battle as their revolutionary ancestors. Confederates believed their colonial ancestors fought against a controlling, despotic government that violated the constitutional rights of colonists. Southerners fought against the despotic northern government that constantly violated personal property rights, which southerners believed the Constitution guaranteed them. Perhaps even more importantly, connecting the revolution of 1776 to the revolution of 1861 in song allowed Southerners to claim that just like the colonists,

[14] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, October 20, 1863.

Confederates had right on their side and were ultimately destined for success. Music was the medium which conveyed this message to citizens throughout the Confederacy.

The *Jack Morgan Songster*, compiled by a member of General Lee's army, contained the song "We Conquer or Die" that connected the Confederate war effort to the American Revolution. James Piermont's song "We Conquer or Die" admonished Confederates to "go forth in the pathway our forefathers trod" because they fought for the same cause, freedom. The song's lyrics further established a connection between southerners and their revolutionary ancestors when they proclaimed Confederates had the blood of their revolutionary ancestors flowing through their veins. And the colonists during the American Revolution, just like Confederates, used the term "We Conquer or Die" in their fight for independence and fought for their independence from repressive societies.

Another song published in Georgia was "Boys Keep your powder dry." The title of the song extolled men to be good soldiers by "keeping their [gun] powder dry" so that they could successfully fight the enemy. The song's fifth stanza emphasized the connection between the Revolution of 1776 and the Revolution of 1861. This stanza told Confederates how freedom and liberty called upon them to fight and that this message simply could not be ignored.[15]

Augusta, Georgia resident Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas also used the term liberty in the initial year of the war to describe what motivated southerners to wage war. In addition to using the term liberty, Thomas went one step further and mentioned the fact that the liberty southerners fought to achieve was the same liberty won by their revolutionary ancestors eighty five years ago. On a Saturday morning, Thomas wrote in her diary that, "we are deprived or they

[15] *Boys, keep your powder dry*." A Soldier's Song, Arranged for the Piano Forte, By Fr. C. Mayer (Augusta: Blackmar and Bro., 1863), Manuscript Division, Tulane University. When gunpowder and cartridges became wet, it became hard to accurately discharge a weapon.

are attempting to deprive us of that glorious liberty for which our Fathers fought and bled… "[16] Bessie Barrington King of Roswell, Georgia described the actions of her relative, Thomas Edward, as fighting for the "establishment of our independence."[17] The use of the term "independence" is significant because independence is what the colonists achieved with their victory over Great Britain. Confederates, similar to the colonists, sought to achieve their independence with victory over the North. Thomas and King interpreted the Confederate struggle as being waged for the purpose of liberty, which they associated with the American Revolution. It appeared that both Thomas and King internalized the messages found in speeches, newspapers and songs which equated the Confederate cause with that of the American Revolution.

In addition to Bessie King, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Frederick Waring also utilized the term "independence" to describe the cause of the Confederacy in his diary. Joseph Frederick Waring was born in Savannah in 1832 and graduated from Yale University in 1852. Before the war, he owned a plantation named Skidaway Island and served as an alderman in the city of Savannah. During the war, Waring commanded a company of Georgia Hussars that eventually became Company F of the Jeff Davis Legion. On September 10, 1864, Waring expressed his hope that the Confederacy would still be able to secure its independence from the United States. Waring wrote, "We shall certainly win our independence as the sun shines in heaven." The following month, Waring made another entry in his diary where he acknowledged how much Confederates suffered at the hands of the U.S. and urged his fellow citizens to have patience

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[16] Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas July 15, 1861, Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas Journal, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[17] Tammy Harden Galloway, *Dear Old Roswell: The Civil War Letters of the King Family of Roswell, Georgia*, (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2003), 27-28. Thomas Edward King was a Captain of Company H in the Seventh Regiment of the Georgia Infantry. He would be wounded at the Battle of Manassas in 1861.

since "Our fathers fought 8 years."[18] Based on his comments, it appeared Waring realized the Confederate goal of independence would not be achieved quickly and reminded himself that it took the American revolutionaries eight long years to accomplish their goal of independence from Great Britain.

George Washington Hall, a member of the Fourteenth Georgia Volunteers, forecast an upcoming battle in one of his diary entries. On April 20, 1862, Hall, named for a founding father, hoped the upcoming battle would be a decisive one that would lead to "a glorious independence waving over our beloved land once more." [19] In referring to the fact that independence had already washed over the nation on a previous occasion, Hall's words connected the South with the revolutionary tradition of the past and made it clear Confederates claimed this revolutionary heritage for themselves.

In Louisiana, as in Georgia, primary source material connected the American Revolution and the Confederate cause, to illustrate southerners and their revolutionary ancestors fought for the same goals. In this scenario, Confederates cast themselves in the role of the revolutionaries which left the North to take the role as tyrannical Great Britain in this new revolutionary drama. This in turn created an "Us vs. Them" dynamic and helped to depict American and Confederate citizens as two distinct entities. Regardless of the fact that Louisiana did not even exist at the time of the American Revolution, the inhabitants of this state nevertheless adopted the ideology of the American Revolution and applied it to the conflict of 1861.

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[18] Joseph Frederick Waring, September 10, 1864, October 12, 1864, Joseph Frederick Waring Diary, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia. Waring survived the Civil War only to die in 1876, as a result of a yellow fever epidemic that swept through Georgia.

[19] George Washington Hall, April 20, 1862, 14, 15, George Washington Hall Diary, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

The newspapers and periodicals published within Louisiana, like their Georgia counterparts, used language which highlighted the close link between Confederates and American Revolutionaries. In February 1862, the *Daily Picayune* published two articles which used language that further characterized the war waged by Confederates as intricately linked to the war waged by colonists in 1776. The piece, "The Way to Walk In," described the Confederate cause as "containing every element of the struggle for freedom and property and rights which marked the struggle of 1776..."[20]

Three days earlier, the article "What They Mean" appeared in the same newspaper. The language used to describe the impetus for southern independence was reminiscent of the words Thomas Jefferson would have used to explain why there was no other option but to separate from Great Britain. The article said, "The rising of the South for independence out of the Union originated in the thickening proofs that that Union was an engine of oppression, which had fallen into the hands of a merciless faction, who were bent on using its powers for the ruin of the civil rights and social institutions, the peace and property of the Southern States."[21] This piece not only provided justification for the war without mentioning the institution of slavery, it also established two distinct identities for the Union and the Confederacy.

According to this article, the Union was the oppressor of the South while the Confederacy was the protector of civil rights and social institutions. Another article, this one from the New Orleans publication, *Daily True Delta*, equated King George III, the tyrant who oppressed the American colonists, with President Abraham Lincoln. The piece said, "As to the tyrant George, so to the despot Lincoln, they bare their bosoms and their swords; as to one tyrant,

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[20] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, "The Way to Walk In," February 18, 1862.

[21] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, "What They Mean," February 15, 1862.

so to all; as in 1776, so in 1861."[22] By depicting both King George III and Abraham Lincoln as tyrants, this constructed an identity for northerners as the villains in the revolution of 1861 and by default, Confederates became the heroes and the descendants of their revolutionary ancestors.

The *New Orleans Daily True Delta* contained an article about a unique organization, the Southern Independence Association, founded by citizens from Orleans and Jefferson parishes that once again reinforced the close connection between the Revolution and the Confederate cause. The goal of the Southern Independence Association was to "maintain and preserve at all hazards and under all circumstances the independence of the Southern Confederacy." A second purpose of the Southern Independence Association was to "aid toward the success and triumph of the revolution we have entered into, in vindication of our liberties, honor, and independence."[23]

The same year the Southern Independence Association was founded, *De Bow's Review*, published in the city of New Orleans by James De Bow, continued to align the Confederate cause, in the minds of its readers, with the cause of the American Revolution. The journal reiterated the secession of the South was the result of "anti-slavery and abolition fanatics" and stated the only hope for southerners was to choose the same path as their revolutionary ancestors and stand on "the rock of independence, on which their forefathers stood nearly a century ago in the contest with Great Britain."[24] Furthermore, the papers in Louisiana urged southerners to once again emulate their forefathers and celebrate the Fourth of July holiday because the holiday

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[22] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Virginia and the Struggle for Southern Independence," January 1, 1862.

[23] *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, "Southern Independence Association," March 15, 1862.

[24] "Abolitionism- A Curse to the North and a Blessing to the South," *De Bow's Review* 32, no. 3-4, (March-April 1862): 295-304, 299.

belonged as much to Confederates as it did to northerners, since revolutionary heroes George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were southerners.

As the *Daily True Delta* put it, the Fourth was sacred to southerners because "Jefferson, a southerner wrote the Declaration; Washington, a southerner defended it with his sword; and in it are contained the words of eternal truth, which stir the southern blood to resist tyranny to the last mortal extremity."[25] The *Daily Picayune* concurred with the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* that July Fourth belonged as much to the Confederacy as it did to the Union because the Confederate States of America were the sole guardians of the principle of constitutional liberty, one of the principles fought for and achieved in the 1776 revolution.[26]

Six days earlier, another article in the *Daily Picayune* focused on the Fourth of July and endorsed celebrating the holiday out of respect for those "who so nobly set us an example in the way of achieving national independence…" [27] This was similar to the opinion expressed in an 1864 article from the *Savannah Daily Republican* which endorsed observing the Fourth of July to honor Washington and his achievement of American independence. An afternoon edition of the *Daily Picayune*, published on July 4th, discussed how people in Louisiana observed the holiday as Confederate citizens. The piece, entitled "First Fourth of July in the Confederate States," mentioned how all businesses closed for the day and how public buildings in the city "floated the glorious defiant flag of the Southern Confederacy, and the State flag of Louisiana." There was also a thirteen gun salute "in honor of the old thirteen states" and an eleven gun salute

[25] *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, "Topic of the Times: The Fourth of July," July 4, 1861.

[26] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "Recurring to First Principles: The Fourth of July," July 4, 1861.

[27] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "The Fourth of July," June 28, 1861.

for the "Southern Confederacy." The newspaper asserted Confederate citizens in New Orleans celebrated the holiday with "a sacredness never witnessed before." [28]

This article tells the reader important pieces of information about the Fourth of July holiday in Confederate New Orleans. The reader can ascertain the holiday still held reverence for Confederate citizens as evidenced by the thirteen gun salute in honor of the original thirteen colonies that fought for their independence against Britain. The article also managed to link the cause of the Confederacy with that of the Revolution when it indicated that in addition to the thirteen gun salute which honored the original thirteen colonies, there was also an eleven gun salute to honor each state in the Confederacy. This appeared to put the thirteen colonies on an equal plateau with the eleven states of the Confederacy. Furthermore, the fact that part of the celebration centered on the flying of the Confederate, as well as the state flag, indicated the significance the flag held for the southern people.[29] In addition to the Fourth of July, newspapers in the state of Louisiana also continued the trend of appropriating George Washington for the Confederate cause by drawing parallels between him and President Jefferson Davis and highlighting the fact that Washington was a southern born revolutionary hero.

The highly influential *De Bow's Review* ran an editorial in July 1861 where it equated Confederate President Jefferson Davis with George Washington by referring to Davis as the "second Father of his Country." As part of the editorial, the paper then printed excerpts from a speech Davis gave in Richmond where he hammered the connection between the revolution and the cause of the South. "The cause in which we are now engaged," Davis said, "is the advocacy

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[28] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "First Fourth of July Celebration in the Confederate States," July 4, 1861.

[29] What is interesting about this Fourth of July celebration is the fact that a gun salute in honor of the original thirteen colonies occurred in the U.S. prior to secession. The fact southerners chose to celebrate the holiday in this manner is more evidence Confederates wanted their revolution to be seen as conservative in nature since a gun salute for the original thirteen colonies emphasized continuity and not change.

of the rights to which we were born-those for which our fathers of the revolution bled-the richest inheritance that ever fell man; and it is our sacred duty to transmit them untarnished to our children."[30] Davis' Richmond address sought to characterize Confederate citizens as the defenders of the rights achieved by the American Revolution.

A New Orleans newspaper also appropriated the image of George Washington by designating him as a southern hero, not a United States hero. On the anniversary of Washington's birth, the *Daily Picayune* characterized George Washington as a distinctly southern hero whose actions dictated the course of southerners when they seceded from the Union. The article said Confederates would not be celebrating the day of Washington's birth with empty ceremonies that simply paid lip service to the principles of the first president. Instead, southerners claimed they alone kept the memory of Washington sacred because southerners "are resisting, as he [Washington] taught them to do, the encroachment of tyranny, and asserting, as he led their fathers in asserting, the right of self-government."[31] The name Washington was not only utilized by Confederate newspapers to establish a close connection between the American Revolution and the Confederate cause. Confederate songs published in Louisiana also appropriated the name of Washington to remind southerners of their special relationship with the revolution, as well as to illustrate the differences which separated Confederates from their American born counterparts.

A.E. Blackmar published the song "God Save the South!" in New Orleans. This song, referred to as the national hymn of the Confederacy, was additionally published by E. Krapp and

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[30] "Editorial," *De Bow's Review* 31, no. 1, (July 1861): 100-104, 102. Louisianan Clara Solomon might have disagreed with this assessment of Jefferson Davis since she herself wrote General Beauregard was destined to become a second Washington as a result of his contributions to the Confederate war effort. See Clara Solomon diaries, Volume 4, May 26, 1862, 43, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[31] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "Washington's Birthday," February 22, 1862.

Company in Savannah, and by J.W. Randolph and P.H Taylor in Richmond. According to the lyrics of the song, being a Confederate meant knowing God was on their side, believing you had a personal connection to George Washington and accepting that the revolutionary spirit which infused colonists to stand up to Great Britain cursed through your veins. Once again Washington was mentioned in "God Save the South!," more specifically southerners used his name to illustrate the southern revolution was merely an extension of the American Revolution. In this song, the rebels George Washington led and the rebels of the Southern Confederacy are seen as one and the same. The fifth stanza contained the reference to Washington:

> *Rebels* before Our father's of yore.
> Rebel's the righteous name *Washington* bore.
> Why, then, be our's the same,
> The name that he snatch'd from shame.[32]

Like "A Southern Song" published by the *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* in Augusta, "God Save the South!" took the name "rebels" from the revolutionaries and applied it to Confederates. The songs also indicated that the term "rebel" did not hold a negative connotation for southerners because during the Revolution, rebels like George Washington and Patrick Henry fought for freedom from tyranny in order to protect those rights which Thomas Jefferson deemed to be "inalienable."

"Louisiana: A Patriotic Ode," written by person or persons unknown, was an attempt to rally all Louisiana citizens behind the cause of the Confederacy by casting the Confederate war effort as a continuation of the revolution initiated by American colonists. The use of the words "chains of oppression" and the fact that these chains, according to southerners, were violently

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[32] *God Save the South!* (New Orleans: A.E. Blackmar and Company, 186-),Manuscript Division, Tulane University. The hymn, "God Save the South" also appeared in the October 1863 edition of the *Southern Literary Messenger*. See *Southern Literary Messenger* 37, no. 10 (October 1863), 604-605.

thrown upon them by the federal government led by Lincoln and Seward, allowed Confederates to equate the oppressive monarchical government of King George III with Abraham Lincoln who conspired to subjugate the descendants of the colonists. This once again contributed to the belief that American and Confederate societies were fundamentally different. The fourth stanza says:

> How long shall the scepter of white negroes wave
> O'ver the wish of the South, and the blades of the brave,
> How long shall old Lincoln and Seward unite,
> To extinguish the lamp of thy liberty's light?[33]

In addition to newspapers and songs, the personal correspondence of some southerners in Louisiana demonstrated how they internalized the message about the parallels between the American Revolution and the Confederate revolution. Louisiana natives Rufus and Douglas Cater wrote constant letters to their "Dear Cousin Fanny" throughout the course of the war. Once such letter, dated November 8, 1862, highlighted how both revolutions of 1776 and 1861 asked their citizens to make sacrifices and show martyr-like devotion and heroic endurance" to the cause. Rufus Cater explained to his cousin Fanny, how the people of the South held liberty to be dearer than life.[34] Patrick Henry echoed this same idea that liberty was worth fighting and dying for when he uttered the now famous line "give me liberty or give me death" in 1775.

Earlier in the war, one of the Cater brothers explained to their cousin the causes that prompted southern secession. Cater used words to describe the impetus for southern secession that was reminiscent of the same terms that would have been utilized by colonists to describe their rebellion against Great Britain. From Keach, Louisiana Cater said the government "had fallen entirely into the hands of fanatics" who refused to listen to the South when she only

[33] "Louisiana: A Patriotic Ode," 1860's, Manuscript Division, Tulane University.

[34] Rufus Cater to Fanny, November 8, 1862, Douglas and Rufus Cater Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

"asked for the protection and preservation of her rights."[35] It is not impossible to assume that a colonist who favored a break from Great Britain would have argued that the colonies simply asked for their rights to be protected and that England refused to listen, as a result of the ideas of King George III and Prime Minister George Grenville.

A.G. Greenwood, charged with the task or raising five Louisiana regiments to fight in service of the Confederacy, depicted the war as one for "southern independence" that had "now reached the climax of its history."[36] Perhaps Greenwood realized the depiction of the Confederate cause as a fight for southern independence would draw more volunteers since it was an emotional appeal for southerners to remember their revolutionary ancestors and their place in history. A diary written by an unknown Confederate soldier taken prisoner after the surrender of Port Hudson in 1863, and later imprisoned at Johnson's Island, Ohio also referred to the South's struggle as one for independence. In March 1864, this unnamed soldier wrote in his diary, "A few victories will bring about an exchange; afterwards we can bear our part in achieving that independence of which we are certain." This same unknown prisoner also made a reference in his diary that, similarly to the newspapers in his home state, equated Jefferson Davis with George Washington. On February 22, 1864, he wrote, "Finally the day we celebrated after a fashion as the anniversary of the birth of the first great American patriot and of the final inaugural of the second."[37]

Shortly after the Confederate victory at the Battle of Manassas, Louisianan Sarah Lois Wadley heard a speech given by President Davis that she referred to as "all that we could have

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[35] Author unclear, June 26, 1861, Douglas and Rufus Cater Collection

[36] *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, "Louisianians!," February 16, 1862.

[37] Author unknown, March 2, 1864, February 22, 1864, Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Tulane University.

hoped for." Wadley went on to characterize Davis as a second George Washington and stated Washington himself belonged strictly to southerners and that Davis was "wise, moderate, and just in council, cool, brave, and gallant in battle; firm, energetic, and instant in the performance of his executive duties" and these qualities transformed Davis into a "second Washington."[38] Like the article in *De Bow's Review*, Wadley's words served to create a close bond between George Washington, father of his country and Jefferson Davis, father of the Confederacy. In a later entry, Wadley, echoing the words from the *Daily Picayune* article "Washington's Birthday," claimed George Washington as a southerner and believed the United States unworthy of any association with Washington. Wadley claimed the memory, virtue, and valor of George Washington for his native state, as well as for "the fair sisters that with her form our youthful Confederacy."[39] Washington, in Wadley's eyes was a distinctly southern hero. Other Louisiana residents continued to expresses sentiments in diaries and letters which connected their identity as Confederate citizens to the American Revolution.

Teen-aged Clara Solomon, a Jewish resident of New Orleans, expressed sadness at the Union occupation of her city. Yet, Solomon believed that some good could still come out of the loss of this important piece of Confederate territory since it would prove to foreign powers that "We are in earnest and willing to make any sacrifices that we have determined…with the same spunk as were those 13 little colonies who triumphed over the greatest nation on earth."[40] In Solomon's eyes, Confederates, especially those in the city of New Orleans, possessed the same grit and determination that carried the members of the thirteen colonies to success in their fight

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[38] Sarah Lois Wadley, July 28, 1861, Sarah Lois Wadley Collection, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/wadley/wadley.html.

[39] Wadley, November 15, 1861, 47.

[40] Clara Solomon, May 17, 1862, 18, Clara Solomon Diaries, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

against Great Britain. Since the Confederacy possessed the same fighting spirit and had the same can do attitude as the Revolutionaries, it was only a matter of time until Confederate independence became a reality.

New Orleans native Annie Jeter Charmouche kept a scrapbook during the Civil War. In her scrapbook, Charmouche included items such as "The Confederate Oath," The Confederate Flag Is Its Name," and the "Ode to New Orleans." In addition to these items, Charmouche also cut out an 1864 address by Governor Henry Allen to the people of New Orleans. Governor Allen's fiery address implored residents not to give up the fight because in a few short months they would attain their freedom. Allen told the city's residents to follow the example of their forefathers, and endure hardships and prosecutions while Confederate soldiers "strike for Liberty and Independence."[41]

The words Allen used to encourage New Orleanians to stay the course reminded them of the difficult times men and women went through during the revolution. Once again, Allen used the now familiar words, liberty and independence, to characterize what the soldiers in the field attempted to attain and asked Confederates to follow the example of their revolutionary ancestors. Allen used the same words, liberty and independence, as Georgians Ella Thomas, Bessie King and George Washington Hall to describe the cause of the Confederacy, despite the vast geographical differences which separated these individuals. In spite of the geographical differences between Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia, similarities once again emerged in how the theme of the American Revolution manifested itself in speeches, newspapers, and music produced within Confederate Virginia. In this state, as in Georgia and Louisiana, the American Revolution helped define Confederate identity.

[41] Annie Jeter Charmouche, January 30, 1864, Annie Jeter Charmouche scrapbook, Manuscript Division, Tulane University.

President Jefferson Davis delivered his second inaugural address in Richmond, Virginia on February 22, 1862. It was no accident that the date of Davis' inauguration coincided with the one hundred and thirtieth anniversary of Washington's birth. In his speech, Davis highlighted the connection between the Confederate revolution for independence and the revolution waged by Washington and his comrades eighty-six years ago. Davis announced to his fellow Confederate citizens that they fought for the right of constitutional liberty, a "birthright" that their revolutionary ancestors "vindicated by an appeal to arms" and now the Confederacy relied on the use of arms to attain the same right. The president said if southerners wanted to prove themselves "worthy of the inheritance bequeathed to us by the patriots of the Revolution," they needed to "emulate their heroic devotion."[42]

Davis' inaugural address illustrated Confederates believed they continued the revolution for constitutional liberty waged initially by the American colonists. Furthermore, Davis told southerners if they wanted to successfully win the struggle, they needed to follow in the footsteps of their revolutionary ancestors who withstood years of hardships in order to secure their independence. This idea of emulating the example of the revolutionary forefathers was nothing new since it had already been expressed in the state of Georgia by Henry L. Benning, Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens, the *Milledgeville Union*, the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, and in Louisiana by *De Bow's Review*, Clara Solomon, and Governor Henry Allen.

In Virginia, there were several newspaper references that emphasized the similarity between the values of the Confederacy and those of the nation's founders. Primary sources published within the state of Virginia appeared to stress the bond between the Revolution and the Confederate struggle more than any other state. The fact that Virginia, often referred to as the birthplace of liberty, was the home of founding fathers George Washington, Thomas Jefferson,

[42] Marcellus Augustus Stovall, Marcellus Augustus Stovall Collection, Volume 1, Georgia Historical Society.

Patrick Henry and Harry Lee may explain why Virginia felt the need to repeatedly mention the connection between the American Revolution and the current revolution waged by southerners. Virginia newspaper articles highlighted the connection between the state, revolutionary heroes and the Confederate revolution in order to illustrate the significant differences between Americans and Confederates.

The *Richmond Enquirer* published an article entitled "Why we Rejoice" in December 1861. According to the author, Patrick Henry remarked in 1775 that God was on the side of the colonists and would "raise up friends to fight our battle for us!" and the author felt the same would come to pass for the Confederacy in 1861.[43] God would aid southerners by providing them with allies who would align themselves with the Confederacy. Perhaps, the potential allies the article alluded to were Great Britain and/or France. At this early stage of the war, foreign intervention on behalf of the Confederacy was still a distinct possibility. A year later, the *Richmond Examiner* published what can only be described as a call to arms for its readers to continue the war effort. This article emphasized a connection between southern revolutionary heroes and Confederate citizens The piece said no self-respecting southerners, who happened to be countrymen with revolutionary heroes like Henry, Jefferson, Macon, Rutledge, and Washington, would allow the history books to write that Confederates had been whipped by "the degenerate descendants of the witch-burners of Massachusetts."[44]

In 1862, as the troubles of the Confederacy mounted, the *Lynchburg Daily Republican*, in an article entitled "The Administration" defended President Jefferson Davis and at the same time equated him with George Washington. The piece referred to George Washington as the leader of men determined to be free from Great Britain in the initial revolution and Davis as the "chosen

[43] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Why We Rejoice," December 20, 1861.

[44] *Richmond Examiner*, March 4, 1862.

leader of struggling free men in the Second Revolution." Like Jefferson Davis, George Washington during the American Revolution had his "policies criticized, his motives impugned, his acts misrepresented, his wisdom denied and his misfortunes assailed as crimes…" Therefore, according to the *Daily Republican*, it was no surprise that southerners at times opposed Jefferson Davis, who had become a Washington to the Confederate people.[45] In addition to mentioning specific revolutionary war heroes like George Washington and appropriating them to the Confederate cause, Virginia newspapers also published articles that emphasized the parallels between the Confederate revolution of 1861 and the American Revolution of 1776.

The *Richmond Examiner* printed an article in August 1861 that attempted to illustrate to its readers the conservative nature of both the current Confederate revolution and the American Revolution since the current revolution "silenced no existing laws;…and preserved our old ideals and institutions."[46] By downplaying southern secession as radical, it helped align the Confederacy with the American revolutionaries.

In addition to newspapers, the periodical, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, published in Richmond and edited by George Bagby, ran numerous articles which emphasized the close connection between the American and Confederate struggles for independence. The *Southern Literary Messenger* wanted to establish the Confederate revolution as a continuation of the revolution waged by colonists in 1776. This established southerners as fighting to preserve the causes of liberty and self-government while at the same time creating an identity which closely aligned them with the American revolutionaries.

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[45] *Lynchburg Daily Republican*, "The Administration," February 1, 1862.

[46] *Richmond Enquirer*, August 10, 1861.

Under the heading "Editor's Table," the *Southern Literary Messenger* published essays which connected the American Revolution to the Confederate revolution in the minds of its readers. The first "Editor's Table" where this occurred was in the May 1861 issue. In this instance, the column let its readers know that the South would ultimately prevail in the fight for its independence even though, like their revolutionary ancestors, they may have to fight for seven long years. In the end though, "the "rebels" of the South would conquer, just as surely as the "rebels" of '76."[47] This article wanted to alert southerners of the possibility of a long war, which is exactly what the colonists endured.

In 1864, the *Southern Literary Messenger* urged its readers to remember how bleak the struggle for American independence looked in early 1781. In spite of these dismal circumstances and against overwhelming odds, the Americans secured their independence and defeated Great Britain. The Confederacy faced the same prospect as the American colonists faced in 1781, certain defeat. Yet, the colonists defeated Great Britain and this editorial wanted its readers to see the Confederate situation as similar to the one faced by the American colonists' right before they achieved victory. This editorial told its readers even though things looked bleak for the Confederacy they would still prevail and secure their independence because the 1864 campaign would see to it.[48] Besides highlighting the close link between the revolutions of 1776 and 1861, Virginia newspapers also entered the discussion about the July Fourth holiday.

The *Richmond Examiner* expressed the same sentiments that appeared in the *Daily Picayune* and the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* when it said the Fourth of July, along with the Declaration of Independence, had to be remembered with "respect, gratitude and

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[47] "Editor's Table," *Southern Literary Messenger* 32, no. 5 (May 1861): 401-405, 402.

[48] "Editor's Table," *Southern Literary Messenger* 38, no. 3 (March 1864): 182-187.

admiration." [49] Betty Herndon Maury was one Virginian who seemed to take the words of the *Richmond Examiner* to heart. Maury still held the Fourth of July holiday sacred and expressed hope the "old national holiday" would be kept by the Confederacy.[50]

Another Virginia paper, the *Richmond Enquirer*, announced a July Fourth celebration at the State Capitol in 1862. In addition to the ringing of church bells, there was also going to be a thirty-four gun salute.[51] This Fourth of July celebration was similar to the one the *Daily Picayune* described as taking place in New Orleans during the first year of the war when they celebrated the Fourth of July holiday with a thirteen gun and eleven gun salutes. Based on the fact celebrations continued to occur on this holiday, it is evident the Fourth of July still held reverence for some citizens in Confederate New Orleans and Richmond.

However, not all newspapers within Virginia agreed Confederates still needed to respect the Fourth of July holiday. The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* broke with the other newspapers and disagreed that the Fourth of July still held any reverence for the Confederacy. In fact, the *Daily Dispatch* declared southerners "had no holiday" as a result of the North "trampling upon every principle and right commemorated by the day itself." But the paper went on to say that the day was "still dear" to Confederates and they displayed their "devotion" to the day by "maintaining with their blood and lives the rights and principles asserted by our fathers in '76."[52] The outlook of the *Daily Dispatch* about the Fourth of July holiday was not new. Marcellus Augustus Stovall of Georgia clipped out an article for his scrapbook that advocated no longer celebrating the

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[49] *Richmond Examiner*, July 5, 1861.

[50] Betty Herndon Maury, July 4, 1861, Betty Herndon Maury Diary, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[51] *Richmond Enquirer*, July 10, 1862.

[52] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "The Fourth of July," July 4, 1863.

holiday in the South. As in Georgia and Louisiana, music, in the form of broadsides and songsters, conveyed the message to the Confederate public that there was a close connection between the American Revolution and the southern fight for independence. Songs, like newspaper articles, also discussed and emphasized the link between revolutionary heroes and the men currently fighting for Confederate independence.

The broadside, "The American Rebels," contained lyrics which associated the derogatory nickname of "rebels" given to Confederates by the Union with the "rebels" of 1776 who waged a successful battle for independence. The first two stanza's not only established a connection between 1776 and 1861 through the appropriation of the term "rebel," but George Washington is referred to by Confederates as "our father." Now George Washington is not merely the "father of their country" but the father of the Confederate revolutionary movement as well. The song established the men who struggled to achieve Confederate independence as the sons of Washington. The second stanza begins:

> Rebels! tis our family name,
> Our father, George Washington,
> Was the arch-rebel in the fight,
> And gives this name to us, a right
> Of father unto son.[53]

Within the pages of the *Cavalier Songster*, there were a number of songs that evoked memories of the American Revolution and attempted to tie them to the Confederate cause. "The Land of Washington" again reinforced the connection between revolutionary hero George Washington and the men and women of the Confederate States of America. Washington became a spiritual father who, by example, illustrated to Confederate men and women, how to fight for

[53] The American Rebels!, Virginia Historical Society.

their cause. The third stanza reiterated the belief southerners were simply extending the American Revolution with secession. The references to revolutionary heroes Patrick Henry and Harry Lee sent the message that the desire for independence and freedom which burned in these two men, also burned in the men and women who were citizens of the southern Confederacy. The stanza said:

> The sp'rit still is in us
>
> Of Henry and of Lee,
>
> And none can be our master,
>
> For Freemen we will be-
>
> For Freemen we will be,
>
> Yes, ev'ry valiant son,
>
> Or die in Old Virginia,
>
> The Land of Washington![54]

"Virginia and her Defenders" acknowledged the supreme effort made by Virginians in the fight for southern independence. Virginia's soldiers fought for the same freedom achieved by their ancestors who fought in the American Revolution. And the enemy is once again referred to as a tyrant who would destroy the freedom won by Washington on the battlefield.

> Virginia! Virginia! No foe can enslave her.
>
> She fights for the freedom her forefathers gave her;
>
> With her sisters she'll conquer the tyrant invader,
>
> Retaining the glory that Washington made her.[55]

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[54] *Cavalier Songster, Containing a Collection of Original and Selected Songs. Complied and Arranged Expressly for the Southern Public* (Staunton, 1865), 14-16, Virginia Historical Society.

[55] *Cavalier Songster*, 19.

William Shepperson's *War Songs of the South* included the song "Virginia to the Rescue." Instead of Washington or Jefferson, this time revolutionary hero Harry Lee, father of Confederate General Robert E. Lee, personified the connection to the revolution. Just as Harry Lee served in Washington's unit in the Continental Army and helped the colonies achieve their freedom from Great Britain, now his son aided the South in their quest to obtain the same goal. The song firmly established the connection between the American Revolution and the Confederacy by drawing attention to the link between Harry and Robert E. Lee. These are the words of the third stanza:

> "Virginia to the rescue!" How true the hearts and bold
> Who answer to the battle-cry their fathers heard of old;
> Before this band of heroes let tyrants turn and flee,
> They cannot fail, who fight for right, with the son of HARRY LEE![56]

"The Good Old Cause," contained in *War Songs and Poems of the Southern Confederacy, 1861-1865*, was full of people and images which played a significant role in the revolution of 1776. The first stanza mentioned a prison ship, USS Jersey, used by the British to transport prisoners. There was also a reference to Dr. Joseph Warren who continually used the pulpit to speak out for independence and revolution, as well as Isaac Hayne, a wealthy planter who served in the American forces during the war against Great Britain. For their dedication to the cause of freedom and American independence, Hayne and Warren were both murdered at the hands of the British. The fact the title of the song positioned the cause as "old" and not "new" indicated the cause of the revolution of 1861 had its roots in American history, mainly in the revolution of 1776. The song underscored how men and women of the southern Confederacy

[56] William G. Shepperson, *War Songs of the South* (Richmond: West and Johnston Press, 1862), 99, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/shepperson/menu.html.

fought for the same principles of liberty and self-government that propelled their revolutionary ancestors to separate and seek independence from Great Britain in the eighteenth century.

"The New Star" by B.M. Anderson, attempted to show how southerners possessed the same spirit and desire for freedom as colonists did in 1776. Once again Confederates were cast in the role as sons of their revolutionary fathers who continued their fight for freedom and independence against a repressive power. The song also discussed how the same God who supported the colonists during the revolution now supported the southern quest for independence.

> "The spirit of the fathers in the children liveth yet;
> Liveth still the olden blood which dimmed the foreign bayonet;
> And the fathers fought for freedom, and the sons for freedom fight;
> Their God was with the fathers-and is still the God of right![57]

John W. Overall's song "Seventy-Six and Sixty-One" reinforced the parallels between the American Revolution of 1776 and the formation of the Confederate States of America in 1861. The song talked about how even though the men who successfully fought the revolution of 1776 were gone, their love of freedom was still alive in the men who waged war in 1861 and fought the US for their independence. "Seventy-Six and Sixty-One" illustrated that their revolutionary ancestors entrusted the people of the Confederacy with the protection of freedom. The third stanza begins:

> There's many a grave in all the land,
> And many a crucifix,
> Which tells how that heroic band
> Stood firm in seventy-six-

[57] Dr. H. M. Wharton, *War Songs and Poems of the Southern Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Winston Publishers, 1904), 230-231, 285.

Ye heroes of the deathless past,

Your glorious race is run,

But from your dust springs freemen's trust,

And blows for sixty-one.[58]

Like their counterparts in Georgia and Louisiana, some Virginia residents used the term liberty to describe the cause of the southern war effort. Cornelia Peake McDonald, a mother of nine children and a resident of Winchester, Virginia credited South Carolina with raising the battle cry that "aroused the nation to fierce contention for right and liberty." [59] And in Richmond, John Gilmer believed the initial purpose of the southern revolution was to "protect the rights and liberties of its citizens."[60]

In Virginia, an additional primary source, religious sermons, also contained references to the revolution which helped Confederates see themselves as carrying on the revolutionary torch lit by men like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. This in turn established Confederate citizens as the descendants of the heroes of the American Revolution, which was the basis of Confederate identity. The day the Confederacy won the First Battle of Manassas, the Reverend George D. Armstrong preached a sermon to his congregation at the Presbyterian Church in Norfolk, Virginia. Armstrong's sermon, which would later be published, linked the Confederacy's struggle for freedom with the American Revolution in three specific ways. Armstrong took the opportunity during his sermon to refer to the conflict as a "second war of independence." From this point, Armstrong said the folly of the government in Washington

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[58] Wharton, 287-288.

[59] Minrose C. Gwin, *A Woman's Civil War: A Diary, with Reminiscences of the War, from March 1862* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 122.

[60] John H. Gilmer to Hon. William C. Rives, August 25, 1864, 5, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/gilmerlet/gilmer.html.

prompted southerners to unite and form the Confederacy to "secure the rights and liberties bequeathed to us by our fathers." Lastly, Armstrong tied the struggle for southern independence to the American Revolution when he praised the leadership of the members of the Confederate Congress, whom he believed, operated as a result of a "pure and lofty patriotism" which would forever link their names with that of "the fathers of our first revolution."[61]

Three years later, the Reverend James Henley Thornwell expressed similar words of patriotism in his pamphlet, *Our Danger and Our Duty*. In this work, Reverend Thornwell articulated the belief that the southern fight for independence was not revolutionary but conservative since Confederates fought to uphold the Federal Constitution. Thornwell said, "We are upholding the great principles which our fathers bequeathed us, and if we should succeed, and become as we shall, the dominant nation of this continent, we shall perpetuate and diffuse the very liberty for which Washington bled, and which the heroes of the Revolution achieved."[62]

While primary sources such as public speeches, newspaper articles, music and sermons had the ability to vary by state, Confederate textbooks sought to provide stability across state lines. The call for independent southern textbooks came relatively quickly after secession. Less than two months after the formation of the Confederate States of America, the southern periodical, *De Bow's Review*, discussed and supported a resolution by the Georgia State Convention that called upon Confederate citizens to write texts for southern children. The resolution highlighted a belief that the South needed to be independent of the North in all matters relating to the education of children, who would one day be trusted to uphold the ideals of the

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[61] Reverend George D. Armstrong, *The Good Hand of Our God upon Us: A Thanksgiving Sermon Preached on Occasion of the Victory of Manassas, July 21, 1861 in the Presbyterian Church, Norfolk, Virginia* (Norfolk: J.D. Ghiselin, Jr., 1861), 4-11, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

[62] Reverend J.H. Thornwell, *Our Danger and Our Duty* (Richmond: Soldier's Tract Association, No. 64), Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

Confederate States of America. The Georgia convention offered a five hundred dollar cash prize for texts such as spelling books, geography texts, and reading books written by Confederate citizens, published by Confederate citizens, and printed in the Confederacy.[63] An 1862 editorial printed in *De Bow's*, referred to the production of Confederate school texts as "harbingers of a new era" and predicted that soon all school books within the Confederacy would be produced by "native writers and native presses."[64]

Southerners overwhelmingly responded to the call to produce textbooks free from Northern influence. During the war there would be over one hundred textbooks published in the Confederacy and it is important to note that of the Confederate textbooks published during the war, very few of them contained a title associated with a particular state. Instead, the titles of texts enforced the concept of uniformity within the Confederacy. Some of the titles of Confederate texts were *The Dixie Speller and Reader*, *The Southern Pictorial Primer Designed for the Use of Schools and Families* and *The World in Miniature, or Diamond Atlas of Every Nation and Country Both Ancient and Modern*.[65] Out of the one hundred and thirty six

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[63] "Editorial Miscellany," *De Bow's Review* 30, no. 4 (April 1861): 501-512,506. The call for an independent southern literature first began before the Civil War in the 1850's. According to historian James McCardell, the impetus for southern nationalistic literature began in response to Harriet Beecher Stowe's work, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In an effort to refute the allegations about slavery made by Stowe, a number of southern writers took it upon themselves to publish literature with a distinctly southern outlook. McCardell argues that when this occurred, the American literary nationalist tradition, which had been apparent in the South, was replaced with a distinctly Southern literary nationalism which continued to flourish during the Civil War. See James McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1979), 144-166.

[64] "Editorial," *De Bow's Review* 32, no. 1-2 (January-February 1862): 161-170 ,164.

[65] Historian Michael Bernath argues the only Confederate textbooks that were "state centric" were *The Old Dominion Speller*, *The Virginia Speller and Reader*, *The Virginia Primer*, *The Virginia Spelling and Reading Book*, as well as the Texas series of textbooks by Edward Cushing in 1863. Therefore, according to Bernath, the fact that these texts were not "state centric" meant they had the ability to reach a national audience. For more information about this point, see Michael Bernath, "Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2005), 260. *The Dixie Speller and Reader, Designed for the Use of Schools, by a Lady of Georgia* (Macon: J.W. Burke Publisher, 1863), *The Southern Pictorial Primer Designed for the Use of Schools and Families, Embellished with Numerous Engravings, new ed., rev. and enl*. (Richmond: West and

textbooks published in the Confederacy, fifty-eight were published in Virginia, twenty-five in Georgia and four in Louisiana. Virginia, along with North Carolina, published seventy-six percent of the nation's textbooks during the war.[66]

Historian Anne Sarah Rubin argues southerners used texts to explain to all Confederates, not just children, the values the Confederate States of America held dear.[67] Confederate texts for children educated boys and girls about the various states within the Confederacy, explained how and why the Confederacy came into existence, and discussed the fundamental differences between the United States and the Confederate States of America. Textbooks also highlighted the similarities between the American Revolution and the Confederate struggle for independence, thus reinforcing the Confederate belief that their revolution was merely an extension of the revolution of 1776.

The dual focus of Confederate textbooks on the American Revolution and the construction of a shared history taught Confederate children what they needed to know about their new nation. The leaders of the Confederacy realized that not only could boys and girls contribute to the war effort in the present, but their contributions to the Confederacy after independence would be critical if an independent South had any hope of survival.[68] Boys would grow up to be men who might be placed in positions of authority at the local, state, or federal level while girls would grow up to become mothers who would bear most of the responsibility

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Johnston, 1864), Colby, Charles Galusha, *The World in Miniature, or Diamond Atlas of Every Nation and Country Both Ancient and Modern* (New Orleans.: W.F. Stuart Publisher, 1861).

[66] Laura Elizabeth Kopp, "Teaching the Confederacy: Textbooks in the Civil War South" (M.A. Thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, 2009), 20, 107.

[67] Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 28-29.

[68] Children could be expected to contribute to the war effort in some of the same ways that adults did. For example, children in Milledgeville, Georgia performed a tableau and raised forty dollars for the Confederate war effort. The children donated the money to the Baldwin military company. See *Daily True Delta*, July 3, 1861.

for raising children who would become loyal Confederate citizens. Thus, it was imperative young women received the same instruction as young boys in order for these girls to embrace the concept of "republican motherhood" that flourished during the time of the American Revolution.[69]

The Educational Association of the Confederate States of America realized the importance of education in the fight for independence. The association, meeting in Macon, Georgia in 1861 maintained the South's educational system, along with a "pure religious faith" would "contribute most to the greatness of the present and the hope of the future." The convention cited the names of several educational treatises already published in the Confederacy. The Reverend George B. Taylor of Staunton, Virginia was in the process of creating a *Child's History of the War*, along with a work called the *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Southern States for the Young*. And a man by the name of Rice published an intermediate geography text in Atlanta.[70]

A Geography for Beginners, by Rev. K.J. Stewart, used language that cast the southerners' struggles as one for independence by referring multiple times to the conflict as a

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[69] Historian Linda Kerber discussed at length the concept of "republican motherhood" and how men during the American Revolution believed that since women's sphere of influence was the home, women needed to be educated in the revolutionary principles of liberty, democracy, and independence so they pass on these virtues to their offspring. For a more detailed explanation, see Linda Kerber's *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

[70] *Proceedings of the Convention of Teachers of the Confederate States, Assembled at Columbia, South Carolina, April 28, 1863*, (Macon: Burke, Boykin, and Co.: Steam Book and Job Printers, 1863), 8, 11, 14, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/teachers/teachers.html. At the time of the publication, no list from the state of Louisiana regarding the production of educational texts within that state had been received. Perhaps this had to do with the fact that by 1863, a large majority of the state was under Union control and the thoughts of citizens in this state had to do more with day to day survival than the production of Confederate texts. Secondly, the Union forces there had mechanisms in place that discouraged printers from publishing any material that could be seen as disloyal to the Union and likely to cause unrest. This happened not only in the city of New Orleans when the Union occupied it in April 1862, but in the city of Norfolk, Virginia after occupation by the Union when the military governor, E.L. Vicle, published a proclamation that banned political assemblies in the streets and the display of Confederate flags and banners. See the Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, July 4, 1862.

"war for the independence of the southern states." The text included a section called "History of the Confederate States" and mentioned each state's individual contributions to the war effort. The text defined each state's contributions according to the role they played in the revolution for Confederate independence. For example, when the text discussed Georgia's contributions, it said, "She [Georgia] was among the first states to accept and adopt the cause of Independence and the issues of war, in 1861, and her soldiers have ever been found in the front ranks of battle."[71]

Marinda Branson Moore's *The Geographical Reader, for the Dixie Children* focused on a number of different messages the author felt boys and girls in the Confederacy needed to know. These messages pertained to what made an individual a patriot, the true nature of the institution of slavery, and the history of the individual states that formed the Confederacy. Publishing material that established a common history was one way to create a community of like minded individuals among children in the Civil War South. Included in the message about the history of the Confederacy, was the use of language that cast the southern struggle as a second war for independence, similar to the one waged by the colonists against Great Britain. The work contained lessons for children on each state in the southern Confederacy. The lesson on the state of Virginia lauded the state's contribution "in this war for independence" since "this State had suffered almost as much as any." When Moore described the secession of Louisiana, she said it was "one of the early States to secede when the revolution broke out; and nobly she has done her part." In the case of Georgia, the state made a unique contribution to the Confederate war effort as a result of the Cherokee Indians "who take sides with the South in the great struggle for

[71] Rev. K.J. Stewart, *A Geography for Beginners* (Richmond.: J. W. Randolph Publishers, 1864), 41-43, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/stewart/stewart.html.

independence."[72] Moore's discussion of each individual state in the Confederacy helped create a common framework by illustrating that each state was doing her part to aid the southern struggle for independence.

The children's text, "For the Little Ones," may have been a work that was not broadly published. It was written by a lady from Savannah who wished to remain anonymous and she dedicated her work to the boys and girls of the Southern Confederacy. While not all the selections in this children's text were patriotic in nature, "Willie's Political Alphabet" emphasized what it meant to be a Confederate and what defined their identity as Confederate citizens. "Willie's Political Alphabet" had key phrases that characterized the Confederate cause in a distinct way. Images abounded of the Confederacy as a "brave, bold little ship" who fought for the "freedom of right" and who possessed the "flag of the free." Furthermore, the alphabet hinted President Davis would be bound for fame and underscored the significance of South Carolina to the history of the Confederacy. South Carolina was referred to as "being first in the fight," and first in terms of secession. And the letter "R" stood for "Rebels" a term initially used to describe the American revolutionaries and that now, during the Civil War, defined Confederate citizens as well. The images attempted to instill children with a sense of pride in their new nation by explaining to them that the courage of the Confederacy should be a source of pride to all southerners.

While the freedom alluded to could and probably did apply to the freedom to own slaves if they chose, freedom as this poem described it also could mean freedom from the oppression and tyranny Confederates believed awaited them at the hands of the North. Tyranny was associated with the image the alphabet created of Abraham Lincoln when it said "woe to his

[72] Miranda Branson Moore, *The Geographical Reader, for the Dixie Children* (Raleigh: Branson, Ferrar, and Co., 1863), 18, 22, 25, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/moore1/menu.html.

crown!," thus associating Lincoln with a monarchical dictator, quite possibly King George III, the monarch responsible for oppressing colonial Americans.[73]

During the Civil War, there were not significant variations in how the first unifying theme of Confederate nationalism, the American Revolution, manifested itself in the Confederate states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia. Even before the war officially began with the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861, southerners connected the American Revolution to the southern fight for independence and established the Confederate fight for independence as a continuation of the American Revolution. Two prominent Georgians, Henry L. Benning and Robert Toombs, each delivered speeches on the issue of secession that depicted the South as fighting against a tyrannical force, the North, that wanted to limit the South's personal liberties and freedoms. This was exactly what motivated the colonists to fight for their independence in the eighteenth century, the loss of their personal liberties and freedoms by the British Parliament.

As the war progressed, speeches by men in positions of power continued to stress a link between the Revolution and the Confederacy, regardless of geographic location. Governor Joseph E. Brown of Georgia and President Jefferson Davis each delivered speeches in different geographic locations which emphasized Confederates fought to achieve the same goals as the colonists during the revolution, namely self-government and constitutional liberty. Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens in Milledgeville, Georgia, Governor Henry Allen in New Orleans, Louisiana and President Davis in Richmond, Virginia each encouraged Confederate citizens to emulate the actions of their revolutionary ancestors.

Newspapers were another primary source that connected Confederate nationalism to the American Revolution of 1776. Papers in these three states highlighted the relationship between

[73] *For the Little Ones: Dedicated to the Little Girls and boys of the Southern Confederacy, By a Lady of Savannah* (Savannah: John M. Cooper and Co., 1863), 32-33, Virginia Historical Society. "Washington" referred to the capital of the Union, Washington, D.C.

the Confederate Revolution and the heroes of the American Revolution and illustrated the similarities between the goals of Confederate citizens and American revolutionaries. The *Milledgeville Union*, the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, the *Richmond Enquirer* and the periodical *Southern Literary Messenger* encouraged southerners to follow the revolutionary tradition of their ancestors in order to achieve a Confederate victory. The newspapers *De Bow's Review*, the *Lynchburg D*aily *Republican* and the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* appropriated the heroes of the American Revolution for the Confederate revolution. Papers such as the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, the *Richmond Examiner*, the *Daily Picayune* and the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* stressed that the Revolution of 1776 and the Revolution of 1861 had the same fundamental principles.

On the subject of the Fourth of July, some newspapers in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia appeared to have the same opinion that the holiday should still hold reverence for Confederate citizens. In Georgia, newspapers like the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* and the *Savannah Daily Republican* advocated the South continue to celebrate the July Fourth holiday as a way to remember the achievement of American freedom from Great Britain. In New Orleans, the *Daily Picayune* argued the Fourth of July should still be celebrated in the Confederacy because the holiday belonged to Confederates as much as it did to Americans. The paper even mentioned a festive Fourth of July celebration which took place in Confederate New Orleans in 1861. In Virginia, the *Richmond Examiner* openly supported the Confederacy keeping the July Fourth holiday while the *Richmond Enquirer* ran a story about an 1862 Fourth of July celebration in the Confederate capital. Only one newspaper, the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, proclaimed Confederates no longer had a Fourth of July holiday to celebrate. Yet, the paper admitted that the day itself was "dear" to southerners despite the separation from the United

States. The appropriation of the holiday by the Confederacy provided a connection with the American Revolution that transcended state lines since some newspapers from the upper south and the lower south agreed the Fourth belonged as much to the Confederacy as it did to the Union.

Music, along with sermons and textbooks, was one of the mediums which helped disseminate the message to the Confederate public that their revolution was a continuation of the struggle for freedom waged by the men and women in the thirteen colonies during the American Revolution. Songs published during the war contained lyrics that tied revolutionary heroes such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson to the Confederate cause. "A Southern Song," published in the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, followed this example, as did the songs "God Save the South," "The American Rebels," "Virginia to the Rescue," "The Good Old Cause," and the "Land of Washington" from the *Cavalier Songster*. Songs also reinforced the idea that Confederates and their revolutionary ancestors fought the same fight for the same cause. "We Conquer or Die" from the *Jack Morgan Songster*, "Louisiana: A Patriotic Ode," "The New Star," and "Seventy-Six and Sixty-One" are some of the songs that are examples of this trend. These musical compositions were published in different locales yet managed to reinforce the same constant message about the Confederate link to the American Revolution, thus helping to construct Confederate nationalism based on the American Revolution within the states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia that lacked regional variation.

The connection to the American Revolution, besides providing southerners with a unified Confederate nationalism, defined their existence during the war and provided them with the will to continue the fight for their independence. In addition to the American Revolution, religion was another source of comfort to Confederates. Religion, like the American Revolution, gave

southerners additional motivation to continue the fight and defined their existence during the Civil War. Religion became the second theme southerners used to construct a separate Confederate identity.

CHAPTER 2

RELIGION

"I boast myself rebel, sing Dixie, shout southern rights, pray for God's blessing on our cause"

By 1863, the scales of war began to solidly tip in favor of the Union. Even though Chancellorsville was a Confederate victory, it came at a price; the loss of revered General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson who was mortally wounded by his own men. The Union siege of Vicksburg, Mississippi followed the costly Confederate victory at Chancellorsville. On May 22, Union General Ulysses S. Grant began a siege of Vicksburg that would last until July 4, when Confederate Lieutenant General John Pemberton surrendered the city. Vicksburg was an enormous loss to the Confederacy since the city was the last major Confederate fortification on the Mississippi River. The loss of Vicksburg meant the Confederacy was now split in two and the Union controlled the Mississippi River.

Sarah Wadley, who lived with her family near Tangipahoa and Ouachita Parish in Louisiana, expressed devastation over the loss of Vicksburg and asked God to "have mercy upon us…" because "this is the worst blow we have had."[1] Virginian William Cabell Rives, who served in the Confederate House of Representatives during the war, knew the importance of the Mississippi River to the cause, but declared, "We must not brood too painfully over recent events." In a letter to his son, Rives wrote, "we must never abandon our trust in an over-ruling providence, and redouble our deligence in the means left to us."[2] When the Confederate

[1] Sarah Lois Wadley July 9, 1863, 23, Sarah Lois Wadley Collection, July 9, 1863, 23, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/wadley/wadley.hmtl.

[2] William Cabell Rives to Alfred L. Rives, July 16, 1863, William Cabell Rives Collection, Virginia Historical Society.

situation looked bleak, Wadley and Rives both looked to God and articulated their belief that God in some way would aid their cause.

As the military situation deteriorated for the Confederacy, so did economic conditions. Crippling inflation would plague the Confederacy for the rest of the war. The economy was so bad that Virginian Margaret Wight asked, "How we are to carry it [the war] on another year or how we are to live? Corn is now selling at $15 per barrel Flour $25…Turkeys $12 a piece Ladies shoes $18 to 20. Gentlemen's boots $50."[3] That same year, Richmond resident and German immigrant, John Gottfried Lange, noted the rise in the price of gold which "drove daily necessities higher and higher."[4] New Orleans native Margaret A. Wade, who relocated to Osyka, Mississippi after her hometown fell to Union forces in April 1862, wrote a letter to her husband and specifically mentioned the high price of certain items. Margaret told her husband, Henry, how "sugar is there [in Osyka] $75 per barrel and molasses $65…"[5]

As economic conditions worsened and the prices for goods increased, food riots occurred in the Georgia cities of Augusta, Macon and Atlanta in the spring of 1863. But perhaps the most famous food riot occurred in Richmond, Virginia on April 2, 1863. A crowd of nearly 1,000 individuals marched from the governor's mansion to the business district where some broke the windows and doors of various shops and looted the merchandise. The bread riot in Richmond ended only after Governor John Letcher and President Jefferson Davis threatened to have the Public Guard fire into the crowd unless they disbursed.[6] Two months after the Richmond bread

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[3] Margaret Wight, January 1, 1864, Wight Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

[4] John Gottfried Lange, Memoirs of John Gottfried Lange, 235, Virginia Historical Society.

[5] Margaret A. Wade to Henry W. Wade, January 22, 1863, Wade Family Memoirs, Manuscript Division, Tulane University.

[6] William J. Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American* (New York: Alfred Knopf Publishers, 2000), 482.

riot, in light of the rising tensions over battlefield defeats, deplorable economic conditions, and disagreements over Confederate policies, the *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* published an essay that urged Confederates to put aside their differences and "pull together" since "people should be of one mind, of one will, of one purpose" during this time of war. According to this article, the way to attain this goal was by "laying aside all sectional, social and political differences-ignoring all prejudices and feuds and wrangling…and as one man, don the harness for the work before us."[7]

In spite of the suffering produced by these challenging economic conditions, men and women in the Confederacy seemed to take the words of the *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* to heart and continued to "don the harness" to work for southern independence. Amanda Virginia Chappelear of Fauquier County, Virginia declared in 1863 that "we are willing to do almost any thing for the sake of independence."[8] The determination of New Orleans native Helene Dupuy, the daughter of a French school teacher, to continue the fight, is evident when Helene noted, that in spite of the suffering she "hoped that, with God's help, we [Confederacy] shall soon be able to celebrate our second independence."[9] Henry F. Wade, Jr., stationed in Vicksburg, Mississippi, informed his wife, Margaret, that he knew "there is a just God above who will stop this effusion of blood and separate us from a people who have defiled the name of Him who gives us life…."[10]

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[7] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, August 2, 1863.

[8] Amanda Virginia Chappelear, June 8, 1863, Amanda Virginia Chappelear Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[9] Helene Dupuy, July 4, 1863, Journal of Helene Dupuy, Manuscript Division, Tulane University.

[10] Henry W. Wade to Margaret A. Wade, January 30, 1863.

Sarah Morgan, whose father worked as the collector of customs in New Orleans, still continued to express support for the Confederacy and the southern cause in early 1863. Morgan acknowledged that even though she "lost her home and all its dear contents for our Southern Rights" she welcomed the sacrifice if it meant "the salvation of the Confederacy." Morgan "boasted herself [a] Rebel" because she did three important things which defined Confederate identity during the war. Morgan sang the song Dixie, shouted her support for Southern Rights, and believed in and prayed for God's blessing" on the Confederate cause.[11] A loyal Confederate sang patriotic songs that established the common interests among all southerners, regardless of location, and defined themselves as "rebels," linking the Confederate struggle with the American Revolution.

Additionally, a person devoted to the Confederacy supported all of the different elements that were a part of the "Southern Rights," philosophy, namely states rights', the institution of slavery, white supremacy, and the right of self-government. Perhaps equally as important, a loyal citizen of the Confederate States of America also believed God supported their cause and with His help, the Confederacy would achieve their independence. The belief that God supported the Confederate cause inspired Confederate citizens to "don the harness" and continue their fight for independence, even as economic and military conditions within the South deteriorated.

Primary sources, such as sermons published either in pamphlet form or in the local newspaper, as well as fast day proclamations, newspapers articles, music, and the personal reflections of ordinary men and women in the Confederacy illustrated the important role religion occupied in sustaining the Confederacy as the war progressed and in creating yet another theme

[11] Charles East, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Sarah Morgan* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), 411.

of Confederate nationalism that attempted to unify all citizens of the new nation. The primary source material that focused on religion added a crucial component to Confederate identity: Southerners were God's chosen people and the outcome of the Confederate cause depended upon them receiving God's blessing. Religion, like music, allowed Confederates, regardless of gender, to show their support for the nation. While women and young children were denied the honor of fighting for their nation on the field of battle, these two groups could still attend a church service in their town and aid the Confederate cause by following the mandates of the church. As the *Christian Observer* noted, "Those who cannot take the field can pray…We are persuaded that the strenuous efforts of the army, accompanied with the most earnest prayers of the entire community" would result in divine approval and immediate peace.[12]

While the prayers of Confederate citizens failed to produce the goal of independence, religion continued to play an extremely important role in the lives of southerners during the war. While the American Revolution was one theme that defined Confederate identity, the belief that God supported the Confederacy also defined Confederates' existence and became another theme of Confederate nationalism. Did the concept of religion manifest itself differently in the states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia? Did fast day sermons all highlight similar themes or were there inherent differences which could be attributed to geographic location? And were there differences in these fast day sermons based on denomination? Did the message of sermons delivered by Protestant clergyman differ from the messages conveyed in the sermons of Catholic or Jewish clergymen?[13] Did religion produce Confederate nationalism or did religion produce a

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[12] James W. Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1957), 66.

[13] This study will be affected by what historian George C. Rable called a "significant denominational imbalance." According to Rable, sermons given by Presbyterians and Baptists ended up being published in overwhelming numbers while there were significantly fewer Jewish and Catholic sermons published during this

Confederate regionalism within these three states? To answer these questions, this study will discuss the fast day proclamations decreed by President Jefferson Davis, as well as the fast day sermons these edicts generated in order to see if the localities responded to these items differently.

Religion played a significant role in the lives not only of antebellum southerners, but amongst people in the entire United States during this time as well. As historians Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson wrote in their work, *Religion and the American Civil War*, "The United States was the world's most Christian nation in 1861 and became even more so by the end of the war."[14]

In the antebellum South, religious historian John B. Boles believes that religion was not just one facet of southerners' lives but the "essential component" of southern life for all white and black southerners. Boles argues the church occupied an important position in southern society before the Civil War because it provided its parishioners with a sense of community and helped reduce socio-economic tensions between whites.[15] In 1860, the three denominations with the largest number of churches in Virginia and Georgia were Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. In Louisiana, while there were more Catholic than Presbyterian churches, the Baptist and Methodist churches were still represented in large numbers. The number of denominational churches in Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia are presented in table 2.1. Religion

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time. George C. Rable, *God's Almost Chosen People: A Religious History of the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 400.

[14] Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, Charles Reagan Wilson, eds., *Religion and the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4.

[15] John B. Boles, "Evangelical Protestantism in the Old South: From Religious Dissent to Cultural Dominance," in *Religion in the South*, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985), 31-33. Boles argues that the fact that the wealthy and the poor attended church services together and "heard the same sermons, were subject to the same discipline, shared the same theology, and agreed that slavery was ordained by God" eased tensions among southern whites of different socio-economic status.

occupied a similar position of importance for Confederate citizens during the American Civil War. Historian Drew Faust characterized religion as not only the Confederacy's "most fundamental source of legitimation" but also as a source of continuity as southerners made the transition from United States citizens to citizens of the Confederate States of America.[16]

In *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy*, Anne Sarah Rubin centered religion as one of the primary building blocks of Confederate nationalism because the concept of religion allowed Confederates to see themselves as God's chosen people.[17] Rubin references a diary entry from a Confederate citizen in Tennessee who coined the term "religious patriotism," which Rubin argues linked national and personal salvation during the war.[18] An article from the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, in support of the first Confederate fast day, also linked patriotism and religion when it declared that the spirit of patriotism and the spirit of religion were intertwined and indissoluble.[19] Were religion and patriotism intertwined, as the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, would have one believe in the states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia? If religion and patriotism were indeed linked, did the religious patriotism produced in the Confederate states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia create a uniform Confederate nationalism or did religious patriotism produce Confederate regionalism?

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[16] Drew Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 22, 27.

[17] Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 34.

[18] Rubin, 34-36.

[19] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "The great Southern Fast day," June 12, 1861.

Table 2.1 Number of Religious Churches by State

	States		
Denominations	Georgia	Louisiana	Virginia
Baptist	1, 141	161	787
Episcopal	25	33	188
Christian	15	3	73
Jewish	1	5	3
Lutheran	9	4	69
Methodist	1, 035	199	1, 403
Presbyterian	125	42	290
Roman Catholic	8	99	33
Union	27	22	175
Universalist	3	N/A	2

Source: 1860 Census, University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, http://www.mapserver.lib.virginia.edu.

In 1865, South Carolina resident William Porcher Miles, chairman of the military committee in the Confederate House of Representatives, credited the Confederate clergy with "having done more for the success of our cause than any other class" and said that "not even bayonets have done more."[20] Historian James W. Silver concurred with William Porcher Miles when he wrote that the church had the ability to influence the opinions and ideals of Confederate men and women, making it the most powerful organization in the South during the war. In *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda*, Silver argues the church, as the South's greatest social institution, helped create and maintain morale among Confederate men and women.[21]

From the beginning of the war, the southern clergy involved themselves in the conflict. In an 1861 report from the Southern Baptist Convention, Dr. Richard Fuller expressed surprise when the Northern churches failed to protest the use of force against the South. Therefore, according to Fuller, the Southern churches were now compelled to speak up since "the government at Washington has insultingly repelled these reasonable [peace] proposals, and now insists upon devastating our land with fire and sword…"[22] The churches of the Confederacy followed Fuller's call to arms and continued to speak out for the cause of southern independence during the war and thus had a significant role in shaping how Confederate citizens viewed themselves. Drew Faust argues that clergymen during the Civil War became more emboldened and took leadership roles within their respective societies and thus, defined the role ministers would play in the construction of the emerging definition of Confederate nationalism.[23] This

[20] Silver, 96.

[21] Ibid., 101.

[22] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* May 21, 1861.

[23] Faust, 81.

trend is illustrated by the pro-secession sermon given by Benjamin M. Palmer in New Orleans, Louisiana on November 29, 1860.

After the election of Lincoln to the presidency and the proclamation of a day of thanksgiving by Louisiana Governor Thomas Moore, Presbyterian minister Benjamin Morgan Palmer decided it was time to enter the political arena and take a public stand on the issue of secession. On November 29, 1860, Palmer calmly explained from the pulpit that the South was duty bound to "conserve and transmit the system of slavery, with the freest scope for its natural development and extension." Palmer told his parishioners that this duty to protect the institution of slavery had been given to them by God and if Louisiana citizens did not act decisively, enslaved African Americans would face a "doom worse than death." If all of this was not enough to convince New Orleans residents that the time had indeed come to secede from the Union, Palmer referenced the Haitian Revolution and said in no uncertain terms that "within five and twenty years, the history of St. Domingo will be the record of Louisiana." Palmer urged southerners to "throw off the yoke of this union as readily as did our ancestors the yoke of King George III" and secede from the Union.[24]

Palmer cast the choice southerners faced as either secession or total submission and destruction within the Union, not just for all white Louisiana natives but for their slaves as well. According to Palmer, another St. Domingo awaited them if they did nothing. Furthermore, Palmer's words evoked the spirit of the American Revolution when he cast the decision to secede from the Union as similar to the decision faced by colonists nearly one hundred years ago. According to Palmer, the colonists threw off the "yoke off oppression" for lesser

[24] "Why We Resist, and What We Resist: The Two Opposing Views of the Great Issue between the North and the South," *De Bow's Review* 30, no. 2 (February 1861): 223-246, 227, 236.

transgressions than those faced by southerners. To Palmer, the only choice left to Louisiana residents and all southerners was secession.[25]

The significance of Palmer's sermon on the Louisiana secession movement becomes clear when one examines the support of New Orleans residents for secession before and after his sermon. In the 1860 presidential election, even though John C. Breckinridge, the candidate of the Southern Democrats, carried the state of Louisiana, the results were different in Orleans parish. John Bell, the candidate of the Constitutional Union Party that favored compromise with the Union, carried the parishes of Orleans and Jefferson. In fact, in these two parishes even Stephen A. Douglas, the Democratic nominee for president, received more votes than Breckinridge. However, after Palmer's sermon, the Orleans parish delegates chosen for the state secession convention, according to historian Haskell Monroe, overwhelmingly favored secession, which constituted, in Monroe's words "a remarkable change in Orleans parish." Monroe argued the reason for this shift could be attributed to the sermon Palmer gave in New Orleans in November of 1860. In fact, one listener who heard Palmer's sermon said that it "confirmed and strengthened those who were in doubt [about secession]."[26] Based on Palmer's example, one could assume that southern clergymen and the sermons they delivered on Confederate fast days had the ability to shape and influence public opinion about the war, as well as contribute to the formation of Confederate nationalism.

After eleven southern states seceded and officially formed the Confederate States of America, President Jefferson Davis linked religion and patriotism together when he set aside

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[25] The importance that religion held in the Confederacy is illustrated when, in the aftermath of Louisiana's decision to secede from the Union, a Catholic priest was brought into the secession convention to bless the flag, the secession convention, and the state. See Lemuel P. Connor to Mrs. Lemuel P. Connor, January 26, 1861, Lemuel P. Connor Papers, Historic New Orleans Collection.

[26] Haskell Monroe, "Bishop Palmer's Thanksgiving Address," *The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Society* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1963): 105-118, 107, 114, 118.

days for humiliation and prayer where southerners were instructed to ask God to bless their cause. The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* printed Davis' proclamation for the first Confederate fast day, which took place on June 13, 1861. When Davis set aside this day for public humiliation and prayer, he acknowledged his belief that the Confederacy's fate was in God's hands. As a result, southerners needed to "invoke Him to inspire us with a proper spirit and temper of heart and mind to bear our evils, to bless us with His favor and protection, and to bestow His gracious benediction upon our Government and country."[27]

Davis' proclamation for the third Confederate fast day on February 28, 1862, asked all citizens of the Confederacy to assemble in their respective places of worship to "humble themselves before Almighty God" and pray for him to protect their country. In this proclamation, Davis referred to God as "the only Giver of all victory" thus making it clear that Confederates had no chance of winning the war and securing their independence if God did not favor their cause.[28] Davis' fast day declarations effectively linked the outcome that all southerners wanted, independence, with receiving God's blessing. Without God's blessing, Confederate independence would not become a reality.

During the Civil War, President Jefferson Davis proclaimed ten fast days in the hope that God would bless the Confederate cause with victory. These declarations by Davis created uniformity because he called on every citizen in the Confederacy to observe the days of prayer and humiliation, not just the residents of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia.[29] Initially, there was

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[27] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Fast Day in the Confederate States," June 12, 1861.

[28] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Proclamation by the President," February 27, 1862.

[29] The Confederate days of fasting, humiliation and prayer were June 13, 1861, November 15, 1861, February 28, 1862, May 16, 1862, September 18, 1862, March 27, 1863, August 21, 1863, April 8, 1864, November 16, 1864, and March 10, 1865. See Silver, 64-65. For the first Confederate fast day on June 13, 1861, the *Daily Picayune* announced the locations and times of church services. New Orleans congregations listed as having fast

unconditional support for the observance of fast days in the South, regardless of geographic location. In an article entitled, "Day of General Prayer," the *Richmond Enquirer* expressed its support for the first fast day proclaimed by President Davis. The article saw the June 13, 1861 fast day as a chance to win God's favor, which was described as "superior to all human endeavor."[30] In response to the first fast day, the *New Orleans Daily True Delta* commented that the religious community credited God for the South's success over the Union at this early stage in the war. The newspaper declared its certainty that God favored the "side of the just" when "free people struggled against oppression and tyranny."[31]

The February 28, 1862 fast day also received support from the editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* who hoped that this fast day would be "devoted to the solemn purpose for which it has been set apart" in order to create a spectacle that would have "the Angels rejoice," in the hopes of ensuring that God would shower the Confederacy with His blessing."[32] It is obvious at this early stage in the war that Davis' fast day decrees had the support of the press.

"The President's Call to Prayer," printed in the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* on August 21, 1863, reiterated Davis' thoughts that the victor in the war would be the one "on whose efforts the Divine Power bestows his benediction." This editorial described the president's call for a national day of prayer as "eminently timely" since the Confederacy was "professedly a Christian nation." The piece stated if each person observed the fast day and asked

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day services included the First Presbyterian Church, Jesuits' Church, as well a Jewish synagogue on Carondelet Street. See *Daily Picayune*, "Fast Day," June 12, 13, 1861.

[30] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Day of General Prayer," June 13, 1861.

[31] *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, "Thanksgiving Day," June 13, 1861.

[32] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Day of Public Prayer," February 28, 1862. In Lynchburg, the *Daily Republican* commented on the president's fast day proclamation on February 21, 1862. The paper characterized this fast day decree as "opportune and appropriate" and said Confederates needed to acknowledge their dependence on God in order to receive "the aid of His divine countenance and support." *Lynchburg Daily Republican*, February 21, 1862.

God to bless the Confederacy, the Confederacy would receive something better "than the most brilliant victory which could possibly be achieved."[33] The Confederacy would receive God's blessing for their cause and achieve their independence because as long as God was on their side, nothing the Union did would alter the final outcome.

By 1864, there is still evidence newspapers in Georgia continued to support the president's call for a nationally recognized day of prayer. While some Virginia papers displayed silence on the issue of fast days in 1864, the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* took a public stand. The article, "National Fast," appeared on April 5, 1864. While it was a small paragraph that announced the fast day on April 8, the tone of the piece was crystal clear. The writer wanted all citizens to observe the day with public services and private worship in order to receive God's blessing for "our beloved South."[34] Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Waring mentioned the April 8, 1864 fast day in his diary. According to Waring, he and the entire Jeff Davis Legion, listened to a sermon in camp by Reverend Robert Scott who "fervently prayed for our cause and for our people." Waring hoped that on this fast day God would hear the prayers of Confederate citizens.[35] Later that same year, Georgian Ella Thomas wrote in her journal about observing a

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[33] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, "The President's Call to Prayer," August 21, 1863. Earlier that same month, the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* published an editorial which declared that the nation needed God's blessing to survive. As a result, the newspaper characterized Davis' most recent fast day declaration as "gratifying." *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "The Coming Fast Day," August 18, 1863. Five months earlier in Richmond, the *Daily Dispatch* professed support for Davis' March 27, 1863 fast day proclamation. The editorial reminded its readers the entire Confederacy was "in the very crisis of our country's fate" and as a result of this crisis, the prayers of the faithful needed to "besiege the throne of Heaven." The essay said God's protecting embrace engulfed the Confederate nation. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Day of Fasting and Prayer," March 27, 1863.

[34] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "National Fast," April 5, 1864.

[35] Joseph Frederick Waring, April 8, 1864, January 1, 1865, Joseph Frederick Waring Diary, Georgia Historical Society.

fast day which left her feeling "rather weak and incapable of exertion" because she ate only one piece of molasses candy all day.[36]

While it is evident that there was public support for Davis' fast day declarations, historians Harry S. Stout and Christopher Grasso argue that there was also dissent. Stout and Grasso believe that as the war continued, the press expressed their displeasure with politics being combined with religion. The *Richmond Examiner* said "there is neither Christianity nor religion of any kind in this war. We prosecute it in self-defense, for the preservation of our liberty, our homes, and our Negroes." On May 19, 1862, the *Richmond Examiner* published an editorial that took Davis to task for announcing a fast day once too often, saying "the country has had enough of them." The *Examiner* continued and said "when we find the President standing in a corner telling his beads, and relying on a miracle to save the country, instead of mounting his horse and putting forth every power of the government to defeat the enemy, the effect is depressing in the extreme. When a ship sprang a leak, an efficient captain did not order all hands to prayers, but to the pumps."[37]

While Stout and Grasso focus their attention on the negative editorials published in the *Examiner*, other Virginia newspapers remained relatively quiet on the subject. For example, by 1864, even though the *Richmond Enquirer* and the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* still announced official fast days in their publications, there was no editorial written either in support of or

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[36] Ella Gertrude Thomas, September 15, 1864, Ella Gertrude Thomas Journal, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. In the state of Georgia, days of fasting, humiliation were a common occurrence for citizens. In addition to the ten Confederate fast days set aside by Davis, Georgia Governor Joseph E. Brown also proclaimed state fast days. On February 25, 1862 the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* announced that March 7 would be a state day of fasting and prayer. People were asked to assemble in their respective churches and pray that God would bless the Confederacy's cause. In addition to March 7, 1862, Brown also declared December 10, 1863 as a state observed fast day. See the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, February 25, 1862, December 8, 1863 and the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel,* November 8, 1863.

[37] Harry S. Stout and Christopher Grasso, "Civil War, Religions, and Communications: The Case of Richmond," in *Religion and the American Civil War*, 338-339. See also Peter Bridges, *Pen of Fire: John Moncure Daniel* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2002), 191.

against Davis' decision to set aside national fast days for the Confederacy. While the editors of these newspapers may have been against Davis' fast day proclamations, they simply chose not to voice their opinion. In Georgia, the press did not express displeasure with religion being combined with politics by criticizing the fast day proclamations of President Davis. Instead, as the previous examples illustrate, the newspapers there continued to express their backing of national days of humiliation and prayer. It should come as no surprise that the *Richmond Examiner*, and its editor John Moncure Daniel, attacked the Davis administration for mixing politics with religion. As the war progressed, the *Examiner* became extremely critical of Davis and often used its editorials to attack the president and his policies.[38]

After Jefferson Davis established a national day of thanksgiving and prayer, people in the Confederate States of America assembled in their respective churches and heard their pastor preach a sermon. These fast day sermons, according to Stout and Grasso, ended up being published in overwhelming numbers. Almost three-quarters of all sermons printed in the Confederacy were either given on a fast day or at some other time to the public and contained political elements that voiced support for the war.[39] While it would be normal to assume sermons given on a Confederate fast day focused on the claim that God aligned Himself with the South, this was not the entire story. Instead, sermons given on Confederate fast days explained what made the South unique, why God supported the Confederacy over the Union and declared that the fate of the Confederacy was connected to God's blessing.

An 1861 fast day sermon delivered by Jos. B. Walker at the M'Gehee Methodist Church in New Orleans appeared in the *Daily Picayune*. In his sermon, Walker expressed the belief God

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[38] Bridges, 189. As Bridges points out, the *Richmond Dispatch* was nonpartisan while the *Richmond Enquirer* backed the Davis administration. This may help to explain why these two papers contained no negative references to Davis' fast day proclamations.

[39] Stout and Grasso, 323.

was on the side of the Confederacy because southerners were the guardians and protectors of enslaved African Americans. Walker mentioned that if the North won, their policies would make the "colored people of the South vagabonds and outcasts, and like the Indian tribes, [they] would perish, before the races of superior civilization." Walker attempted to define the war not only as a fight for the existence of a group of people who needed the South's protection, but also as a continuation of the American Revolution. He highlighted the relationship between Confederates and American colonists in the eighteenth century when he said, "We have only done what our revolutionary fathers did. We have claimed the right of self-government." As a result of Confederates claiming the right of self-government, Walker felt as if southerners had "a right to claim the Divine blessing" just as their ancestors did in the war with Great Britain.

Walker also linked religion with patriotism when he declared the fate of the Confederacy depended on God's blessing. "We are in this house of prayer," Walker said, "to pray that God's right arm may be made bare in our behalf, and give us a great and speedy deliverment out of all our troubles."[40] Walker's statement made a quick end to the war dependent upon God protecting the Confederacy.

At the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, Benjamin Morgan Palmer delivered a sermon on the Confederacy's first official fast day, June 13, 1861. In his sermon, Palmer listed five national sins he believed plagued the United States. He defined a national sin as those committed by people in their "public association and corporate existence." Palmer felt these national sins led God to turn against the United States in favor of the Confederacy. God's support of the Confederacy would continue, according to Palmer, as long as southerners avoided the same mistakes. The first national sin mentioned by Palmer was the lack of recognition given

[40] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "Fast Day Sermon Delivered in the M'Gehee Methodist Church, on Carondelet Church, by the Pastor Rev. Jos. B. Walker," June 9, 1861.

to God by the founders in the United States Constitution. As punishment for this lack of recognition, Palmer believed God allowed the United States to be split in two. Palmer felt the Confederacy corrected this oversight in their own Constitution when they acknowledged God's importance in the first lines of this document.

The United States committed the second public sin when they forgot that God was behind their blessings. Instead of admitting God "emptied out its [North America] former inhabitants who melted away as the Canaanites before Israel and used His gracious providence as a wall of fire around their armies through a long and painful war," Americans credited themselves for these accomplishments and "made an idol of themselves." As a result, God's retribution rained down on the United States. To avoid a similar fate, Palmer told his audience that Confederates needed to remember a nation only achieved greatness if it had God's support.

Palmer also accused the United States of the sins of devotion to political parties, a lack of respect for authority and laws and devotion to material gain. Whereas the United States devoted itself chiefly to financial gain, the Confederacy learned the important lesson that "liberty is better than gold, and honor more precious than fortune." Southerners laid aside the "accumulated treasures of past industry and thrift" in order to secure the Confederacy's future and security. Palmer proclaimed God started the war to save the South from total destruction to "redeem us from ruin."

Once again, Palmer mentioned a direct connection between the American Revolution and the Confederate fight for independence. But Palmer termed the current Confederate revolution of more importance to posterity because it dealt with the question of whether or not "ten millions of people have not the inherent right to institute such a government, as to them shall seem most likely to secure their safety and happiness." Palmer stated the founding fathers rejected this kind

of despotism in 1776 and to prove themselves worthy descendants of their revolutionary ancestors, Confederates needed to fight for this principle which was the "cornerstone of the American Constitution." [41]

In Virginia, Episcopal clergyman O.S. Barten and Episcopal Bishop William Meade each preached fast day sermons at their respective churches on June 13, 1861. Barten delivered his sermon at St. James' Church in Warrenton while Meade preached at Christ Church in Millwood. Meade's sermon indicated that he held the sins of southerners responsible for the start of the war and said that if Confederates chose to "truly repent of their sins before God..." they "should not fear that another drop of blood would be shed." In addition, Meade also expressed the same opinion as Jos. B. Walker in New Orleans when he said "Providence" appointed southerners as the "best guardians" of a "most amiable though unfortunate race." Meade's sermon expressed the belief that God wanted Confederates to protect the "spiritual and eternal interests" of the enslaved African American race.[42] This is what made the Confederacy unique and explained why God supported the Confederate cause. Meade also gave his parishioners the impression that if they repented and prayed to God for his mercy, it was no longer important if the Confederacy lost on the battlefield.

O.S. Barten focused his fast day sermon on the connection between the Confederate struggle and the American Revolution. Barten mentioned the South engaged in a fight for "their rights." Barten acknowledged that the only way for the Confederacy to win the current battle for

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[41] Reverend Benjamin Morgan Palmer, *National Responsibility before God. A Discourse delivered on the day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer, appointed by the President of the Confederate States of America, June 13, 1861* (New Orleans: Price-Current Steam Book and Job Printing Office, 1861), 11-13, 15, 23, 24-25, Virginia Historical Society.

[42] Bishop Meade*, Address on the Day of Fasting and Prayer, appointed by the President of the Confederate States, June 13, 1861. Delivered at Christ Church, Millwood, Va.* (Richmond: Enquirer Book and Job Press, 1861), 5, 10, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

"their rights" was not by placing their fate in the hands of the generals on the battlefields or in the hands of President Davis and his cabinet. Instead, Barten told his parishioners that they needed to place their faith "in the fear of God and hope for His mercy."[43] For Barten, the Confederacy's distinctiveness had to do with the fact that the South carried on the revolutionary struggle for freedom first initiated by the American revolutionaries in 1776. He also successfully connected God to the fate of the Confederacy and like Walker and Palmer in New Orleans, Barten combined patriotism with religion.

At Christ Church in Savannah, Georgia, Episcopal Bishop Stephen Elliott began his fast day sermon by explaining that the fast day was a time when Confederate citizens could "humble themselves before God…acknowledge His goodness in times past, and supplicate His merciful protection for the future." Elliott said if Confederates wanted to achieve their independence, they needed to place their faith in God and ask for his help. This sentiment had already been expressed in Louisiana by Walker and in Virginia by Barten and Meade. Next, Elliott attempted to define what made the Confederacy unique and why God chose to support the South.

According to Elliott, while southerners fought to "maintain and perpetuate public liberty, individual rights and national independence," they fought for something more important than liberty. Elliott believed Confederates "fought to rescue the fair name of our social life from the dishonor which has been cast upon it" and to "protect and preserve a race who form a part of our household, and stand with us next to our children."[44] This is what made the Confederacy unique.

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[43] O.S. Barten, *Sermon preached in St. James' Church, Warrenton, Virginia, on this fast-day, June 13, 1861*, 6, 11, Crandall Collection, Williams Research Center.

[44] Reverend Stephen Elliott, *God's Presence with the Confederate States. A Sermon preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Thursday, the 13th of June, Being the Day Appointed at the Request of Congress, By the President of the Confederate States, As a Day of Solemn Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer. By the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, Rector of Christ Church. Published by Request of the Vestry* (Savannah: W. Thorne Williams Publisher, 1861), 1, 20-21, Stephen Elliott Scrapbook, Georgia Historical Society.

Similar to Walker in New Orleans, and Barten in Virginia, Elliott skillfully combined the first theme of Confederate nationalism, the American Revolution, with religion and used it, and the fact that southerners protected African American slaves, to justify God's support of the Confederate cause.

At the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Savannah, Catholic priest Father O'Neill, Sr. told his parishioners on a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer that they needed to ask God to "bestow his blessing on Southern efforts" so that the Confederacy could attain "those just and constitutional rights." O'Neill also said the north was trying to infringe upon the rights of the south.[45] Similarly to his Episcopalian, Methodist and Presbyterian counterparts, O'Neill linked the first theme of Confederate nationalism, the American Revolution, with the second theme, religion, and declared southerners waged war to protect the rights given to them in the Constitution, rights achieved by their revolutionary ancestors.[46]

Augustus Martin, Catholic bishop in Natchitoches, Louisiana composed a letter about the southern war for independence which *Le Propagateur Catholique*, New Orleans official Catholic newspaper, published in September 1861. In this letter Martin said God used the institution of slavery to redeem the African race and slavery therefore, was a vital necessity ordained by God.[47] Bishop Martin expressed the same opinion as Methodist minister Jos. B. Walker and

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[45] David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 160. Later that same year, Father O'Neill Sr.'s congregation donated $193.45 to the Confederate treasury. Historian T. Conn Bryan also mentioned the Catholic congregation of St. John the Baptist in his work, "The Churches in Georgia during the Civil War." According to Bryan, the church requested all its members attend services and pray "fervently" for the Confederacy "to repel the aggressive invasion of Northern barbarians." T. Conn Bryan, "The Churches in Georgia during the Civil War," Georgia Historical Quarterly 33, no. 4 (December 1949): 283-302, 287.

[46] Father Jeremiah Francis O'Neill, Sr. called for the secession of Georgia in a public meeting in Savannah on December 12, 1860. James M. Woods, *A History of the Catholic Church in the American South, 1513-1900* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 255.

[47] Woods, 290.

Episcopalian Bishop William Meade about the institution of slavery. In New Orleans, Archbishop Jean Marie Odin addressed citizens during the war and declared justice was on the side of the Confederacy. Odin said New Orleanians needed to ask God to "shield them with his powerful arm, protect our rights, and preserve our liberties." Odin called upon people to perform any and all works so that God would bless the Confederate cause.[48]

As a result of another fast day proclamation by Jefferson Davis, Baptist minister Henry H. Tucker delivered a sermon before the Georgia Legislature in Milledgeville on November 15, 1861. In Tucker's sermon, he followed the common trend of connecting the Confederacy with the American Revolution. Tucker echoed the words of Episcopalian O.S. Barten of Virginia and Catholic priest Jeremiah O'Neill when he stated the only thing southerners wanted were their rights. Furthermore, Tucker's sermon differs from the previous sermons examined from Virginia and Louisiana because he used the tactic of fear to justify secession and war. Tucker mentioned the attempted slave revolt at Harper's Ferry in his talk and said the North wanted to "enact over in all our land the horrid scenes of St. Domingo" which would doom "us to death and our wives and daughters to worse than death…"[49] Tucker wanted his audience to realize that the possibility of another St. Domingo on southern soil justified the war since it was either separate from the United States and fight for independence or face annihilation at home from a race war.

And just like Episcopalian William Meade in Virginia, Tucker referred to southerners as God's children who were being punished for past sins. He attacked the "public morals" of profanity, drunkenness, and Sabbath breaking he thought responsible for God's displeasure and

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[48] Michael Pasquier, "Catholic Southerners, Catholic Soldiers: White Creoles, the Civil War, and the Lost Cause in New Orleans" (M. A. Thesis, Florida State University, 2003), 26.

[49] Reverend Henry H. Tucker, God in the War: A Sermon Delivered Before the Legislature of Georgia, in the Capital of Milledgeville, on Friday, November 15, 1861, Being a Day Set apart of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, by his Excellency, the President of the Confederate States (Milledgeville: Boughton, Nisbet, and Barnes State Printers, 1861),7, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/tuckerh/menu.html.

argued if Confederates righted these wrongs, God would rush to their side and make them virtually invincible. Tucker asked his listeners to "engage the Lord of Hosts on our side that He will fight for us…" However, unlike the sermons delivered by Meade, Elliott and Walker, Tucker's sermon contained no references to southerners being the protectors of the African race and he did not express concern for the survival of this particular group of people.

Another large difference was that Tucker's sermon specifically addressed the role of women and what they could do to aid the Confederate war effort. While Tucker acknowledged women's sewing parties to make socks, uniforms and other necessary items for soldiers was appreciated, women could also help the cause by "cultivating the graces and practicing the virtues" found in the Bible. Tucker felt that if God saw women doing these things, He would shift his support to the Confederate war effort.[50]

In Richmond, Thomas Verner Moore preached a sermon on the November 15, 1861 fast day at the Second Presbyterian Church. He articulated the southern belief in his speech that God supported the Confederate cause. Moore stated that "God will maintain our cause," which placed the fate of the Confederacy in God's hands, not in the hands of the men who fought on the battlefield. Throughout his sermon, Moore did something unique; he stressed that the South had become too dependent on the North for its day to day survival and that, therefore it would be virtually impossible for the North and South to ever reunite because there were too many issues which separated them.

In order to arouse the anger of Confederates and remind them once again why a reunion with the North was next to impossible, Moore listed some of the South's grievances against the North. Moore mentioned how the North "stirred up Kansas and John Brown raids, divided churches, nullified the Constitution of the United States, and filled its pulpits with a religion of

[50] Ibid., 19, 17, 22.

hate…" Moore also used his fast day sermon to defend the institution of slavery by noting the supposed benefits enslaved African Americans received from slavery. Moore noted how slavery exposed African Americans to Christianity and that in Africa, he believed these individuals would have been heathens.[51] For Moore, the Confederacy was unique because they taught slaves about Christianity. Moore's sermon, like Henry Tucker's sermon in Georgia, also touched on the revolution in St. Domingo and used it to justify the Confederate war.

In referring to St. Domingo, Moore accused the North's "mighty armada of prowling along our coast, intending to arm the rest [slaves] for another St. Domingo massacre." Moore and Tucker both attempted to play upon the fears of white southerners regarding the possibility of a massive slave uprising incited by northerners. In this scenario, a white southerner did not have to be a slave owner in order to feel fear for their own lives or for the lives of their wives and children. All southern whites, regardless of their economic status, would be at risk if another St. Domingo occurred on North American soil. In order to put the minds of southerners to rest about a potential slave revolt, Moore tried to depict enslaved African Americans as loyal and faithful servants which was yet another departure from the previous sermons.[52] His attempt to depict slaves as loyal servants contradicted the fear he tried to create about the possibility of the North unleashing a second St. Domingo on southern soil. If slaves were loyal, then southerners did not need to fear the possibility of another St. Domingo.

The significance of St. Domingo to the Confederacy must be explained. *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War*, by historian Matthew J. Clavin, explores how the

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[51] Thomas Verner Moore, *God our Refuge and Strength in this War. A Discourse Before the Congregations of the First and Second Presbyterian Churches, on the Day of Humiliation and Prayer, Appointed by President Davis, Friday, November 15, 1861* (Richmond: W. Hargrave White Press, 1861), 10, 18, 20, 24, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/mooretv/menu.html. Moore's sermon also appeared in the *Richmond Examiner* on November 18, 1861.

[52] Ibid., 22, 19.

Haitian Revolution occupied an important place in the minds of southerners before and during the American Civil War. Drawing on the narratives of the Haitian Revolution put forth by Bryan Edwards and Sir Archibald Alison, secessionists argued the only way to ensure that a second St. Domingo massacre would not occur in the South was to secede from the Union and establish an independent southern nation. According to Albert Taylor Bledsoe, a professor at the University of Virginia, Maximilien Robespierre, the supposed architect of the "Reign of Terror," advocated that free blacks receive all the rights and privileges of citizenship and Bledsoe argued Senator William H. Seward of New York now supported the same policy. Free blacks in St. Domingo, Bledsoe argued, had been encouraged by Robespierre's words to fight for their status as citizens and unleashed total annihilation upon the white residents of the island. The same situation with blacks would occur in the southern United States unless southerners took action and seceded from the Union to protect themselves from this fate.[53]

Not only did secessionists appropriate St. Domingo in order to further their goals, but during the Civil War, southerners also appropriated the memory of the revolution in St. Domingo to reinforce their commitment to the Confederate cause. As Clavin argues, fear of a second Haitian Revolution, this time on southern soil, created a Confederate identity based on skin color that connected all whites, regardless of economic condition, together in the new southern nation. And it should come as no surprise that one way southerners capitalized upon this sense of fear was to illustrate what a second Haitian Revolution meant for white women in the Confederacy.

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[53] Matthew J. Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War: The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 58-62. The narrative of Bryan Edwards was published in 1806 while Alison's narrative was published in 1850. Both of these narratives focused on the murders of whites at the hands of Haitian slaves. According to Edwards, "the horrors [of the St. Domingo revolution]" could not be adequately described through written words or through the use of one's imagination. In 1852, Alison attempted to describe in written word the massacre at the capital, Le Cap. Allison wrote how "twenty thousand negroes broke into the city…spread slaughter and devastation around…" and spared no one on account of age or sex.

For southern white women, a second St. Domingo massacre meant extreme sexual violence at the hands of enslaved black men.[54] Therefore, the fast day sermons of Baptist Henry H. Tucker, of Georgia, and Presbyterian Thomas Verner Moore, of Virginia, as well as the sermon Presbyterian Benjamin M. Palmer delivered in New Orleans prior to the secession of Louisiana, referenced the St. Domingo massacre in an attempt to justify the war and create a community of like minded individuals, based on racial identity, who would be compelled to fight for Confederate independence, no matter the cost.

By 1862, the messages relayed to southerners in fast day sermons continued in the same vein. Stephen Elliott, a Bishop in the Confederate Protestant Episcopal Church, delivered a sermon in Savannah on September 18, 1862 in which he admitted slavery was the immediate cause of the war. According to Elliott, God permitted the "African race to be planted here under our political protection and under our Christian nurture, for his own ultimate designs." Elliott argued the Confederacy's cause held the higher moral ground, which made the cause of the South special, because God made southerners the "guardians and champions" of the African race whom the "whole world has banded against." As a result, this assured the Confederacy that God was on their side and would continue to defend them. Reverend Elliott depicted members of the enslaved African race in the same terms utilized by his contemporary in Virginia, Thomas Verner Moore. Elliott believed slaves were a docile and affectionate people whom the South did not need to fear. Elliott, like the Baptist minister Henry H. Tucker, discussed the contributions of women in the Confederacy and noted how women sacrificed the men in their lives to the field of battle.[55]

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[54] Ibid., 67, 145, 161.

[55] Reverend Stephen Elliott, *Our Cause in Harmony with the Purposes of God in Christ Jesus. A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Thursday, September 18, 1862, Being the Day Set Forth by the President of*

At the Broad Street Methodist Church in Richmond, David Seth Doggett preached a sermon on the same fast day. Doggett said Confederate fortunes seemed to be on the upswing and that God deserved some of the credit for this change. In spite of the many benefits the Union possessed, the South had not yet been subdued and this was a result of God's presence on the side of the Confederacy. Doggett intertwined religion with patriotism when he admonished his parishioners to maintain their faith in God and not transfer their faith to "human agency." Doggett projected the message that the success of the Confederacy depended on God alone. He also reintroduced the American Revolution, the first theme of Confederate nationalism, into his fast day sermon when he noted how the Confederacy fought for "the rights asserted, by our forefathers, in the immortal Declaration of Independence, the rights of self-government, self-protection, and of conscience…"[56] Doggett made no mention of the belief that Confederates, as protectors of the enslaved African race, would receive God's blessing.

In 1863, the sermons given on fast days in Georgia and Virginia discussed the themes of speculation and extortion and the negative effect each one produced on the southern war effort. On March 27, 1863, Rabbi M.J. Michelbacher delivered a sermon to the German Hebrew Synagogue in Richmond and defended Jews against charges of speculating in the Confederacy. He argued that a Jewish merchant preferred "rapid and instant sales" and that "his temperament does not allow him, by hoarding his goods, to risk time with his money…" Michelbacher

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the Confederate States, as a Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving, for our Manifold Victories, and Especially for the Fields of Manassas and Richmond, Ky. (Savannah: Power Press of John M. Cooper, 1862), 7, 10, 14, 16, 20, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/elliott5/elliott5.html.

[56] Reverend D.S. Doggett, *A Nation's Ebenezer: A Discourse Delivered in the Broad Street Methodist Church, Richmond, Virginia, Thursday, September 18, 1862* (Richmond: Enquirer Book and Job Press, 1862), 6-9, Virginia Historical Society.

attacked the true speculators in the Confederacy who "seized and engrossed the meat and flour of the poor."

Michelbacher, concerned with how the Confederacy depicted southern Jews, wanted it to be known that Jewish southerners were loyal Confederate citizens dedicated to the cause. In order to demonstrate this, he mentioned the number of young Jewish men who died or had been injured in battle and noted the numerous Jewish soldiers waging "campaigns of war against those enemies of our Confederacy…" The end of his sermon contained a prayer specifically directed toward God which implied citizens in the Confederate States of America relied upon God to deliver the nation from the Union. Michelbacher expressed his belief that "piety cannot subsist apart from patriotism" and that Confederate citizens now "called upon Thee [God] to bring salvation to the Confederate States of America, and to crown independence with lasting honour and prosperity."[57]

Michelbacher's sermon did not contain any references to enslaved African Americans, nor did he argue that slavery made southerners God's chosen people. This was not Michelbacher's intent. As a Jewish citizen of the Confederacy, Michelbacher was more concerned with the picture the Confederacy painted of Jews than with anything else. He was simply responding to the deteriorating economic conditions in the Confederacy and the fact that as the economy worsened, southerners blamed Jewish Confederates for these problems.

In a sermon delivered on the same fast day, Bishop Stephen Elliott also attacked people who speculated at the expense of the Confederacy, though he did not defend Jewish Confederates. Elliott told his listeners he was "sad to think how a noble cause which should fill

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[57] Rabbi M.J. Michelbacher, *A Sermon Delivered on the Day of Prayer, Recommended by the President of the C.S.A., the 27th of March, 1863, at the German Hebrew Synagogue, "Bayth Ahabah*" (Richmond: MacFarlane and Fergusson, 1863), 3, 4, 13, 15-16, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/michelbacher/michelba.html,.

the whole heart, and absorb all the energies of our people, is embarrassed and may be sacrificed by a spirit of covetousness…" In his sermon, Elliott also said the Confederacy could never return to the Union since "its [Constitution] provisions were openly and shamefully violated-its altars were desecrated by infidelity and the vilest fanaticism-and they [institutions] were threatened with total subversion…" This sentiment was similar to the one expressed in Richmond by Presbyterian minister Thomas Verner Moore in his 1861 sermon when he argued that the differences between the North and South were too numerous to ever allow them to reunite.

Elliott also took a stance firmly against any attempts at mediation or peace overtures from the Union. He believed peace would come only "when God saw the war accomplished his purposes" and not before. Elliott credited God with the victories Confederates achieved on land and sea since "God's angel planted one foot on the earth and the other on the ocean, and with his sword of vengeance has smitten this insulting and vain-glorious nation." Elliott attributed the Confederacy's successes to God and expressed the belief that the war would end when God saw fit to end it, not when southern men triumphed on the field of battle. He again painted a picture of the southern slave as a docile supporter of the Confederate cause which Elliott believed provided evidence that slavery was not the horrible institution depicted in the North. In a radical departure from previous fast day sermons, Elliott advocated that slaves' domestic institution become more permanent and that southerners "consult more closely their [slaves] feelings and affections" after the war in response to their loyalty.[58]

[58] Reverend Stephen Elliott, *Samson's Riddle. A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Friday, March 27, 1863, Being the Day of Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer, Appointed by the President of the Confederate States* (Macon: Burke, Boykin Press, 1863), 5, 9-14, 23, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/samson/samson.html.

Episcopal minister Charles Minnegerode of St. Paul's Church in Richmond delivered a sermon on August 25, 1863 which touched on similar topics and themes that were present in other fast day sermons given by the clergy. Minnegerode attacked speculators and extortionists, whom he saw as being partly responsible for God's anger being inflicted on the Confederacy. Minnegerode, like other ministers in the Confederacy, connected the future of the Confederate revolution with receiving God's blessing. He believed if southerners repented their sins and honored and obeyed God, Confederates "need not fear what man will do unto us." Furthermore, Reverend Minnegerode felt it important enough to remind his parishioners what was at stake for the Confederacy and what they had been fighting for during the past two years. The Confederate States of America waged war because, in the words of Charles Minnegerode, "all that we [Confederates] hold dear and sacred is at stake; our altars are desecrated, our homes pillaged, our fields destroyed, our inalienable rights threatened, our very existence jeopardized…"[59] Minnegerode's sermon used language to equate the Confederate struggle with the struggle for American independence and then used the theme of the American Revolution to justify the war waged by southerners. The fact that Confederates were merely carrying out the revolution initiated by the American colonists in the eighteenth century made their cause just.

In the 1864 sermon, "Gideon's Water-Lappers," Stephen Elliott did three things; he cast the Confederate war effort in revolutionary terms, he attempted to raise the spirits of members of a war weary South, and once again argued that the Confederacy fought for a higher cause than simply independence. Elliott termed the war a "struggle for liberty" and noted how the Confederacy waged war to free itself from the "tyranny of the United States." In addition to highlighting the connection to the American Revolution, Elliott also used his sermon to point out

[59] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Fast Day sermon of Rev. Dr. Minnigerode of St. Paul's Church," August 25, 1863.

that the Confederacy could still secure their independence. He said the Confederacy still held a large amount of territory, three times the size of France, and noted that "the enemy has made no conquests of moment in any of the seven States which composed the original Confederacy." Elliott again attached a higher moral purpose to the war effort, the "moral and religious education of an inferior race," as well as the preservation of "all that is valuable in morals and legislation and religion." Lastly, Elliott emphasized in his sermon how all members of the nation needed to be united in support of the cause. He told his parishioners that "the whole insurgent people appears to be united…One single thought occupies the mind and that is the success of the struggle."[60]

On September 15, 1864, Reverend Elliott delivered a sermon on a state fast day proclaimed by Governor Joseph E. Brown. In his sermon, Elliott declared that he "had no faith in national platforms and Presidential elections, no expectations from European recognition or foreign interference…" and instead, turned to God for his help in securing the country's independence. He told his parishioners that unless they wanted to be the servants of "the paupers of Europe, the negroes of Africa, and the lowest of all, the Black Republicans of the North," they would join him in asking God for his help to win the war because it was God alone who would be able to defeat their enemies.[61]

The fast day sermons given in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia contained more similarities than differences and point to the fact that Georgians, Louisianans and Virginians

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[60] Reverend Stephen Elliott, *Gideon's Water-Lappers. A Sermon preached in Christ Church, Savannah, On Friday, the 8th day of April, 1864, The Day Set Apart by the Congress of the Confederate States, As a Day of Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer (*Macon: Burke, Boykin & Company, 1864), 5, 7-8, 16, 20-21, Stephen Elliott Scrapbook, Georgia Historical Society.

[61] Reverend Stephen Elliott, *Vain is the Help of Man. A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Thursday, September 15, 1864, Being the Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, Appointed by the Governor of the State of Georgia* (Macon: Burke, Boykin & Company, 1864), 11, 23, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/elliotts/elliotts.html.

used religion to imagine themselves as Confederate citizens whose fate was in God's hands. These sermons conveyed the message God supported the South. Some clergymen argued God supported the Confederacy because southerners protected the enslaved African American race and fought for the revolutionary principles of liberty and self-government. God entrusted Confederates with the security of the institution of slavery, while northerners wanted to destroy slavery and along with it, according to southerners, the entire African American race. This established a vast difference between American and Confederate citizens.

Another common trend among fast day sermons was the use of the first two themes of Confederate nationalism, the American Revolution and religion, to highlight the common interests which existed among southerners. The fast day sermons and the topics they discussed reinforced Confederate unity because geographic location was irrelevant. All Confederate citizens, according to these sermons, fought for the revolutionary principles of constitutional liberty and self-government and were appointed by God as guardians of enslaved African Americans. Similarly, all Confederates were God's chosen people.

The New Orleans, Louisiana fast day sermons of Methodist minister Jos. B. Walker and Presbyterian minister Benjamin M. Palmer, as well as the address by Catholic Archbishop Odin expressed the belief God was on the side of the Confederacy in the war. Walker told his parishioners God supported the South because Confederates were the guardians of the enslaved African American race and also because the revolution waged by Confederates was simply a continuation of the American Revolution of the eighteenth century. Benjamin Palmer's 1861 sermon argued God chose the South over the North because the national sins of the United States made God angry. Similarly to Odin and Walker, Palmer also connected the Confederate struggle for independence to the American Revolution when he admonished Confederates to fight for the

principle of self-government, just as their revolutionary ancestors did eighty plus years ago. While Palmer's fast day sermon did not mention Confederates were God's chosen people because they protected the African American race, the sermon he gave in New Orleans on November 29, 1860 did emphasize this belief. In this speech, Palmer declared God bestowed upon southerners the fate of the enslaved African American race and it was the duty of every southerner to ensure the continuation of the institution of slavery. If southerners failed, enslaved African Americans, according to Palmer were doomed.

Confederate fast day sermons given in Georgia also connected the concept of the American Revolution to the southern war effort. In Milledgeville, Baptist Henry Tucker said the South only fought for their rights, as their revolutionary ancestors did, while in Savannah, Episcopalian Stephen Elliott stated the Confederacy fought to preserve the fundamental concept of liberty in order to pass it on to future generations. Savannah native and Catholic priest Jeremiah O'Neill, Sr. alluded to the fact that southerners fought to protect their constitutional rights. Three years later, in 1864, Elliott would again cast the Confederate war in Revolutionary terms when he said the South fought for their independence from the North.

Fast day sermons delivered in this state allowed Georgians to imagine themselves as Confederate citizens who were compelled to wage war for a higher purpose than just financial prosperity. In sermons given in 1861, 1862, and 1864, Stephen Elliott continued to state how Confederate citizens waged war for a greater purpose than just the liberty of the country. Confederates, according to Elliott, waged war to protect the enslaved African American race, because God designated southerners as the guardians of these individuals. In Louisiana, the sermons given by Walker and Palmer illustrated that Louisianans derived their identity as Confederates from the belief that they protected the enslaved African American race from

extinction. Although he did not come out and clearly state Confederates protected the African American race, Catholic Bishop Martin stated God ordained the institution of slavery. In the eyes of Martin, Confederates waged war to protect a heaven ordained institution. Two of the fast day sermons given by Elliott and Tucker did something unique that Walker's sermon failed to do. Tucker's 1861 sermon used the concept of fear and the possibility of a second St. Domingo on southern soil to justify secession and war while Elliott's 1863 sermon advocated southerners make the domestic institutions of slaves more permanent.

Sermons given on Confederate fast days in Virginia also connected the Confederate cause to the American Revolution. Episcopalian minister O. S. Barten in Warrenton depicted southerners as simply battling for their rights, and in Richmond, Methodist clergyman David Seth Doggett told his parishoners the Confederacy fought for the rights their forefathers mentioned in the Declaration of Independence. Episcopalian Charles Minnegerode echoed the words of Barten and Doggett when he declared Confederates waged war to protect their "inalienable rights." As economic problems began to plague the country, fast day sermons attacked speculation and extortion. These two topics were the themes of sermons given in 1863 by Jewish minister Michelbacher and Episcopal minister Minnegerode. While Michelbacher attacked speculation within the Confederacy, as did Bishop Elliott in Georgia, Michelbacher used his speech to defend Jews against this charge and depicted them as loyal Confederate citizens. Episcopal Bishop William Meade's 1861 oration, like those delivered by Stephen Elliott, focused on the argument that God appointed southerners as protectors of the African race. Presbyterian Thomas Verner Moore, like Baptist minister Henry H. Tucker, also referred to the revolution in St. Domingo to justify war when he depicted the North as prowling along the southern coast in the hopes of inciting another revolution, this time on southern soil.

Fast day sermons in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia also combined patriotism and religion when they declared that the fate of the Confederacy was linked to God and receiving His blessing for the cause. These sermons implored their audience to ask God to bless their cause, told them to put their faith in God, not in the agency of man, and declared that only after God supported the side of the Confederacy would the new nation be able to secure independence. The fast day sermons of Episcopalians Meade and Minnegerode and Jewish Rabbi Michelbacher in Virginia, Episcopalian Elliott and Baptist Tucker in Georgia, Catholic Archbishop Odin, and Presbyterian Palmer in Louisiana followed this trend. Perhaps, Reverend Michelbacher said it best when he declared in his 1863 sermon that piety and patriotism were intertwined. A Confederate citizen displayed their patriotism by asking God to forgive their sins so that He would bless their cause. This created the image that God alone possessed the ability to secure the independence of the Confederacy. Besides fast day sermons, articles in local newspapers during this time also asked its readers to place their faith in God and reiterated the message contained in sermons that God held the fate of their country in His hands.

On March 1, 1862, the *Daily Picayune* published "An Appeal to the Citizens of Louisiana." The appeal urged Louisianans that immediate action needed to be taken if they wanted to protect their sacred rights. The appeal advised citizens to bear arms, "go forth like true soldiers and place your trust in the Supreme Being."[62] This statement alluded to the belief that if southerners placed their trust in God, not man, then He would protect them from defeat at the hands of the Union army. As we now know, even though Confederates believed God would protect them, it was not enough to save them from the military superiority of Union forces. An editorial in the *Southern Confederacy* also told Confederates they needed to place their faith in God. "D'Assas," the author of this editorial, asked his fellow Georgians to "beseech him [God]

[62] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "An Appeal to the Citizens of Louisiana," March 1, 1862.

to be our Great Captain…to speedily establish our rights, our liberties, and our independence…" D'Assas asked, "With God on our side, who can be against us? With God for our Captain, who can withstand us?"[63]

In Richmond, the *Daily Dispatch* articulated the same viewpoint when it declared God favored the South and that Confederates did not need to look toward Great Britain or France to secure their independence as a result. The Confederacy would achieve their independence on their own, without help from abroad.[64] This was similar to the sentiment expressed in Savannah, Georgia by the Reverend Stephen Elliott in his 1864 sermon, *Vain is the Help of Man*.

Songs and poetry further reinforced the message articulated in Davis' fast day proclamations, in fast day sermons and in newspaper articles that God was on the side of the South and the fate of the Confederate cause was in God's hands. The song "God Save the South!," asked God "to be our shield" and "stretch Thine arm over us" in order to "strengthen and save" the Confederacy. The third stanza of the song, described by the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* as "our national Confederate anthem,"[65] included these lyrics that let the world know God was on the side of the South:

> God made the right. Stronger than *might*,
> Millions would trample us down in their pride.
> Lay *thou* their legions low, roll back the ruthless foe,

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[63] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "A Suggestion," June 4, 1863. An article from a newspaper in Augusta reminded its readers of the successes the Confederacy achieved on the battlefields of Belmont, Bull Run and Oak Hill and said these victories demonstrated Confederates had the ability to survive against the forces of a powerful enemy. The essay implored its readers not to give up "our struggle for liberty" and "depend only upon the God of battles" for victory. Marcellus Augustus Stovall, Marcellus Augustus Stovall Scrapbooks, Vol. 1, Georgia Historical Society. Another essay which expressed the belief that Confederates needed to look to God to assure their independence appeared in the *Southern Recorder*. *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "The Enemy at Our Gates," December 29, 1863.

[64] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "National Self-Respect," May 8, 1862.

[65] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Our National Confederate Anthem," October 31, 1863.

Let the proud spoiler know God's on our side.[66]

In 1861 the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* published a "Camp Song for the Volunteer Southerns." The song, written by someone identified only as W. A. B., expressed the belief God chose to back the Confederacy in the current struggle and that southerners looked to God to provide their cause with victory. The piece began with three cheers for "God and our native land." From that point, the song contained references to the battle flag flying over their country and the determination of southerners to face the Union army in order to defend their "homes and lives-Our children, sisters, lovers, wives." The piece described how southerners "raised to heaven their battle cry" thus indicating these men looked to God to protect them during a battle. This is supported by the last two lines of the song when it mentioned, "Southerners to God who on this field, Held o'er us his protective shield."[67]

On January 23, 1862 the same paper published a poem entitled "God save the South." The poem's author, identified only by the initials R.S.A., wrote:

Aye, when the battle hour
Darkest may seem to lower,
God is our trust.
We have no cause to fear;
Heaven is our abled and spear—

In spite of the losses on the battlefield, in spite of the harsh economic conditions men and women faced on the home front, Confederates had nothing to fear because God was on their side and He alone had the power to achieve a Confederate victory. Less than one month later, a "Virginia

[66] God Save the South! Words by Earnest Halphin, Music by Chas. W.A. Ellerbrock (New Orleans.: A.E. Blackmar, 1862), Special Collections, Tulane University.

[67] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Camp Song for the Volunteer Southerns," August 13, 1861.

Matron" wrote a plea imploring southerners to fight for the cause of the Confederacy. In language that would have been all too familiar to any *Dispatch* reader by this time, this loyal Confederate woman cast the Union Army as the invaders of "our once happy land," categorized the Confederate cause as "just," and insisted Virginians needed to awake from "their slumber like patriots of old," which connected Virginians to their revolutionary ancestors. The last six stanzas of the "Call to the Confederate soldiers" linked the cause of the Confederacy with Christ and declared that southerners placed their faith in God to secure independence:

> With God on our side, you surely can stand,
> 'Gainst a lawless and ruffianly hand,
> Talk not of furloughs-'tis no time for repose,
> Talk of the South, of its sorrows and woes,
> Then, courage, brave hearts, "our cause it is just,"
> Let this be our motto, "in God is our trust"[68]

These last six lines demanded that Confederates continue to fight until the "lawless and ruffian" invader left southern soil. For the second time in this poem, the cause of the Confederacy is described as "just" and a picture of God going into battle by the side of Confederate soldiers is depicted.

The *Jack Morgan Songster* contained the song "We Conquer or Die" which also referenced God in its lyrics. "We Conquer or Die" indicated the struggle for Confederate independence was being led not by southern men, but by God himself since the song referred to

[68] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "A Call to the Confederate Soldiers," February 26, 1862.

God as the "Captain" in the fight.[69] West and Johnson published *War Songs of the South* in Richmond. The *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* believed this publication would "stir the enthusiasm of the Southern mind to a still higher pitch in the struggle for independence."[70] The book contained the song, "The New Star," which echoed the belief that God aligned himself with a cause determined to be right or just. The second stanza of "The New Star" said, "Their God was with the fathers-and is still the God of right!"[71] Confederates believed their cause just because, as fast day sermons illustrated, they fought to protect the freedoms attained by their Revolutionary ancestors and to protect the enslaved African American race from harm.

Similarly, the song "God Will Defend the Right," which was a part of the *New Confederate Flag Song Book*, also stressed that God would defend whichever side was in the "right." The last verse of the first stanza distinguished the "sunny land" of the South as the "home of the brave and free."[72] The phrase "home of the brave and free" also appeared in the lyrics to the "Star Spangled Banner" which was, at the time, the unofficial anthem of the United States. The last verse of the "Star Spangled Banner" depicted the United States flag waving "o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave." The imagery depicted in the first stanza of "God Will Defend the Right" served to connect the Confederacy to successful outcomes in the history of the United States, not only the American Revolution, but also the War of 1812 when

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[69] *The Jack Morgan Songster, Complied by a Capt. in Gen. Lee's Army* (Macon: John C Schreiner and Son, 1861), Special Collections, Tulane University.

[70] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, June 10, 1862.

[71] William G. Shepperson, *War Songs of the South* (Richmond: West and Johnston Press, 1862), 285, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/shepperson/menu.html.

[72] *New Confederate Flag Song Book*, (Richmond: A. Morris Bookseller and Publisher, 1864), 60, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress. The song, "God will Defend the Right" first appeared on the Confederate landscape in 1861. The *Daily Dispatch* published an advertisement about the song on September 23, 1861. The paper thought the song's sentiments would find an "echo in the heart of every Southerner." See *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, September 23, 1861.

Americans once again emerged victorious. Allowing the Confederacy to claim a connection to this imagery gave some southerners the ability to see themselves as eventual victors.

"Southron's Chant of Defiance," written and composed by A. E. Blackmar in 1861, had lyrics which also placed the end result of the war in the hands of God, not man. The lyrics stressed the belief, articulated in numerous fast day sermons and newspaper articles, that Confederates needed to put their faith in God, not man, because He alone would determine whether or not the country achieved their independence. The lyrics stated:

> But the battle to the strong
> Is not given-
> While the Judge of Right and Wrong
> Sits in Heaven,
> And the God of David still
> Guides the pebble with his will.[73]

Dedicated to the "friends of Southern Independence," the song "God and Our Rights" contained references to the forefathers of Confederate citizens who fought in the American Revolution and trusted God to see them through that difficult time. The same God who supported and defended colonists during the revolution now sustained southerners who fought for their independence because the ideals of colonists and the ideals of Confederates were one and the same. Both of them fought for the right of self-government. The third stanza said the cry "God and our Rights!" was the shout of the revolutionary fathers who had right and God on

[73] *Songs of the South* (Richmond: J.W. Randolph Publishers, 1863), 5-6, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

their side. Now in 1861, the cry "God and our Rights" belonged to the Confederacy. The song encouraged "men of the South" to "ne'er bend the knee" because God was on their side.[74]

"I'll Arise! I'll Arise!" was a poem written expressly for the *Daily Picayune* by someone identified only as M. E. M. The poem's lyrics discussed how southerners were willing to die to secure their freedom and that the Confederate rallying cry in battle was "freedom's the word, the rights of the South." The last five lines talked about the significance of God to the Confederate cause and said:

> While God is above us, we trust in His might,
> Through the fierce waging war we are still in His sight.
> Then away to the field! There is nothing to dread,
> For as slaves of the North we will never be led.[75]

The writer of this poem expressed the idea that God watched over the Confederacy and that as long as God was on their side, Confederates did not need to fear the North.

A Georgia woman, only identified as Mrs. M.V.W., wrote a poem expressly for the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* and dedicated it to the Georgia Volunteers. Even though the author directed the poem toward soldiers from a particular region, the themes expressed in the poem's verses were also expressed in Confederate Louisiana and Virginia. Mrs. M.V.W. urged soldiers to put their trust in God who supported the patriots of the eighteenth century. The third stanza advised soldiers to:

> Go on and in the patriots God,
> Put all your trust, nor fear the rod
> Of the invading horde, who now pollutes the sod

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[74] *God and Our Rights*, Words by Wm. M. Johnston, Music by A.E. Blackmar (New Orleans.: A. E. Blackmar and Bro., 1861), Manuscript Division, Tulane University.

[75] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, June 9, 1861.

Of our dear native land.[76]

The author of this poem also established a connection between Confederates and the revolutionary patriots when she called on southerners to put their trust in the patriot's God so Confederates would have nothing to fear.

In Augusta, the *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* published a poem entitled "Prayer for the South." The lines of the poem said:

"God bless our Dixie Land!
Firm may she ever stand.
Leaning on Thee!
God bless her sons and sires, her homes and altar fires,
O grant her heart's desires-Peace-Liberty!"

The first stanza of the poem clearly emphasizes the viewpoint that as long as southerners rely on God during this time of war, the Confederacy would possess a resilience that would carry them to victory. The common theme of "liberty" is once again mentioned in the fifth line to indicate to readers exactly what the Confederate States of America fought for in the war and to illustrate a connection between the war waged by Confederates and the war waged by the colonists against Great Britain. The second stanza tied God once again to the cause of the South. The second stanza said:

God bless our Dixie Land!
Led by the mighty hand;
Still be her guns!
On many a battle plain,
On many a ringing strain,
Echoed from the hills again

[76] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, July 23, 1861.

God's on our side![77]

The second stanza evoked an image of God defending, leading and protecting Confederate soldiers in battle.

As the war progressed, Confederates in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia seemed to internalize the messages from fast day sermons, newspaper articles and songs. This belief that God was on the side of the Confederacy, along with the idea that Confederates needed to place their faith in God, not man, was expressed in personal correspondence from the time. Confederate citizens in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia turned to God, not man, in order to deliver them from the hands of the Union Army. W.F. Stark, a member of the twenty-ninth Georgia Regiment, wrote in his diary how he believed "God alone can Deliver Us from the Enemy. We can but wait and do all in our power the result is with god."[78]

After the battle of Second Manassas, Georgia volunteer George Washington Hall concluded that "God had blessed our arms with one of the greatest victories ever achieved…"[79] Hall credited God, not man, with the victory at Second Manassas. In his personal diary, Hall copied the song "The Soldier's Farewell" which mentioned how God accompanied George Washington on the field of battle during the Revolution. Again, two themes that provided Confederate citizens with their nationalistic identity, the American Revolution and religion, joined together in "The Soldier's Farewell." The same God who accompanied Washington during the American Revolution was the God who was now on the side of the Confederacy because southerners, Confederates argued, were the true descendants of these revolutionary

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[77] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, "Prayer for the South," February 8, 1862.

[78] W. F. Stark, April 29, 1862, W.F. Stark Diary, April 29, 1862, Georgia Historical Society.

[79] George Washington Hall, August 25, 1862, George Washington Hall Diary, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

ancestors who fought for constitutional rights, liberty and self-government. The song's lyrics mentioned Confederates would place their trust in God on the battlefield. The stanza begins:

> When the old British lion oppressed us
> He with Washington went to the field
> Unto Him we will look in the battle
> And will strike till the enemy yield[80]

Hall copied another song, this one entitled, "The Soldier's Song" that contained lyrics that indicated soldiers would fight as long as was humanly possible and "hoped that the great God and the father of our little republic may cause us to be Successful."[81]

Members of the King family from Roswell, Georgia supported the Confederacy during the war and owned Roswell Manufacturing, the company responsible for supplying the Confederacy with the cotton and wool blend used to make Confederate uniforms. In 1863, Barrington S. King, a member of Howell Cobb's Georgia regiment, stated his belief to his father that the South was virtually invincible since God was on the side of the Confederacy. King asked his father, "When will our enemies become convinced of the impossibility of conquering us (God being with us) and give us the peace which we ask as our rights?"[82] Augusta, Georgia native Ella Gertrude Thomas wrote of a Confederate battlefield victory and stated, "God has blessed us with victory thus far." In the next sentence, Thomas attributed God's blessing as "The

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[80] Ibid., April 18, 1863.

[81] Ibid., April 20, 1862.

[82] Tammy Harden Galloway, ed., *Dear Old Roswell: The Civil War Letters of the King Family of Roswell, Georgia* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2003), January 6, 1863, 23-24

Lord giving strength unto his people."[83] In Thomas' mind, Confederates were the chosen people of God, and thus would receive His support and blessings in time of war.

In Louisiana, Clara Solomon mentioned the possible occupation of her city, New Orleans, by Federal forces. To avoid this misfortune, Solomon placed her faith in God. Clara believed the occupation of New Orleans "too horrible to contemplate" and pleaded with God to "avert such a calamity."[84] Sarah Lois Wadley asked God for His help to win the war. Wadley wrote in her diary that she "prayed fervently for divine help. In God is our trust and I believe we shall joyfully praise him."[85] Even in 1864, in spite of the worsening economic conditions and the setbacks on the battlefield, Wadley refused to give up on the Confederate cause as long as God supported it. New Orleans resident Helene Dupuy continued to believe in the eventual success of the Confederate cause because of God's presence on the side of the South, not because of men in the field. Helene pleaded with "God to have pity on us; may He raise up the falling Confederacy, may He cause happy days to come again."[86]

Francis Dunbar Ruggles, a member of the Washington Artillery Battalion, expressed his hope that God's presence on the side of the Confederacy would lead to positive results on the field of battle. Originally from Dorchester, Massachusetts, Ruggles moved to New Orleans in the years immediately preceding the war to open a business and soon became a firm supporter of southern rights. Ruggles believed the watchful eye of God, if it was on the South, would be enough to "preserve us through this day of trials." On September 6, Ruggles asked God to,

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[83] Thomas, July 2, 1862. Although the battle Thomas referred to is never clearly stated, the date of the entry would lead one to believe that the battle she wrote about was the Seven Days Battle even though by most accounts the battle was won by Union forces.

[84] Clara Solomon, April 22, 1862, 89, Clara Solomon Diaries, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[85] Wadley, August 23, 1864, 247.

[86] Dupuy, April 13, 1865.

"bless our Arms and give us the strength to cope with our enemy..." A day before his death at the Battle of Fredericksburg, Ruggles asked God to bless the Confederate army with success so that "this awful struggle may soon be brought to a close."[87] Jacques Alfred Charbonnet, a soldier in the Confederate Army, also felt that the outcome of the war was in the hands of God and that only God, not mere men, could determine the end result of the war. Charbonnet asked God to "give us your blessings."[88]

The same sentiment, that God was responsible for the Confederacy's successes and that Confederates placed their faith in God to secure their independence, was expressed by Virginian Amanda Chappelear after the Battle of First Manassas. Chappelear, known to her friends as "Tee," said "news of a great fight at Manassas puts the people in a perfect whirl of excitement." And while she admitted much of the credit went to Confederate generals, such as Beauregard and Johnson, as well as ordinary soldiers, Chappelear did not want to forget to thank God , "a greater and more powerful ruler" for the victory.[89] Later, Chappelear mentioned how she placed her faith in God and feared nothing.[90]

Schoolteacher and Virginia resident Aquila Johnson Peyton heralded First Manassas as "A glorious victory, for which we should return our thanks to God, whose over-ruling hand gave it to us."[91] John Milton Brinkley, a journalist from Virginia, likewise attributed the triumph over

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[87] Francis Dunbar Ruggles, August 30, 1862, September 6, 1862, December 12, 1862, Francis Dunbar Ruggles Papers, Historic New Orleans Collection.

[88] Jacques Alfred Charbonnet, December 31, 1863, Jacques Alfred Charbonnet Papers, Manuscript Division, Tulane University. Rufus Cater also expressed the belief that Confederates needed to "appeal to the God of battle in favor of Liberty and Justice." Unknown writer to "Dear Cousin Fanny," June 26, 1861, Douglas and Rufus Cater Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[89] Chappelear, July 23, 1861.

[90] Ibid., June 1, 1861.

[91] Aquila Johnson Peyton, July 30, 1861, Aquila Johnson Peyton Diary, Virginia Historical Society.

Union forces at Manassas to "the interposition of the Most High."[92] The same sentiment of utter trust in God was also echoed by William Henry Tatum, a member of the Richmond Howitzers. In a letter to his sister Belle, Tatum said, "under all circumstances we have but to do our duty and bow in humble submission to the will of God-nothing goes wrong with those who put their trust in Christ..."[93] Edward McCabe wrote his wife, Flora, in June 1861 that "the God of battles has its angel and will be with us to the ends."[94] Virginian James L. Powers, despondent after Confederate reverses such as the fall of New Orleans, the evacuation of Norfolk, and the destruction of the Merrimack, stated to his sister that "he had lost nearly all confidence" in the Confederate government. Powers told his sister his "only hope is in God."[95]

Religion was the second theme that defined how southerners imagined themselves as Confederate citizens during the Civil War. Religion, like the theme of the American Revolution, created Confederate nationalism within Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia since Georgians used religion to imagine themselves as Confederate citizens in the same way men and women did in Confederate Louisiana and Virginia. Fast day proclamations issued by President Jefferson Davis on ten separate occasions generated uniformity once Davis asked men and women, regardless of their geographic location, to attend church services in their hometown and pray for God to bless their cause. Davis' proclamations asked Confederate citizens to express their piety and patriotism simultaneously. While fast day sermons often explained what motivated the South to wage a war for independence, these sermons also proclaimed God supported the Confederate

[92] Jane Binckley to John Milton Binckley, August 3, 1861, John Milton Binckley Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[93] William Henry Tatum to "Dear Sister Belle," July 20, 1861, William Henry Tatum Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

[94] Edward J. Garrett to Flora Morgan McCabe, June 6, 1861, Flora Morgan McCabe Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[95] James L. Powers to his sister, May 19, 1862, James L. Powers letter, Virginia Historical Society.

nation, yet claimed southern independence would only become a reality if citizens asked for God's blessing for their cause.

Fast day sermons contained messages which established the significance of the Confederate cause, highlighted the common interests of all southerners and discussed the differences which separated Confederate citizens from their American counterparts. Confederate citizens differed from their American counterparts because they fought to protect the enslaved African American race and to ensure the revolutionary principles of liberty and self-government would be passed down to future generations. The fast day sermons of Stephen Elliott, Jeremiah O'Neill, Sr., and Henry H. Tucker in Georgia, Benjamin Palmer and Jos B. Walker in Louisiana and O. S. Barten, David S. Doggett and Charles Minnegerode in Virginia all highlighted how Confederates fought for revolutionary concepts. The fast day sermons of Walker in Louisiana, Elliott in Georgia and William Meade in Virginia discussed the role of Confederates as guardians of the enslaved African American race. These reasons made southerners God's chosen people. All southerners, regardless of where they lived and whether or not they owned slaves had been entrusted by God with the future of the enslaved African American race. This was yet another reason why the Confederate cause was, in the eyes of southerners, morally right.

Newspapers articles in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia, like religious fast day sermons, reiterated that God was on the side of the Confederacy and told southerners to put their faith in God and ask Him to bless their cause. An article from the *Southern Recorder* asked its readers to call upon God for victory while an editorial in the *Southern Confederacy* implored all Confederates to ask God to be the captain of their revolutionary struggle. In Virginia, the *Daily Dispatch* published an article which reiterated the belief that Confederates were God's chosen people while an essay from the *Daily Picayune* told Confederates to place their trust in God.

This once against established the idea that the fate of the Confederate revolution was directly linked to God.

The message that God was on the side of the Confederacy and that faith in God, not man, would win the war for the South was also highlighted in songs and poetry, regardless of geographic location. The song "I'll Arise, I'll Arise," published in the *Daily Picayune* described how southerners placed their trust in God and had nothing to fear as a result. In Virginia, the song "Southron's Chant of Defiance" emphasized how the final outcome of the war would be decided by God, while "We Conquer or Die" from a songster published in Macon, Georgia depicted God as the "captain" in the fight for Confederate independence.

Personal correspondence in the form of letters and diaries from the inhabitants of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia also expressed the opinion that God was on the side of the Confederacy during the war. This opinion was expressed by Sara Wadley in Louisiana, Amanda Chappelear in Virginia and Ella Thomas in Georgia. Their letters and diary passages implored Confederates to acknowledge the contributions God made to the southern war effort. These individuals repeatedly stated they placed their faith in God, not man, to help them achieve independence, which once again established a connection between patriotism and piety in the Confederate nation. In order for Confederate independence to become a reality, all citizens in the nation needed to seek God's favor and blessing.

Even though the letters and diary entries of Confederate citizens failed to mention the idea that southerners were God's chosen people because they protected the enslaved African American race, the institution of slavery was extremely important to southern society. In fact, the institution of slavery, and the concept of white supremacy it reinforced, defined southerners'

existence as citizens in the Confederate States of America, much like the way the American Revolution and religion defined their identity during the war.

CHAPTER 3

SLAVERY AND WHITE SUPREMACY

"We are fighting for Independence that our great and necessary domestic institution of slavery shall be preserved, and for the preservation of other institutions of which slavery is the ground work"

These words appeared in the September 19, 1864 issue of the Richmond based periodical, *Southern Punch*. This article verbalized the reason for the secession of the southern states after the election of Abraham Lincoln when it asked, "Did not secession take place because we all felt that if we remained in the Union an abolition President and an abolition Congress, would before the end of four years, jeopardize our great institution of slavery?" Toward the end of the piece, the author declared it "heresy" for those in the South to say they fought for their independence but not to protect the institution of slavery. To declare their goal of the present war to be independence alone was admitting that "slavery is either an evil or unimportant" which would be denied by "every agriculturalist in the South." Instead, as the above quote demonstrates, the Confederacy fought for independence in order to protect the institution of slavery and along with it the concept of white supremacy.[1]

The above quote leaves no doubt of the important position that the institution of slavery, and along with it the concept of white supremacy, occupied in the Confederate States of America. A year earlier, when President Jefferson Davis delivered an address in response to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Davis structured his argument around slavery and white supremacy. The Emancipation Proclamation, which took effect January 1, 1863, stated that all slaves who lived in the Confederacy were free. In his address, Davis declared the "proper condition of the negro is slavery, or a complete subjection to the white man," and he said he looked forward to the day when the Union would once again be whole "with slavery nationally

[1] "The New Heresy," *Southern Punch*, Volume II: 24 (September 19, 1864): 2, Library of Congress.

declared to be the proper condition of all of African descent…" Davis also decreed that if the Confederacy occupied any Union territory with free African Americans, these individuals would be enslaved in order to preserve the accepted social relationship between African Americans and whites in the South.[2] In his response to the Emancipation Proclamation, Davis established all African Americans as inferior to whites when he stated slavery was the proper condition of African Americans in society. Davis' address highlighted that southerners fought not just to perpetuate slavery but to ensure that the "proper condition" of African Americans, their "complete subjection" to whites, was maintained. White Confederates fought to maintain white supremacy along with slavery.

For Confederates, the institution of slavery and the concept of white supremacy were not just a part of southern life; they were the foundation for southern life. While the concepts of slavery and white supremacy did create an identity for Confederate citizens, slavery was more polarizing because the majority of Confederate citizens did not own slaves. Therefore, the concept of white supremacy, which slavery reinforced, tied together southern whites from different economic, religious and native backgrounds and created an identity which stressed uniformity. Previous historians who discussed the significance of slavery and white supremacy in the formation of Confederate identity failed to conduct a regional study to determine if these themes allowed Georgians to imagine themselves as Confederate citizens in the same way that Virginians used the themes of white supremacy and slavery to imagine themselves as citizens in the Confederate nation.[3] In other words, did the themes of slavery and white supremacy promote

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[2] *An Address to the People of the Free States, By the President of the Southern Confederacy* (Richmond: Richmond Enquirer Print, 1863), Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

[3] Historian Avery O. Craven wrote about the three common interests he believed gave southerners a common outlook. Craven said slavery, the fear of slave insurrections and the strict laws which prohibited slaves from reading and writing led to the creation of a bond between southerners. According to Craven, the second

Confederate nationalism or did they encourage Confederate regionalism? In this chapter, an examination of speeches by prominent state and Confederate officials, sermons, newspapers, literary publications, the personal correspondence of ordinary southerners and music published in the Confederacy will illustrate the importance southerners placed on white supremacy and slavery. These primary documents promoted the concepts of white supremacy and the institution of slavery simultaneously in order to illustrate the common interests which existed among citizens in the Confederacy as well as the differences between Confederates and Americans since Confederates cast themselves as the protectors of racial inequality and depicted northerners as supporting racial equality.

In the Confederate States of America, the concept of white supremacy, in combination with the institution of slavery, were the third and fourth themes of Confederate nationalism that emphasized the interests which bonded white southerners (and some free black slave owners in Louisiana) together in the new nation during the Civil War. The survival of the institution of

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interest which provided southerners with a common outlook was the concept of white supremacy and the fact southerners "prized their white skin with more than ordinary zeal." The third common interest among southerners, Craven argued, was the emphasis on agriculture in society. See Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 11-12. In addition to the slave and racial consciousness, Craven believes the South's agrarian nature also contributed to the establishment of a common outlook among southerners. Like Craven, Benjamin Carp believes the exclusion of individuals based on race was essential to Confederate nationalism. While Carp agrees with Craven that slavery created shared political interests among southerners, he believed that as the war progressed, the threat of economic and political domination by the Union created a more powerful shared interest among Confederate citizens than the institution of slavery. See Benjamin Carp, "Nations of American Rebels: Understanding Nationalism in Revolutionary North American and the Civil War South," *Journal of Civil War History* 48, no.1 (March 2002): 5-33, 11, 21. Historian Anne Sarah Rubin agrees with Craven and Carp that slavery and Confederate nationalism were linked, "just as it had been inextricably linked with Southern society and identity for hundreds of years." Rubin argues southerners founded the Confederate States of America to preserve the institution of slavery, and in the Confederacy, "slavery and white supremacy tied the disparate strands of Confederate identity-race, honor, religion-together." See Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 100-101. Drew Gilpin Faust also sees the significance of slavery to the history of the Confederacy in her work, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism.* In *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, Faust argues that southerners used slavery to justify the war and for Confederate citizens, slavery became God's mission for the South. See Drew Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 59-60.

slavery protected the concept of white supremacy since it established African Americans as inferior to whites. This explains why several newspaper articles, speeches, and secession pamphlets wrote about the North's supposed desire to abolish slavery throughout the South and establish racial equality.[4] These primary sources were pieces of propaganda designed to arouse southern hostility to the Union and unite Confederates to fight for their nation. Even though the concepts of slavery and white supremacy happened to be intertwined; slavery was divisive while white supremacy was inclusive. Slavery was divisive as a result of the relatively small number of slaveholders in the Confederate states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia. The simple fact was the majority of the free population in these three states did not own slaves.

In the eleven states which made up the Confederacy, there were 3, 521, 110 slaves out of a total free population of 5, 582, 222. The Confederate state of Virginia had the most slaves with 490, 865, while Louisiana and Georgia had 331, 726 and 462, 198, respectively. As the above evidence indicates, slavery was a central component of southern life prior to secession and formation of the Confederate States of America. Yet, the relatively small number of slaveholders in each Confederate state meant not every southerner had a personal connection to the institution of slavery. In Georgia, there were 41, 084 slaveholders out of a total free population of 595, 276. The state of Louisiana had a total free population of 376, 276 and only 22, 033 of these individuals owned slaves. In Virginia, out of a total free population of 1, 105, 453, there were only 52, 128 slaveholders. This meant that in Georgia, only seven percent of the

[4] Americans, like their Confederate counterparts, did not support racial equality. In fact, racism existed in the north just as did in the south. This was apparent during the July 1863 New York City draft riots. While the draft riots began as a protest over conscription. What started the initial outrage was the belief that the draft protected the rich at the expense of the poor. However, the riots soon turned into an attack on the African Americans in the city. The mob, which was overwhelmingly Irish, attacked and murdered blacks in the street, burned down a black church and the Colored Orphan Asylum. The draft riot lasted for three days and only ended when President Lincoln called upon troops who had fought at the Battle of Gettysburg to restore order. For more information on the draft riots, see Barnet Schecter, *The Devil's Own Work: The Civil War Draft Riots and the Fight to Reconstruct America* (New York: Walker & Company, 2005).

state's population owned slaves. In Louisiana, this number stood at six percent while in Virginia, less than five percent of the free population fell into the category of slaveholders.[5] Instead, the concept of white supremacy, which placed all white southerners, even the foreign born, above all people of African descent, connected the non slaveholder in Virginia to the slaveholders who lived in the Deep South states of Georgia and Louisiana. In terms of Confederate nationalism, the possible loss of white supremacy and the institution of slavery united southerners and created an identity based on race.

While slaveholders were a distinct minority in Confederate Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia, the concept of white supremacy included every southerner in the Confederacy. The only criterion to join the club of white supremacy was based on race, not socio-economic status. The concept of white supremacy helped soften the impact of one of the perceived challenges to Confederate nationalism, mainly foreign born residents in the Confederacy. Any element of Confederate nationalism which stressed a southern hierarchy based on race and not on socio-economic status created a bond between all southern whites, including the foreign born. Even before the formation of the Confederate States of America, the institution of slavery and the concept of white supremacy were two of the most important facets of southern life, as evidenced by the number of pro-slavery tracts distributed in the South prior to the war, the individual state secession ordinances, as well as the numerous pro-secession pamphlets. These sources illustrated how southerners used the concepts of slavery and white supremacy to justify secession and the war for southern independence while at the same time highlighting the differences between the Confederacy and the United States and emphasizing the common interests which connected all southerners.

[5] 1860 census, University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, http://www.mapserver.lib.virginia.edu. In Virginia, 4.7 percent of the state's free population could be classified as slaveholders.

Historian Drew Faust edited a collection of pro-slavery tracts distributed in the South three decades before the Civil War. *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South* illustrated the effort undertaken by southerners to defend slavery against northern attacks and emphasized the place of prominence slavery occupied in their lives. One outspoken defender of slavery whom Faust discussed was Virginian George Fitzhugh. In 1857, Fitzhugh's defense of slavery, *Southern Thought*, appeared in the New Orleans publication, *De Bow's Review*. *Southern Thought* articulated the belief that the institution of slavery provided benefits to southern whites, as well as enslaved African Americans. Slavery, according to Fitzhugh, reinforced the concept of white supremacy because it elevated whites to a privileged position in southern society. "How fortunate for the South that she has this inferior race," Fitzhugh wrote, "which enables her to make the whites a privileged class, and to exempt them from all servile, menial and debasing employments."[6] Fitzhugh believed slavery produced a hierarchy in the South based not on socio-economic status but on skin color. These opinions expressed by Fitzhugh would later be articulated in the pro-secession pamphlets of southerners, as well as in sermons delivered by clergymen on Confederate fast days.

Three years after *De Bow's Review* published *Southern Thought*, Abraham Lincoln was elected president of the United States. After Lincoln's election, southerners published letters, pamphlets and speeches in support of secession and depicted the Republican Party as having two goals; the abolition of slavery and the establishment of racial equality. In these sources, southerners expressed a desire to maintain the status quo of racial inequality. They emphasized the supposed goals of the Republican Party to illustrate what every white person in the South stood to lose if the North prevailed and ended slavery and white supremacy.

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[6] Drew Gilpin Faust, ed., *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 272, 276, 293.

In December 1860, Georgia Governor Joseph E. Brown drafted a letter in support of secession. The letter, issued as an appeal to the "poor men of the mountains" appeared in newspapers and broadsides throughout the state. In this letter, Brown equated the Republican Party with abolition and warned white males if the Republicans succeeded, blacks would be elevated to the same social and legal status as whites. Brown believed the "poor men of the mountains" would never allow this to happen. In perhaps a stroke of genius, Brown alluded to the fact that if slavery ended and blacks attained the same social and legal status of whites, poor white men had the most to lose. Right now, according to Governor Brown, the poor white mountain man was above the African American slave on the social ladder. However, if slavery ceased to exist, the newly freed slaves, with the help of the Republican Party, would have the ability to not only elevate themselves to the level of poor whites, but also to possibly surpass them in terms of social and economic status. The message Brown conveyed to these men in Georgia was clear; all white men, regardless of socio-economic status, needed to band together, support secession and defeat the party of abolition.[7]

That same year, Howell Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury in the Buchanan administration and a future founding father of the Confederate States of America, decided to directly address the citizens of his home state on the issue of secession. In his *Letter…to the People of Georgia*, he shared the same opinions as Governor Brown about the Republican Party. Cobb wrote about how the Republican Party wanted to eradicate the institution of slavery within the United States. "The fact that it [the Republican Party] was composed of men of all previous parties, who then and still advocate principles directly antagonistic upon all other questions except slavery," Cobb said, "shows beyond doubt or question that hostility to slavery, as it exists in the fifteen Southern states, was the basis of its organization and the bond of its union."

[7] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "An Appeal to the Poor Men of the Mountains," December 15, 1860.

After explaining to Georgians how Republicans worked to end slavery, Cobb also mentioned that one of the platforms of this same party was the belief in African American equality which threatened to destroy the concept of white supremacy. Cobb argued in this pamphlet that the phrase "All men are created equal" from the Declaration of Independence "had been perverted from its plain and truthful meaning, and made the basis of a political dogma which strikes at the very foundations of the institution of slavery." According to Cobb, since the goals of the Republican Party included ending the institution of slavery and elevating African Americans to the level of whites in society, there was no choice left to Georgia but secession.[8]

"Mr. Toombs Report" followed the publication of Brown's appeal to the "poor men of the mountains" and Cobb's pamphlet to his fellow citizens of Georgia. In pro-secession pamphlets distributed within the state, Georgian Robert Toombs argued the secession of Georgia came down to one thing and one thing only: slavery. Toombs maintained that for two decades "abolitionists and their allies engaged in efforts to subvert our institutions." Once again another pro-secession document attacked the supposed stance of the Republican Party on slavery and racial equality. According to Toombs, "the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, hostility to it everywhere, the equality of the white and black races…" were the goals of the Republican Party and its followers. Toombs, who would later become the first Secretary of State in the Confederacy, tried to convince his audience that northerners violated the Constitution through their refusal to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act. For this reason, Toombs said it was now the responsibility of not only Georgia, but the entire slaveholding South, to "seek new safeguards,

[8] Jon L. Wakelyn, ed., *Southern Pamphlets on Secession, November 1860-April 1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 88-89, 92. In his pamphlet, Cobb also listed nine principles he believed best described the goals of the Republican Party. These nine principles listed by Cobb all revolved around the institution of slavery. Cobb argued the Republicans believed slavery was a "moral, social and political evil; and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to prevent its extension." Cobb also articulated the Republicans believed "property in slaves is not entitled to the same protection at the hands of the Federal Government with other property."

for our *liberty*, *equality*, *security*, and *tranquility*."[9] In his report, Toombs connected the protection of the institution of slavery to the larger questions of liberty, equality, and security, issues non slaveholders and slaveholders alike could agree upon as important, even critical, to their future happiness and prosperity.

On New Year's Eve, 1860, Senator Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana delivered a speech on the floor of the United States Senate in favor of secession. The speech, which would eventually be published as a pamphlet and distributed throughout the South, defended the right of South Carolina to secede from the Union, which occurred eleven days earlier. Before his fellow senators, Benjamin said South Carolina had every right to secede since the state's interests were no longer being protected in the Union. According to Benjamin, South Carolina's decision to secede came down to self-preservation. When a state had been severely oppressed, there was no other option, according to Benjamin, but to invoke the "revolutionary right-the last inherent right of man to preserve freedom, property, and safety…"

When Benjamin explained why South Carolina thought of herself as oppressed, the responses revolved around the issue of slavery and southerners argument that the North refused to recognize and protect the ability of southerners to own slaves and travel with them into newly acquired United States territory. "That it is right we should be exposed to spend our treasure in the purchase, or shed our blood in the conquest, of foreign territory," stated Benjamin, "with no right to enter it for settlement without leaving behind our most valuable property, under penalty of its confiscation."[10] Benjamin's discussion of South Carolina's grievances made it clear that these problems were not unique to the state but shared by every southern state in the Union.

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[9] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "Mr. Toombs Report," February 5, 1861. According to the newspaper, there were more than 10,000 of the report printed and distributed to the public.

[10] Wakelyn, 107-108, 112-113.

While the pro-secession pamphlets given by Governor Brown, Howell Cobb and Robert Toombs all highlighted the idea that the Republican Party wanted to end slavery and establish racial equality, Benjamin's speech did not mention the views of the Republicans on the issue of race. However, Benjamin's explanation of the South's grievances against the North and the Republican Party did support the popular southern conviction that northerners and Republicans were hostile to the institution of slavery and took steps to ensure its destruction.

In early 1861, Richmond lawyer James Lyons, writing under the name "Virginius," published a pro-secession pamphlet. In it, he discussed the Republican Party, their stance on the institution of slavery, whether or not the southern states had a legal right to secede, and what action the state of Virginia should take now that Abraham Lincoln had been elected president. Like his Georgia and Louisiana counterparts, Lyons wrote of the Republican Party's hostility to slavery. He mentioned the inability of southerners to travel to new territories with their slaves and have their property rights protected. Lyons also referenced a speech given by Lincoln in Leavenworth, Kansas where Lincoln said slavery lacked constitutional protection and openly declared there would be no additional slave territories created in the United States. According to Lyons, these examples illustrated the Republican Party's hostility to slavery. Lyons wrote when one of the states violated the Constitution, it rendered the agreement which created the Union null and void. States then had the right to secede from the Union. Not surprisingly, "Virginius" recommended his state leave the Union prior to Lincoln's inauguration so that Virginians would be "safe from the aggressions of their enemies, and may enjoy their property in peace,

surrounded by plenty."[11] Lyons reasoned secession would allow southerners to keep their slaves and enjoy economic prosperity.

The *Southern Literary Messenger*, published in Richmond, reprinted a pamphlet by Dr. William H. Holcombe in 1861. The pamphlet, entitled *The Alternative: A Separate Nationality, or the Africanization of the South*, attempted to convince southerners of the need for secession and used the Republican Party's supposed hostility to the institution of slavery to underscore the need for an independent southern nation. Holcombe expressed the same opinion as Howell Cobb in his *Letter…to the People of Georgia* in that he believed the only bond which existed between diverse members of the Republican Party was "opposition of slavery, to its existence, its extension and its perpetuation…"

Dr. Holcombe also believed the "prevailing sentiment of the North" was that all men, regardless of race, were equal. "They [African Americans] are born unequal in physical and mental endowments," said Holcombe, "and no possible circumstances or culture could ever raise the negro race to any genuine equality with the white." The belief Holcombe discussed, that the North believed all men, regardless of race, were equal was mentioned by Howell Cobb in his open letter to the people of Georgia. In language that would echo the content of religious sermons preached in the Confederacy, Holcombe stated God ordained the enslavement of African Americans and put whites in a position of authority over black individuals. Holcombe then mentioned how the African American race would cease to exist without the institution of slavery. This same opinion, that the survival of the African American race depended on the institution of slavery, would be expressed by Confederate clergymen during the war. Therefore, Holcombe argued southern secession would not only protect the interests of white southerners,

[11] James Lyons, *Four Essays on the Right and Propriety of Secession by Southern States, by a Member of the Bar of Richmond* (Richmond: Ritchie and Dunnavant Printers, 1861), Essay two, 26, Essay four, 45, Essay two, 15, Essay one, 8, Virginia Historical Society.

the concept of white supremacy and the institution of slavery, but it would also save enslaved African Americans from annihilation at the hands of the North. The only option left to southerners was secession or "the restriction and ultimate extinction of slavery, the Africanization of the South and our national destruction."[12]

Before Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, 1861 seven southern states seceded and released secession declarations which explained why they could no longer remain in the Union. Of the three states examined in this study, Georgia and Louisiana seceded prior to Lincoln's inauguration. With the publication of each state's official secession declaration, southerners reaffirmed the centrality of slavery in their lives and their determination to fight for slavery and white superiority during the war.

Georgia's secession declaration, adopted on January 29, 1861 made no effort to hide the important role slavery played in their decision to leave the Union. The state's declaration discussed the constant attacks by northern abolitionists whom they argued wanted to destroy the institution of slavery. The ordinance declared the goal of the Republican Party was to not only prohibit slavery in the new territories of the United States but to establish equality between whites and blacks throughout the entire country. In essence, Georgians believed Republicans wanted to end the institution of slavery and along with it, the system of white supremacy which elevated all whites above people of African descent. The ordinance declared subordination to whites, along with the "political and social inequality of the African race," defined the existence of all black individuals.[13]

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[12] Wakelyn, 81, 83-84.

[13] James W. Loewen and Edward H. Sebesta, ed., The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause" (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2010), 133-139.

The Virginia secession document, which was not adopted until April 17, 1861, also mentioned the significance of the institution of slavery, not only to the state but to the entire South. Virginia's ordinance discussed how the federal government of the United States perverted the powers of the Constitution, harmed the state's citizens, and "oppressed the southern slaveholding states." Prior to the adoption of the secession ordinance, Virginia's secession convention passed a set of resolutions in late March and early April 1861 in an attempt to avert all out war. The second resolution left no doubt about the position slavery would hold in a new southern confederacy when it proclaimed slavery was "a vital part of the social system of the States wherein it exists…"[14]

Based on the importance the secession declarations placed on slavery, it is no surprise that the Confederate Constitution, adopted on March 11, 1861 by the seven initial states of the Confederacy, protected the institution of slavery when it proclaimed "no law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed." The Constitution also assured Confederate citizens their right to transport slaves from one state to another would be safeguarded. Furthermore, any territory acquired by the Confederate States of America would recognize the institution of slavery and be protected by the Confederate Congress.[15]

That same month, Confederate Vice-President Alexander Stephens delivered a speech in Crawfordville, Georgia where he touted the common interests of white Confederate citizens, regardless of their geographic location. Stephens stressed all white southerners were tied together because the concept of white supremacy and the institution of slavery elevated all whites above the position of enslaved African Americans.

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[14] Loewen and Sebesta, 153.

[15] *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States, 1861-1865, Volume I* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 914, 921-922.

Stephens's infamous "cornerstone" speech, delivered on March 21, 1861, highlighted the importance of slavery to the Confederacy's existence and reiterated the commonly held southern belief that African Americans were inferior to whites. In his speech, Stephens stated the cornerstone of the Confederate government rested "upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition."[16] Stephens followed this speech by giving an address in his hometown of Crawfordville that linked the survival of white supremacy to the survival of the institution of slavery.

In Crawfordville, Stephens proclaimed the North's true intentions were "to exterminate our Southern institutions" in order to "put the African on an equality with the white man."[17] Stephens implied that in order to keep white southerners elevated above people of African descent and to ensure the continuation of white supremacy, slavery needed to be protected at all costs. The opinions Stephens expressed about the North's stance on slavery and racial equality echoed the words of his fellow Georgians, Governor Joseph E. Brown, Howell Cobb and Robert Toombs. The words of these men highlighted that all southern whites had an interest in preserving white supremacy and slavery. Furthermore, the words used to characterize the American and Confederate stance on the issues of slavery and white supremacy produced a separate identity for Confederate and American citizens. American citizens were proponents of racial equality and Confederate citizens wanted to maintain racial inequality and with it, the institution of slavery.

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[16] Charles Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002), 14.

[17] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "The Speech of Vice-President A. H. Stephens…the War," November 28, 1862. In addition to the cause of the war being the defense of slavery in Stephens' eyes, he also mentioned that he interpreted the war from the southern perspective to be also about constitutional liberty and likened their separation from the Union to the separation of the colonies from Great Britain during the American Revolution.

In April 1863, New Orleans native Reverend Benjamin Palmer delivered a speech on the "Issues of the War" in Savannah, Georgia. Palmer espoused sentiments which underscored how integral slavery and white supremacy were in defining the Confederate nation. Palmer said the importance of slavery stemmed from the fact that it was responsible for producing a natural aristocracy "necessary to all governments." Instead of an aristocracy based on socio-economic status or birth, the natural aristocracy of the South, according to Palmer, was based on race and benefitted all whites in the Confederacy. Palmer then proceeded to tell his audience what awaited them if the South lost the war. Whites, along with African Americans in the South would face obliteration because the "subjugation" of the whites would equal the "destruction" of the African American race because without a superior race to protect them, Palmer believed African Americans would perish.

In language that left no doubt as to Palmer's belief about the position African Americans held in Confederate society, he claimed that when "an inferior race is placed by the side of a superior race on terms of equality, the former is swept away." The inequality that existed in the Confederacy between whites and blacks was, according to Reverend Palmer, the only thing that stood between the extinction of the supposedly inferior African American race.[18] In essence, Palmer argued slavery protected blacks from extinction and helped poor whites by creating an hierarchy in Confederate society based on race.

In March 1865, less than four weeks before the official end of the war, Senator Benjamin Harvey Hill gave a speech in La Grange, Georgia where he highlighted the need to continue the fight for Confederate independence. Hill expressed the same sentiment that propelled Governor Brown in his appeal to the "poor men of the mountains," which motivated Howell Cobb to write a letter to his fellow citizens, and which prompted Reverend Palmer to deliver a speech in

[18] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "Dr. Palmer on the Issues of the War," April 7, 1863.

Savannah on the war. Hill warned his audience that the Union wanted to elevate African American slaves to the social and economic level of whites, thus ending the institution of slavery and erasing the concept of white supremacy which provided consistency to the southern way of life. According to Hill, Northerners, if they won the war, would determine what the new relationship between white southerners and freed African Americans would look like.

"Do you believe that such a people will judge it appropriate," asked Hill, "that you should be above the negro? Will it not be marvelous if they even judge it appropriate that you should be his equal?" Hill implied the Union would not think twice about elevating newly freed slaves above whites, thus ending the concept of white supremacy. He urged La Grange residents to continue the fight for Confederate independence because if southerners lost, the Confederacy would become, in Hill's words an "Africans paradise" and the country would end up "deluged in blood."[19]

Hill, like Governor Brown in 1860, relied on the tactic of fear to gain the support of men and women who at this point may have become weary of war. Hill stated that the South would cease being the home of whites and instead would become the land of newly freed African Americans. While Brown stated that the "poor men of the mountains" in Georgia stood to lose the most if African slavery ceased to exist, Hill declared that all whites, regardless of socio-economic status stood to lose their homeland, their sense of security and their elevated standing in society if the North won and elevated newly freed slaves to the social and economic level of whites.

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[19] Benjamin H. Hill, *Speech on the Means of Success: The Sources of Danger and the Consequences of of Failure in the Confederate Struggle for Independence, Delivered in Sterling Hall, La Grange, Georgia, on the 11th day of March, 1864* (Atlanta: Economical Book and Job Printing House, 1874),7, 8, 10, 31-32, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

Hill also alluded to the possibility of a race war, similar to one experienced during the Haitian Revolution, where unarmed whites would be at the mercy of blacks armed by the Union to defend their newly acquired rights. However, the possibility of a race war seemed to contradict the notion white southerners had of slaves as docile individuals who supported the war effort. In addition to the public speeches given by men like Vice-President Stephens, Reverend Palmer, and Senator Hill, Confederate clergymen delivered sermons which continued to stress how southern society and the institution of slavery were interwoven. These sermons also contained the widely articulated Confederate belief that African Americans were inferior and subordinate to whites. The sermons justified the war and identified interests, the protection of slavery and white supremacy, which bonded white southerners together.

Reverend George D. Armstrong, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Norfolk, Virginia delivered a sermon after the Confederate victory at Manassas, where he stated that "the absolute control of all matters *concerning it* [slavery] shall be left entirely in the hands of our Southern people" because "its [slavery's] very existence, as well as the well-being of ourselves and children" depended upon it.[20] His sermon represented the opinion that many Confederates at the time held, which was that Confederates alone, since they were the guardians of the enslaved African American race, were the only ones qualified to make decisions which affected the institution of slavery. In an area like Norfolk, part of the Tidewater region where slavery was entrenched, it was no surprise that Armstrong took a defiant attitude toward slavery when he said southerners and southerners alone were the only individuals qualified to make any decisions about it. Armstrong's sermon also reiterated how the lives of Confederates was tied to and

[20] Reverend George D. Armstrong, *The Good Hand of Our God upon Us: A Thanksgiving Sermon Preached on Occasion of the Victory at Manassas, July 21, 1861, in the Presbyterian Church, Norfolk, Virginia* (Richmond: J.D. Ghiselin, Jr. Press, 1861), 10-11, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

centered on slavery, which was similar to the position adopted by Robert Toombs in his 1861 "Report."

At Christ Church in Savannah, the Reverend Stephen Elliott admitted slavery was the cause of the current revolution when he said, "that we can find that interest only in the institution of slavery was the immediate cause of this revolution." In his sermon, Elliott also told his parishioners God placed members of the African race among whites in the South. Elliott did not say that God placed African Americans in the South as the equivalent of whites; instead African Americans were "under our [white southerners] political protection and under our Christian nurture."[21] Elliott's statement reinforced the southern belief in the inferiority of blacks and the superiority of whites while at the same time explaining how slavery led to the creation of the Confederate States of America. In Elliott's opinion, Confederates waged war and formed the Confederacy, in part, to protect the heaven ordained institution of slavery.

A year later, Elliott once again mentioned the significance of slavery in a sermon he delivered on August 21, 1863. On the subject of slavery, Elliott acknowledged that slavery had "become interwoven with our whole social life, forming a part of our representation, of our prosperity, of our habits, of our manners, of our affections…"[22] According to Elliott, a respected clergyman in Georgia, slavery was connected to all aspects of southern life. Two years earlier, Presbyterian minister George D. Armstrong expressed the same thought when he said the well-being of all citizens of the Confederacy was tied to slavery. Slavery was tied to the political,

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[21] Reverend Stephen Elliott, *Our Cause in Harmony with the Purposes of God in Christ Jesus. A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Thursday, September 18, 1862, Being the Day Set Forth by the President of the Confederate States, as a Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving, for our Manifold Victories, and Especially for the Fields of Manassas and Richmond, Ky*. (Savannah: Power Press of John M. Cooper, 1862), 7-11, 14, Stephen Elliott Scrapbook, Georgia Historical Society.

[22] Reverend Stephen Elliott, *Ezra's Dilemma. A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Savannah, on Friday, August 21, 1863, Being the Day of Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer, Appointed by the President of the Confederate States* (Savannah: Power Press of George M. Nichols, 1863), 12, 25, Stephen Elliott Scrapbook, Georgia Historical Society.

economical, and personal well being of Confederate citizens. The loss of slavery meant the loss of structure to the lives of Confederates.

The Honorable John Randolph Tucker also stepped into the religious discussion about slavery with the publication of his work, *The Southern Church Justified in its Support of the South in the Present War*. Originally given as a lecture to the Young Men's Christian Association in Richmond, Tucker told his listeners that slavery was the "keystone in the arch of our social structure." And as a result, the religious and secular reasons for southern secession had to do with the institution of slavery. On the secular side, secession was a necessity because abolition by the north signaled the loss of valuable property, African insubordination (as a result of abolition agitation) and the destruction of southern society and civilization.

On the religious side, secession was inevitable since Christianity, according to Tucker, improved the character of African slaves because of their involvement in southern churches. Another religious reason which explained why the southern church supported secession and the war was the protection of religious liberty. "Religion cannot prosper…when despotism is destroying the liberty and trampling on the rights of the people; for men in such circumstances will be diverted from their religious to their civil interests," Tucker stated, "and will postpone spiritual concerns, for the attainment of present temporal benefits." In other words, secession and the Confederate fight for independence allowed citizens to focus on their spiritual well-being and not their secular affairs. Tucker ended his speech by reiterating a common theme among southern clergy, that "God put the negro here, and places us [whites] here in authority over him-to regulate him-to make him useful…"[23] With his choice of words that whites were "in authority

[23] Honorable John Randolph Tucker, *The Southern Church Justified in its Support of the South in the present War: A Lecture, Delivered Before the Young Men's Christian Association, of Richmond, on the 21st of May, 1863* (Richmond: William H. Clemmitt Printer, 1863), 9, 12 15, 34, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress. In his lecture, Tucker discussed the biblical analogy involving the Pharaoh who refused to release Jews

over African Americans," Tucker supported the commonly held belief in the South that hinged on African American inferiority and white superiority. Tucker's words also echoed those of Reverend Elliott in his sermon, *Our Cause in Harmony with the Purposes of God in Christ Jesus*. Tucker and Elliott each said African Americans were under the control of whites and that God allowed southerners to exert control over them.

Newspapers in the Confederate states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia articulated the commonly held southern belief that the North was intent on destroying the institution of slavery and discussed the impact the end of slavery would have on the lives of white southerners. The articles published within these state newspapers were harbingers of things to come if the North won the war. The intended audiences for these newspapers were not just citizens in the Confederacy, but southerners who lived in the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri and chose not to secede from the Union. The newspapers attempted to illustrate that one did not have to live within Confederate Georgia or Virginia to realize what it would mean to the social order if the North succeeded in winning the war, destroyed slavery and elevated formerly enslaved blacks to the equality of southern whites. All whites regardless of geographic location had a lot to lose if this became reality.

In Georgia, the *Gate-City Guardian* published an article on February 19, 1861 entitled "The Causes and Objects of the Secession of the Cotton States from the Federal Union" which stressed the Republican Party's hostility to slavery. The essay acknowledged that the culture of the seceding states was entirely dependent upon slave labor to grow the crops the region was known for, such as rice, cotton, and sugar. As a result, the article concluded that the seceded states "were resolved not to submit to the legislation of any party, whose elevation to power was

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from slavery. In this example, Tucker referred to the North as the Pharaoh who refused to let the South leave peacefully. Not only did this once again cast the North as the aggressor in the war, this biblical analogy also cast Confederates in the role as God's chosen people since they took on the role of the Jews in this story.

solely upon the idea of hostility to African slavery. According to this article, the object of secession was twofold; secession preserved Southern interests that related to constitutional freedom, property rights, liberty and at the same time secession ensured the institution of slavery, along with the white supremacy it reinforced, would be handed down to future generations of Confederate citizens.[24]

The *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* published a piece on April 30, 1861 that depicted the Lincoln government as wanting to end slavery and elevate African Americans to the same social level as southern whites. "Hayti vs. The South" discussed how Charles Sumner advised President Lincoln to officially recognize the Haitian government. The piece declared that in Lincoln's estimation "negroes and white men are equal" and that now, because he was president, he finally had the ability to enforce his ideas.[25] As the title of the piece suggested, it was the South against Haiti and what the nation of Haiti represented. In the eyes of southerners, Haiti represented the possibility of s slave revolt on southern soil, and in the words of Henry L. Benning, Haiti represented southern men "being compelled to wander like vagabonds" and women facing unspeakable horrors that "we cannot contemplate in imagination."[26] This article articulated the belief that all Confederates had a common interest, the prevention of another Haiti on southern soil, which would end the southern way of life. And the depiction of Lincoln as a

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[24] *Gate-City Guardian*, "The Causes and Objects of the Secession of the Cotton States from the Federal Union," February 19, 1861.

[25] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "Hayti vs. The South," April 30, 1861.

[26] Matthew J. Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War: The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 68.

supporter of racial equality contributed to the identity southerners' established for northerners during the war.[27]

Before all eleven states that would form the Confederate States of America seceded from the Union, James D. B. De Bow, editor of the highly influential New Orleans, Louisiana periodical *De Bow's Review*, published an editorial that equated the cause of non-slaveholders during the secession crisis with that of slave holders. De Bow's words attempted to construct a bond between Confederate citizens based not on the institution of slavery, since not all whites owned slaves. Instead, De Bow tried to craft a bond between future Confederate citizens based on their status as white males. He laid out ten reasons why he believed non slaveholding and slaveholding southerners shared the same interests and these interests were based on the theme of white supremacy. De Bow stressed how self-preservation dictated non-slaveholders support secession since less affluent whites in southern society had more to lose if slavery, and the concept of white supremacy it reinforced, ceased to exist.

In essence, De Bow argued for the unification of all white males, regardless of socio-economic status, in order to protect the South and its institutions. This was not a new sentiment. Governor Joseph E. Brown expressed this same sentiment, that lower class whites had the most to lose if slavery ended, in his address to the mountain men of Georgia. However, it is interesting to note that De Bow relied on the argument of white superiority in Louisiana, a state that recognized the similarities between whites and free African Americans. Louisiana was a state where race and color were more indeterminate than elsewhere in the Confederacy and in this state, some free African Americans attained more wealth and privilege in society than some

[27] In 1862, the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* published another article which once again discussed how the North intended to eradicate slavery. The essay claimed the North wanted to pass a bill in Congress that made it impossible for people in the Confederacy to claim their slaves. With the inability to claim their slaves, the wealth of the Confederate states would be gone and northerners would be able to buy southern farms at cheap prices. See *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "The Way They Intend to Abolish Slavery," March 11, 1862.

whites. Thus, the concept of white supremacy in the Confederate state of Louisiana was already under attack.

When De Bow discussed some of the similarities between slaveholders and non slaveholders in the South, he did so by relying on the widely accepted belief at the time that all whites, regardless of their economic status, were superior to enslaved African Americans. The fourth reason articulated by De Bow, which he believed showed a parallel between slave owners and non slave owners, was that "the non slaveholder of the South preserved the status of the white man, and was not regarded as an inferior or dependent." De Bow went on to describe how the Declaration of Independence, which declared that all men were created equal, excluded those of the African race because "no white man at the South serves another as a body-servant, to clean his boots, wait on his table, and perform the menial services of his household!"

De Bow implied that those who served as body-servants or performed menial duties, specifically enslaved African Americans, occupied an inferior position in Confederate society. All white men, simply because slavery existed, were superior to African Americans because the presence of enslaved blacks meant lower class whites would not be called upon to perform any of these menial duties. What De Bow meant was that without the institution of slavery, lower class whites may at some time be called upon to work as body servants or perform other duties that during slavery would have been reserved for African Americans.

De Bow also skillfully illustrated that sons of non-slaveholders held positions of importance in the South and would continue to occupy positions of importance in the Confederacy. According to De Bow, men who were in this class included the Andrew Jacksons, the Henry Clays, the Hammonds, Yanceys and Benjamins.[28] While these men may have been

[28] "The Non-Slaveholders of the South: Their Interest in the Present Sectional Controversy Identical With That of the Slaveholders," *De Bow's Review* 30, no.1 (January 1861): 67-77, 73-74. Andrews Jackson was the

the sons of non-slaveholders, it is important to realize these individuals became slave owners either as a result of their marriages or increased economic prosperity when they reached adulthood. Even though the fathers of the Andrew Jacksons, Henry Clays, etc. may not have attained the economic success to be able to purchase slaves, their children were able to attain the title of slaveholder. This was De Bow's seventh reason which he thought established the interests of slaveholders and non-slaveholders as similar.

Not only, according to De Bow, could non slave holding white males become influential members of southern society, there was also the distinct possibility based on these examples, that a non slave holder could one day attain the status of slave holder. Thus, this was evidence of De Bow's sixth point which established a deep connection between the slaveholder and non-slaveholder based on the fact that many slaveholders began their lives as non-slaveholders. Furthermore, the fact that men like Judah P. Benjamin and Andrew Jackson began their lives as non-slaveholders meant the line between non-slaveholder and slaveholder was not constant. Instead, according to De Bow's fifth reason, all non-slaveholders had the opportunity to become slaveholders through their hard work.[29]

Playing upon the fears of poorer whites in southern society, De Bow listed his final reason which he believed illustrated that slave owners and non-slaveholders held parallel interests. De Bow articulated his belief that if emancipation became a reality, slaveholders, as a

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seventh president of the United States and owned one hundred and fifty slaves who lived at his plantation, the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee. De Bow incorrectly included Henry Clay as the son of a non-slaveholder. In actuality, Clay's father, Reverend John Clay, owned over twenty-two slaves at the time of his death. James Henry Hammond, a former governor of South Carolina and United States Senator, owned over three hundred slaves. William Lowndes Yancey, who would become a Confederate senator from the state of Alabama, gained thirty-five slaves upon his marriage in 1835 to Sarah Caroline Earle. Judah P. Benjamin owned a sugar plantation in Louisiana called Bellechasse and owned one hundred and forty slaves. See Eli N. Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 73.

[29] "The Non-Slaveholders of the South," 74-75. De Bow was not accurate when he listed Judah P. Benjamin as the son of a non-slaveholder. According to Eli Evans, Benjamin's parents owned three slaves when the family lived in St. Croix. See Evans, 8.

result of their economic prosperity, would be able to escape "the degrading equality" but non slaveholders "would be compelled to remain and endure degradation." The end result would be that whites who lived among newly freed blacks, according to De Bow, would sink to even lower depths as a result of the power African Americans would exert over the white man.

The other reasons De Bow listed to illustrate the deep bonds and common similarities which existed between non-slaveholders and slaveholders focused on how slavery benefitted the non-slaveholder. He listed the value in dollars for sugar production in Haiti and the production of sugar, rum, and coffee in Jamaica during slavery and after slavery was abolished in these two locations. According to De Bow, the production of sugar in Haiti fell from 27 million dollars in 1789 to between five and six million dollars in 1860. Without the institution of slavery, production of southern exports, according to De Bow, would drop dramatically. The products produced by slave labor, like cotton, rice, and tobacco would no longer be grown and the profits from these products, which De Bow claimed were distributed to all members of southern society, even the non-slaveholder, would no longer occur.

The additional reasons listed by De Bow expressed the belief that the non-slaveholder was more economically prosperous than his counterparts in the North. According to De Bow, the non-slaveholder did not have to go to the crowded cities with "sickly workshops and factories" to find employment, unlike the people who lived in the North, and the non-slaveholder was not in competition with foreign laborers for jobs.[30] All of these reasons, De Bow argued in his periodical, was evidence that the cause of slaveholders and non-slaveholders in the South was the same.[31]

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[30] *De Bow's Review*, 71-73, 75-76.

[31] Besides the article which highlighted the common interests of the slaveholder and non-slaveholder in southern society, *De Bow's Review* also published articles which emphasized slavery's significance to the

The New Orleans newspaper, the *Daily Picayune*, expressed sentiments in February 1862 that seemed to echo those expressed nearly a year earlier in *De Bow's Review*.[32] The article in the *Daily Picayune* declared the Union had fallen into the hands of a faction who meant to "ruin the civil rights and social institutions, [along with] the peace and property of the Southern States."[33] The vague reference to "social institutions" that the North wanted to destroy was an indirect reference to the institution of slavery. However in the case of Louisiana, the Union's supposed plan to negatively impact the peace and property and the social conditions in the state did not just affect white slave owners in the state. Black slave owners in Louisiana stood to lose their elevated place in the state social structure if enslaved blacks were given their freedom.

While newspapers in Confederate Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia all contained articles that illustrated the interests of southerners and the differences between Americans and Confederates on the issue of slavery and white supremacy, Virginia newspapers such as the *Richmond Enquirer* and the *Lynchburg Daily Republican* spread fear and unease about the possible loss of white supremacy by citing specific examples of racial equality in Union occupied territory. By emphasizing the effect the loss of white supremacy would have on the lives of southerners, these articles implied that all southern whites needed to stick together to preserve the institution of slavery and the concept of white supremacy for future generations.

Confederate nation. An 1861 essay declared slavery to be the cause of secession. The election of Lincoln, according to this piece, was an attempt to make the South consent to a government "fundamentally different upon the question of slavery, from that which our fathers established." In other words, the "fundamentally different" government the periodical referred to was a government without the institution of slavery. Therefore, secession became "a bounden duty." See "Cause for Secession-Slavery," *De Bow's Review* 30, no. 4 (April 1861): 414-425, 414, 421.

[32] In December 1861, an unknown author wrote a piece for De Bow's Review which accused northerners of allowing the Lincoln administration to "hold its abolition orgies and fulminate its vile edicts upon slave territory." See Paul F. Paskoff and Daniel J. Wilson, ed., *The Cause of the South: Selections from De Bow's Review, 1846-1867* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 243.

[33] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "What They Mean," February 12, 1862.

Perhaps it is not surprising that Virginia, more than Georgia or Louisiana, touted the consequences associated with the loss of white supremacy. Unlike Georgia, Virginia saw cities like Alexandria, Norfolk, Williamsburg, and Portsmouth fall early to the Union army. If the Union was intent on establishing the doctrine of racial equality throughout the South, which was a threat and not a fact, it would happen sooner in Union occupied territory rather than in a state like Georgia which, up until 1864, had yet to see any of their large cities invaded by the Union. And unlike the state of Louisiana, the line between the white and black races was less fluid in Virginia.

In Louisiana, free people of color were allowed to testify against whites and enter certain skilled professions, such as cigar makers and butchers, unlike their counterparts in Virginia.[34] The special status free blacks occupied in Louisiana was unheard of in Virginia, a state where the line between the races was more rigid. For those free African Americans in Louisiana who were slave owners and had achieved a measure of economic success, their privileged status in society would best be protected if African American slavery continued to exist because slavery provided a clear demarcation between free and enslaved blacks in Louisiana society. Without this demarcation, it was a distinct possibility that southern whites would lump all African Americans together.

Yet, in spite of the fact that Louisiana recognized differences between free and enslaved blacks,[35] the state was no different from Georgia and Virginia on the issue of slavery and white supremacy since whites in Louisiana still insisted on separation between themselves and free

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[34] Donald G. Nieman, ed., *The Civil War Experience of Black Southerners* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 326-327.

[35] An 1856 Louisiana State Supreme Court ruling established inherent differences between slaves and free African Americans when it declared "there is…all the difference between a free man of color and a slave, that there is between a white man and a slave." See Nieman, 310.

African Americans. The New Orleans City Council and the Louisiana State Legislature passed two pieces of legislation in the 1850's which highlighted the separation between whites and free blacks. The city council of New Orleans prohibited free African Americans from assembling and playing cards. In 1859, the state legislature passed a law which gave free African Americans the option of becoming slaves. Free white Louisiana citizens, defined in the nineteenth century as members of a superior race, would never have been given the choice of enslavement. These laws are evidence that white Confederates in Louisiana wanted to establish their superiority over free African Americans. This reason made Louisiana the same as Georgia and Virginia on the themes of slavery and white supremacy, despite the racial intermingling which occurred in the state.

During the first year of the war, the article "What are we fighting for?" appeared in the Richmond based *Daily Dispatch*. While it appeared, according to the article, the North fought a war against the institution of slavery, in actuality it was a war against the Constitution and the government. Slavery was only the impetus for the war. Even though the piece admitted the survival of slavery depended on a Confederate victory, the article attempted to illustrate to its readers that something even more important than slavery was at stake, the concept of liberty. This article told its readers that Confederate citizens fought for the concept of liberty, which was more important to the future happiness of the nation than the institution of slavery. The piece concluded by emphasizing that all whites shared the same goals and interests when it stated any infringement upon the rights of slave holders to own slaves was an infringement upon the rights of all southerners, including those who did not own slaves. The article further established a connection between all white southerners when it claimed the fate of all Confederates "the

lowest equally with the highest, the most ignorant with the best informed, the poor and the rich" depended on the outcome of the war.[36]

In the second year of the war, the *Richmond Enquirer* published an article about "Negro Equality in Chicago." The piece discussed two black men who boarded an omnibus and proceeded to smoke and tell coarse jokes. Two white ladies boarded the omnibus and complained to the driver, Mr. Kelly, about these two men. When Mr. Kelly attempted to remove the two black men from the bus, one of them refused and said "he had as many rights as any one." The disturbance led to the Sheriff of Cook County being summoned but instead of arresting the black men, the sheriff stated he made "no distinction between a negro and a white man" and issued an arrest warrant for the driver, Mr. Kelly.[37] This paragraph informs the reader about the supposed character of black men. These black men are portrayed as possessing negative qualities since they are telling off-color jokes in the presence of women.

More importantly, this article also told the reader what would happen to the concept of white supremacy if blacks believed they did have as many rights as "any one." The deference these two African American men would have shown Mr. Kelly, as a white man, is absent. Racial equality meant African American men would no longer think of themselves as subordinate to whites and would act accordingly. Finally, the piece told white Virginians that the law would be on the side of the black men and that as a result, white supremacy would be a thing of the past. It is interesting to note that the bus driver who sided with the women against the free African Americans on the bus was an Irishmen named Mr. Kelly. The fact that Mr. Kelly, an Irishman, aligned himself with the white women against the two African American men illustrated how the concept of white supremacy tied people together, regardless of ethnicity.

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[36] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "What are we fighting for?" October 25, 1861.

[37] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Negro Equality in Chicago," August 1, 1862,

A week later, the same paper published yet another article that focused on "Negro Insubordination and Insolence." The item claimed that in Culpeper, enslaved women were "smacking the jaws of their mistresses" and "dressing in their mistresses' clothes [and] putting on their jewelry and ornaments…"[38] These African American women began to see themselves as the equals of white women. This article stressed the changing mindset of African Americans which led them to question their inferior place in Confederate society. This example was a harbinger of things to come for the South if they lost the war.

A similar scene that reinforced black equality supposedly played itself out in Union occupied New Orleans. A copy of a ticket to a Fourth of July celebration organized by the Union supposedly trumpeted "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." In keeping with this theme, the ticket said there would be "no distinction of race and no distinction of color" which implied that blacks would be allowed to enter the celebration once the admission price of twenty-five cents was paid and treated as the equal of whites.[39] Furthermore, the language on the ticket also implied that once inside the celebration, there would be no segregation of the races and whites and blacks could intermingle. The implications were clear. Under Union control, white supremacy would cease to exist and racial equality would be the order of the day. The South and its white citizens would be forced to accept black equality if the Confederacy lost the war. If one doubted whether or not this was true, articles published about the situation in occupied New Orleans, and Portsmouth, Virginia for example, stressed the Union's commitment to black equality.

The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* continued the trend of publishing articles that discussed the loss of white supremacy and African American subordination. On April 4, 1863, the *Daily*

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[38] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Negro Insubordination and Insolence," August 8, 1862.

[39] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "An Historical Document," November 13, 1863.

Dispatch ran an article about the happenings in Portsmouth now that the Union was in control of the city. In a letter to the paper, a white woman recounted how she and her daughter went to Portsmouth and encountered two African American men, one of whom told her "when white women see a gentlemen coming they must get out of their way." Allegedly, this statement was followed by the two men pushing the woman and her daughter to the ground. When the mother looked around for assistance, she was told by a white man standing near them that if he "were to do anything he would be seriously injured."[40]

In this piece, the world of Portsmouth, Virginia had been turned upside down. African American men referred to themselves as "gentleman" and acted accordingly. No longer did they view themselves as the inferior of whites. In fact, these black men saw themselves as superior to white women. A white male, possibly fearing retaliation from the Union troops in the area, refused to come to the aid of the white women in this story. This left the white woman and her daughter at the mercy of the two African American men. This article implied the loss of white supremacy meant white women would be at the mercy of African American men and white men would be powerless to intervene.[41]

In addition to newspapers, literary works also reinforced the idea that slavery was integral to the identity of the Confederacy and emphasized the bonds which existed between all white Confederates. In 1863, H.W.R. Jackson's *The Southern Women of the Second American Revolution* went one step further and discussed how "the people of the Confederate States, the

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[40] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Affairs in Norfolk," April 4, 1863.

[41] In the final months of the war, the *Lynchburg Daily Republican* ran a story about an African American man from Rhode Island who had been selected as a juror. The piece argued that in the past it was understood that when the name of a free African American was drawn as a potential juror, it would be passed over, but now "a new course is to be pursued." This new course, which worried the *Daily Republican*, was the end of white supremacy and the elevation of African Americans to the status of whites. The fact that Rhode Island selected this individual as a juror was a way for Confederates to illustrate that the North wanted to promote racial equality. See *Lynchburg Daily Republican,* March 19, 1865.

descendants of Caucasian and Jewish races" had been entrusted by God to "perpetuate the work of civilization" and "protect the African race as an institution of servitude to civilization."[42] According to Jackson, Caucasian and Jewish Confederates were members of two distinct races, yet they both had a common purpose in Confederate society, the protection of the African race and the perpetuation of African American slavery to future generations. Jackson's words depicted white Confederate citizens as waging war to protect the institution of slavery, which God called upon them to do. Jackson's work also accused northerners of trying to establish the equality of the white and black races when he wrote, "the perverting influence of their [Yankees] self established creed has given birth to all the demoralizing, degrading and hellish isms, including equalityism or negrophilism."[43]

Jackson blamed northerners, or as he referred to them, Yankees, for introducing the concepts of racial equality and love of the African American race to the United States. Similar to opinions expressed in pro-secession speeches and pamphlets, newspapers, and sermons, Jackson expressed his belief that the cause of the Confederate revolution revolved around slavery and the attempt by northerners to establish the African American and white races as equal. Jackson's words created a separate identity for Confederate and American citizens since Confederates fought for racial inequality and Americans supposedly fought for racial equality.

"Nellie Norton" or *Nellie Norton: or, Southern Slavery and the Bible. A Scriptural Refutation of the Principle Arguments upon which the Abolitionists Rely. A Vindication of Southern Slavery from the Old and New Testaments*, written by the Reverend Ebenezer W. Warren, was published in Macon, Georgia in 1864. The plot of the story involved northerners

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[42] H.W. R. Jackson, *The Southern Women of the Second American Revolution* (Atlanta: Intelligencer Steam Power Press, 1863), v, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

[43] Jackson, v.

Nellie Norton and her mother who traveled south to visit Nellie's uncle, Mr. Thompson, who lived with his wife and five children on a plantation outside of Savannah. While there, Nellie and her uncle have an ongoing debate about whether the Bible is a pro-slavery or pro-abolition source. After these daily conversations with her uncle, Nellie became convinced that the Bible was a pro-slavery document. Nellie no longer saw slavery as a "sin of such appalling magnitude" and as a result of the personal observations she made on her uncle's plantation, she no longer believed slavery crushed the "moral and intellectual natures" of African Americans.

Instead, Nellie came to believe slavery "elevated, lifted, expanded, and refined the moral sensibilities" of enslaved African Americans. Nellie became thoroughly convinced that the Bible supported slavery and then refused to ever again "join in the abolition cry against the South." *Nellie Norton* was similar to *The Southern Women of the Second American Revolution* because both these works supported slavery and the concept of white supremacy. By listing the positive aspects of slavery, along with Nellie's change of heart about the institution, the work attempted to show how slavery had to have positive attributes if a dedicated abolitionist like Nellie changed her mind about slavery after experiencing it firsthand.

Mr. Thompson in one of his discussions about the institution of slavery bolstered the concept of white supremacy when he declared "slavery is the normal condition of the negro, as much as freedom is of the Caucasian. He has always and everywhere been a slave; he always will be."[44] Mr. Thompson, Nellie's uncle, expressed the idea that African Americans were only

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[44] Reverend Ebenezer W. Warren, *Nellie Norton: or, Southern Slavery and the Bible. A Scriptural Refutation of the Principal Arguments upon which the Abolitionists Rely. A Vindication of Southern Slavery from the Old and the New Testaments* (Macon: Burke, Boykin, & Company, 1864), 38, 73, 92, Documenting the American South, http://www.docsouth.unc.edu/imls/warren/menu.html. Some of the scriptural arguments used by Mr. Thompson to refute the charges of the abolitionists were that the Apostles allowed slave holders and slaves to belong to their churches without having them free their slaves. Instead the Apostles required slave holders to sins and inequities which supposedly proved that the Apostles did not deem slavery to be a sin. Another biblical argument employed by Mr. Thompson in the defense of slavery was that the Bible instructed masters on how to properly treat their slaves. Thompson argues that if slavery was indeed a sin, the Bible would not have told people

fit to be slaves, which was not the normal condition of whites. Therefore, there were supposedly inherent differences between African Americans and whites, which established the white race as superior and the African American race as inferior in the eyes of Confederate citizens.

Yet, in spite of the numerous sources such as speeches, newspaper articles and literary works that cited slavery and the northern desire for racial equality as the reason for the formation of the Confederate States of America, few southern citizens took the time to reference slavery in their journals or diaries. But when they did, their comments were illuminating. In Louisiana, Rufus Cater, writing to his cousin Fanny in November 1862, referenced the work *Uncle Tom's Cabin* when he wondered if "Madame Stowe's pharisarical heart feels no compunctions throb when she beholds such carnage and bloodshed, the work of those fierce flames of fanaticism which her ingenious brain labored so assiduously to enkindle."[45] Cater referred to Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which represented to southerners the northern abolitionist attack on the institution of slavery. In fact, by 1854, two years after the publication of Stowe's work, there appeared no less than fourteen works by southern writers that refuted the claims made about slavery in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[46] It is clear from Cater's statement that he blamed Stowe's work for fanning the flames of northern abolitionists, which in his mind led to the war.

The only other instance where the institution of slavery appeared in the journals and letters of ordinary Louisiana natives revolved around the debate over whether to arm slaves to

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how to perpetuate a wrong. Furthermore, Thompson believes that God preached slaves to be obedient to their masters which meant, according to Thompson, that God gave the institution of slavery his seal of approval. For a summation of Mr. Thompson's argument see Warren, 197-198.

[45] Rufus Cater to "Dear Cousin Fannie," November 22, 1862, Douglas and Rufus Cater Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[46] John McCardell, The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860 (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1979), 166.

fight for the Confederacy in exchange for their freedom. In February 1865, Louisiana resident Gustave A. Breaux believed arming slaves to fight for the Confederacy was a good idea and wrote, "If necessary, if the worst should come perish slavery-perish the institution forever but give us our independence."[47] Breaux considered southern independence the most important goal of the war, more important than preserving the institution of slavery. Breaux's willingness to sacrifice slavery for Confederate independence makes sense when one considers that out of the three states examined in this study, Louisiana possessed the smallest number of slaveholders and the largest community of free African Americans in the city of New Orleans.

From a camp near Dalton Georgia, Douglas Cater, brother of Rufus, expressed the hope that "Our Congress will order out 100000 Negroes to take the places of the soldiers without arms. We are not, we ll not be whipped."[48] This is evidence that some Confederate citizens were willing to alter the position of African Americans within Confederate society in order to obtain their goal of a free and independent nation. Yet Cater still placed African Americans in a subservient position. He wanted blacks to take over manual labor tasks to free more white men to fight. As a result of the willingness of Confederate citizens to alter the position African Americans held in society, perhaps there could have been no other alternative for the Confederacy but total and utter collapse and defeat once they were willing to sacrifice one of the themes of Confederate nationalism, slavery, for Confederate independence. In the state of Georgia, citizens rarely mentioned the institution of slavery or the concept of white supremacy, much like their counterparts in Louisiana. Yet, in the state of Georgia, when one person did mention slavery in their diary, it was to question whether or not slavery was morally right.

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[47] Gustave A. Breaux, February 12, 1865, Gustave A. Breaux Diary, Manuscript Division, Tulane University.

[48] Douglas Cater to "My Dearest Cousin," December 21, 1863.

On September 23, 1864, Ella Gertrude Thomas, a graduate of Wesleyan Female College in Macon, Georgia, wrote that she was troubled because she was "not certain that slavery is right." Ella, affectionately referred to as Gertrude, was born into a family of privilege and wealth. Her father, Turner Clanton, was a member of the Georgia legislature and a prosperous planter whose personal property in 1864 was valued at 2.5 million Confederate dollars.[49] This huge admission was from a young woman whose family owned a large number of slaves and who had grown up all of her life in a society that respected the rights of slave owners and the right of individuals to own other human beings. Thomas went on to say that, "the idea has gradually become more and more fixed in my mind that the institution of slavery is not right but I am reading a new book, "Nellie Norton," which I hope will convince me that it is right-owning a large number of slaves as we do."[50] Unfortunately, Thomas failed to mention whether "Nellie Norton" convinced her that slavery was right.

In addition to the previously mentioned speeches and publications, one of the major conduits which spread a nationalist ideology throughout the Confederacy was music. Yet, while music illustrated how southerners used the concepts of the American Revolution and religion to establish their identity as Confederate citizens, there were few songs published in the Confederacy which referenced slavery. The songs that did mention the theme of slavery cast northerners as abolitionists out to destroy the institution of slavery which again reinforced the distinction between American and Confederate identity.

In Louisiana, "The Volunteer Mess Song," appeared in *Hopkins' New Orleans 5 Cent Song-Book*, and contained lyrics that portrayed northerners as abolitionists. The song stated

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[49] The New Georgia Encyclopedia, www.georgiaencyclopedia.org.

[50] Ella Gertrude Thomas, September 23, 1864, Ella Gertrude Thomas Journal, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. After the Civil War, Thomas worked to achieve women's suffrage. In 1899, Thomas became the president of the Georgia Women's Suffrage Association.

Confederate soldiers would "With one accord shout, wipe the abolitionists out" because they tried to invade "this our happy land of Canaan."[51] The song, "Run from Manassas Junction," which appeared in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, referenced the rout of the Union Army by the Confederates at the Battle of First Manassas in July 1861. Set to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," one that many Americans at the time would have known, the song discussed how "Yankee Doodle went forth to conquer the seceders" and characterized the war as a battle between "these for negro slavery" and "those for forced protection."[52] These lyrics characterized the North as the aggressors in the war and proclaimed Confederates fought to protect the institution of slavery. The first song placed the blame on the shoulders of the abolitionists who invaded the South while the second song, "Run from Manassas Junction," described the war as a battle between those who supported the institution of slavery (Confederates) and those who were in favor of forced protection (Americans).

John D. Phelan's "Ye Men of Alabama!" also had lyrics that tied the cause of the war, from the Confederacy's viewpoint, to attempts by abolitionists to eradicate the institution of slavery. Phelan's song encouraged its listeners to "rend the coils asunder of this Abolition snake" because if the snake succeeded, it would mean the death of "Fair Alabama."[53] One could certainly say that this argument could be applied to any Confederate state that relied on the institution of slavery for labor. The coils of the "abolition snake" would just as easily wrap itself around Alabama as it could around the slave states of Georgia, Louisiana, or Virginia. If this

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[51] *Hopkins' New Orleans 5 Cent Song-Book*, (New Orleans: John Hopkins Printer, 1861), 3, Virginia Historical Society.

[52] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "The Run from Manassas Junction," September 14, 1861.

[53] Henry Marvin Wharton, *War songs and poems of the southern confederacy*, *1861-1865; a collection of the most popular and impressive songs and poems of war times, dear to every southern hear, collected and retold, with personal reminiscences of the war* (Philadelphia: American Book and Bible House, 1904), 55.

occurred, to many southerners, it meant the death of "Fair Georgia," "Fair Louisiana," or "Fair Virginia."

La Grange, Georgia resident, Reverend E. P. Birch, composed a song entitled "Yankee Doodle's Ride to Richmond." In the song, Birch wrote that the idea in northerners' heads was "To thrash out all the Southern men, and set the 'niggers' free, And give their houses and their lands to those who fight for me." For non slaveholders who did not see the threat of slaves being set free, Birch added another component to his analogy that attempted to make it clear to slaveholders and non slaveholders alike that their fate was explicitly linked by implying the homes of all Confederates would be stolen from them and given to northerners who fought on behalf of "Yankee Doodle." If the Confederacy lost the war, according to Birch, "southern lords" would become "vassals and slaves" of the north.[54] The song supported the belief expressed by Governor Joseph E. Brown, Howell Cobb, Robert Toombs, and *De Bow's Review* that all white southerners, regardless of whether they owned slaves, shared the same interests and the same fate.

Slavery and white supremacy, the third and fourth themes of Confederate nationalism, manifested itself in the Confederate states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia in the same way without regional variation. Therefore, slavery and white supremacy led to the construction of Confederate nationalism instead of Confederate regionalism. This was in spite of the fact that racial relations in Louisiana were more permeable than in Georgia or Virginia. In Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia the institution of slavery protected and reinforced the concept of white supremacy, which was more inclusive than slavery. The majority of southerners did not own slaves, yet the concept of white supremacy included all southern whites, regardless of their

[54] William G. Shepperson, *War Songs of the South*, (Richmond: West and Johnston Publishers, 1862), 114, Documenting the American South, http://www.docsouth.unc.edu/imls/shepperson/shepperson.html.

religious affiliation, socio-economic background or geographic location. According to the concept of white supremacy, one could be a non-slaveholder, an immigrant or a person of Jewish faith. None of these things mattered as long as your skin was white.

The discussion of the themes of slavery and white supremacy in primary sources justified the war because the purpose of the war was the protection of the southern way of life. The sources also used white supremacy and slavery to emphasize the distinction between American and Confederate identities. Confederate citizens used these themes to establish an identity for themselves where they were the defenders of slavery and racial inequality while Americans were identified as abolitionists who wanted to establish racial equality.

In the primary sources generated in the Confederate states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia prior to secession, the discussion about whether southern states should secede centered on the institution of slavery and white supremacy. Pro-secession pamphlets and speeches declared the goal of the Republican Party was to end slavery and stated all whites had a lot to lose if the party succeeded. In the state of Georgia, the discussion was not just about the Republican Party's animosity towards slavery, but about their desire for racial equality as well. Governor Joseph E. Brown, Howell Cobb and Robert Toombs each highlighted this point in their pro-secession documents. For these three prominent men from Georgia, there was no doubt that the Republican Party was devoted to the cause of abolition and racial equality. The work of Senator Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana and James Lyons in Virginia echoed the sentiments espoused by Brown, Cobb and Toombs about the Republican Party. Benjamin and Lyons each characterized the Republican Party as the party of abolition.

Once secession was a fait accompli, speeches, sermons, newspaper articles and literary works continued to highlight the themes of slavery and white supremacy and established a link

between them and the Confederacy. Based on the importance of the institution of slavery in the South prior to secession and in the formation of the Confederate States of America, it is no surprise that slavery continued to be important in the lives of Confederate citizens. In the speeches delivered in Georgia after the formation of the Confederacy, not only did each speech mention the concept of white supremacy, but they also discussed what the loss of white supremacy would mean to white southerners. The "Cornerstone Speech" of Alexander Stephens followed this example, as did the speeches of Louisiana native Reverend Benjamin M. Palmer and Confederate Senator Benjamin Hill.

Newspapers in Confederate Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia also attributed the war to the institution of slavery and the belief that the Republican Party wanted to abolish it. These articles justified the war, illustrated the differences which separated southerners from northerners and attempted to show southerners how the concepts of slavery and white supremacy united them all. In Georgia, the *Gate-City Guardian*, the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, and the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* all published articles which stressed how Lincoln and the Republican Party wanted to end slavery while in Louisiana publications like *De Bow's Review* and the *Daily Picayune* discussed how the North meant to destroy the institution of slavery and along with it the South's social institutions and their way of life.

In Virginia, newspaper articles discussed the possible loss of white supremacy and what it would mean to whites by citing specific examples of racial equality in Union occupied territory. This did not occur in the newspapers of Confederate Georgia or Louisiana. Within the pages of the *Richmond Enquirer*, the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* and the *Lynchburg Daily Republica*n, articles appeared which focused on what whites could expect with the loss of racial equality. Through examples played out in the southern cities of Culpeper, Portsmouth, and New

Orleans and in the northern city of Chicago and the state of Rhode Island, southerners illustrated how the loss of white supremacy would change the mindset of African Americans and relegate whites to an inferior position in society.

The personal correspondence of Georgians, Louisianans and Virginians contained no references to the concept of white supremacy. There were, however, a few letters and diary entries which discussed the institution of slavery. Similarly, music, one of the major conduits that spread a nationalist ideology throughout the Confederate South, was relatively silent when it came to the third and fourth themes of Confederate nationalism, slavery and white supremacy. While the most songs did not mention the concept of white supremacy, some like "Yankee Doodle's Ride to Richmond," implied that slaveholders and non-slaveholders in the Confederacy shared common interests, mainly the protection of their property.

The themes of slavery and white supremacy, along with the American Revolution and religion, defined how southerners imagined themselves as Confederate citizens. Slavery and white supremacy allowed Confederates to see themselves as individuals who possessed common interests. All three of these themes contributed to the formation of Confederate identity. However, there was one theme which fostered a Confederate nationalism which varied by southern region. This last theme which defined Confederate nationalism during the Civil War was states' rights.

CHAPTER 4

STATES' RIGHTS

"Why is liberty less sacred now than it was in 1861?"

On March 10, 1864, Governor Joseph E. Brown asked the members of the Georgia General Assembly this question. Brown said the policies of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus impinged upon the constitutional liberty of Confederate citizens. He warned them that "one encroachment upon constitutional is always followed by another" and that "important rights yielded to those in power without rebuke or protest, are never recovered by the people without revolution." Governor Brown implied that even if the Confederacy won their independence, southerners would still face a revolution to secure the liberties the Confederate government took from them during the war.

Brown continued by telling the members of the Georgia General Assembly that any arrest made or ordered by President Davis was unconstitutional because under the Confederate Constitution, the power to make arrests and issue arrest warrants belonged exclusively to the judiciary and not the executive branch of the federal government. While Brown admitted Davis could order some arrests, this power was strictly confined to those subject to military power, and did not apply to civilians. During this speech, Brown did something that shocked some of his fellow Confederate citizens within and outside the state of Georgia. He proposed that the Confederacy approach the Union with offers of peace after each southern victory. But Brown did not stop there. He said if the Confederacy found the Union's peace terms unacceptable, then each individual state should be able to "freely exercise the right to determine their own destiny" and decide for themselves whether or not to make peace with the Union.[1] While Brown

[1] Alexander Hamilton Stephens, *The Greet Speech of Hon, A. H. Stephens, Delivered Before the Georgia Legislature, on Wednesday Night, March 16th, 1864, to which is Added Extracts from Governor Brown's Message to*

advocated state sovereignty, he did so at the expense of the Confederate States of America. With individual states free to negotiate their own peace with the Union, this would weaken the fighting power of the Confederacy and their ability to obtain the goal of independence.

Brown's address to the Georgia legislature appeared in the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* but the paper expressed regret over the messages' tone and attempted to distance itself from the governor. The newspaper told its readers that every member of the Confederacy needed to promote harmony of thought and action in order for the independence of the Confederate States of America to become a reality.[2] Besides the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, other newspapers in Georgia and Virginia contained articles that detailed Brown's attacks against the Confederate policies of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus. In response to Brown's attacks on the Davis administration, the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* wrote "the great number of people [in Georgia] supported him [Brown]."[3] But was this really the case?

Within the pages of these newspapers and other primary sources, the discussion over the fifth theme of Confederate nationalism, states' rights, would take place. While Governor Brown initiated the debate over states' rights in Georgia, some Confederate citizens here and in Virginia responded to his discussion and joined the debate over whether or not the Confederate policies of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus violated the principle of states' rights. The feelings of citizens in Louisiana on the issue of conscription, the suspension of habeas corpus and states' rights are more difficult to ascertain. The sentiments of Louisiana citizens on these

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*the Georgia Legislature (*Georgia, 1864), 30-32, Documenting the American South, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/stephens/menu.html.

[2] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, March 15, 1864.

[3] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, "The Feelings of the Administration Party Towards Upholders of States Rights and Civil Liberty," February 10, 1865. The article concluded by saying the reason Brown had the support of Georgia's citizens was because of the fact "that he watched so faithfully, and defended so successfully the rights of the State over which he presides, and the liberties of her citizens."

issues would have most likely been expressed in the local newspapers, as they were in Georgia and Virginia. However, since large portions of Louisiana territory was in the hands of the Union, Confederates no longer controlled the newspapers and the distribution of information to the public. As a result, newspaper editors and regular citizens were unable to express pro-Confederate views without fear of reprisal.[4] Instead, newspapers in Union controlled Louisiana cities like Natchitoches, New Orleans, and Opelousas became pieces of Union propaganda.[5]

The previous four themes of Confederate nationalism, the American Revolution, religion, slavery and white supremacy, were not debated by men and women in the South. No one argued Confederates were not the true descendants of their revolutionary ancestors or that God was not on the side of the Confederacy. Yet, individuals in Georgia and Virginia debated whether the principle of states' rights was in danger as a result of these specific government policies. The concept of states' rights should have supported all three purposes of Confederate nationalism. Yet in Georgia, instead of justifying the war and emphasizing the common interests among southerners, states' rights proved to be divisive as a result of Governor Joseph E. Brown's constant opposition to Confederate policies he believed threatened the future of states' rights.

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[4] In occupied New Orleans, General Benjamin Butler issued a proclamation to regulate the press, which prohibited newspapers from publishing any article which portrayed the United States in a negative light. Any paper in violation of this proclamation risked being shut down. In 1863, Butler demanded an apology from the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* because he felt the newspaper printed an article which violated this proclamation. The editor of the *Daily Picayune* issued an apology in the paper on August 2, 1863. There were also instances where inhabitants of New Orleans expressed pro-Confederate views after Union occupation and faced punishment for their actions. See Chapter 5, "Rally Round the Flag," 32.

[5] In November 1860, the *New Orleans Daily Delta* advocated secession from the Union. Yet by late May 1862, the tone of the paper changed dramatically as a result of the Union occupation of New Orleans. On May 27, 1862 the *Daily Delta* printed an editorial from someone identified only as "Citizen." The editorial proclaimed "neither the Crescent City, nor any part of the so-called "Confederacy" can ever be separated from the United States" and heralded the improvements Union Generals Butler and Shipley made in the city. The essay ended by asking "grateful posterity" to bless the memory of Butler and Shipley. It is highly unlikely any avowed supporter of the Confederate cause would have uttered these statements prior to Union occupation of New Orleans. See *Daily Delta*, "A Voice from the People," May 27, 1862. *Le Courier des Opelousas* in the city of Opelousas (which fell to the Union in January 1863), and the *Natchitoches Union* in the city of Natchitoches (which fell to the Union in the spring of 1864) are more examples of the negative impact Union occupation had on Confederate newspapers.

Governor Brown and his supporters passionately believed the Confederate revolution was based on states' rights. Eleven southern states left the Union to protect states' rights and the Confederacy waged war to defend this concept. Brown felt that if the Confederacy managed to achieve its independence, it would be at the expense of personal liberties because of the policies of conscription and habeas corpus. After the fall of Atlanta in September 1864, Brown stressed that when the federal government in Richmond abused their powers, he felt it was his duty to "uphold the Constitutional rights and liberties of the people of Georgia, by force, if necessary…"[6] In speaking out against these two policies, Brown stated he wanted to protect the rights and liberties he felt the Constitution guaranteed his fellow Georgians.

However, not everyone within Georgia agreed with Brown's assessment. As newspaper articles and editorials will illustrate, there were individuals within Georgia who believed questions involving states' rights needed to be tabled until the Confederacy achieved its independence. Prominent individuals like state representative A. H. Kenan and Confederate Senator Benjamin Hill argued this was not the time to sow the seeds of dissension. While ordinary men and women within the state of Georgia rarely voiced an opinion on the constitutionality of conscription and habeas corpus, and whether these policies violated states' rights, they did voice their support for President Jefferson Davis. In a diary entry dated July 29, 1864, Ella Gertrude Thomas wrote she had "been a sincere admirer of President Davis…"[7] Even after the Confederacy collapsed, Eliza Frances Andrews proclaimed she "would rather be wrong with men like Lee and Davis" and declared "the cause for which so many noble

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[6] Joseph H Parks, "States Rights in a Crisis: Governor Joseph E. Brown versus President Jefferson Davis," *The Journal of Southern History* 32, no. 1 (February 1966), 3-24, 23. The quote is from a letter Brown wrote to Confederate Secretary of War, James Seddon, dated November 14, 1864.

[7] Ella Gertrude Thomas, Ella Gertrude Thomas Journal, July 29, 1864, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Southerners have bled and died…dear to my heart, right or wrong."[8] Petitions submitted to local newspapers by Georgia soldiers in 1864 also expressed their support for President Davis. These men, stationed outside their home state, declared their support for conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus, as well as their displeasure with Governor Brown's crusade against these policies. While the debate about states' rights in Georgia produced dissension, the discussions about the theme of states' rights in Virginia promoted unity.

As a result of the discussion about states' rights initiated by Governor Brown, Virginians discussed the constitutionality of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus. Primary sources such as newspaper articles and editorials from this state highlighted that Virginians viewed Governor Brown's negative comments about conscription and habeas corpus as inappropriate, untimely and unpatriotic. In the eyes of the Virginia press, Brown sowed the seeds of discontent within the Confederacy at a time when every southerner in the nation needed to be united to fight for the cause of independence. Brown's problem with the Davis administration began when the Confederate Congress passed the first conscription law on April 16, 1862.

The conscription law required all able bodied men between the ages of 18 and 35 to serve in the Confederate Army for a period of three years or for as long as the war lasted. Those men already in service to the Confederacy would be compelled to serve three more years. With the passage of the first conscription act, there were a number of exemptions that caused problems within the nation. Men who had the resources to pay $500 for a substitute would be exempt from military service. Perhaps the most controversial exemption involved white men responsible for the management of twenty or more slaves. This last exemption led to the popular cry that it

[8] Eliza Frances Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-1865* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1908), April 28, 1865, 188.

was a "rich man's war but a poor man's fight." The Confederate Congress passed an amended conscription act on September 27, 1862 which raised the upper age limit for service from thirty-five to forty-five. The third Confederate conscription act, passed on February 17, 1864, included all white males between the ages of seventeen and fifty and eliminated exemptions.

The suspension of habeas corpus involved the arrest of individuals in the Confederacy suspected of disloyalty to the nation. These men and women could be arrested by the government, held and not told what crime they were charged with or why they had been detained. Individuals who spoke out against the suspension of habeas corpus believed the Confederate Constitution guaranteed everyone in the nation the right to know the crime with which they were being charged. The Confederate Congress first granted President Davis the power to suspend habeas corpus on February 27, 1862 when it said the "President shall have the power to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in such cities, towns and military districts as shall, in his judgment, be in such danger of attack by the enemy…"[9] While Brown would eventually attack the policy of habeas corpus, he first focused his attention on the conscription act. In a series of letters to President Jefferson Davis, which were later published by the *Richmond Enquirer*, Brown explained why he felt conscription was detrimental not only to his state, but to the entire Confederacy.

In a series of letters, Brown explained to Davis why he could not allow the state of Georgia to support the policy of conscription. Brown wrote that his state supplied its quota of men for the Confederacy and as a result, he failed to see how conscription was a necessity in Georgia. Additionally, he felt the act was directly opposed to the principles of states' rights and

[9] Thomas B. Alexander and Richard E. Beringer, *The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influences of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861-1865* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), 169. After he received the power to suspend habeas corpus, Davis placed the cities of Norfolk, Petersburg, Portsmouth, and Richmond under martial law. John B. Robbins, "The Confederacy and the Writ of Habeas Corpus," Georgia Historical Quarterly 55, no. 1 (Spring 1971): 83-101, 84-85.

state sovereignty, principles which led Georgia to leave the Union and join the Confederacy.[10] In his first letter to Davis, dated April 22, 1862, Brown outlined the negative impact the conscription act would have on the state. He mentioned how the draft would target healthy men between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five who were members of the General Assembly. Brown argued the loss of these General Assembly members would shut down the local government.

Besides the General Assembly, Brown discussed the draft's impact on the state owned Western and Atlantic Railroad, which he said was of "great military importance, both to the State and to the Confederacy." Brown said if men between the ages eighteen and thirty-five were taken away from the railroad and placed in the Confederate Army, the entire railroad would end up being suspended. The governor also told Davis how conscription would target "a large portion of our best mechanics, and of the persons engaged in the various branches of manufacturing now of vital importance to the success of our cause…" Brown ended his letter by saying that he would not oppose the enforcement of the conscription act, except in the specific circumstances (members of the General Assembly, railroad workers, mechanics, etc.) he had already mentioned.[11]

In response to Brown's opposition, Jefferson Davis wrote a letter explaining why the conscription law was necessary, as well as constitutional. In his letter, dated May 29, 1862,

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[10] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Correspondence. Executive Department, Milledgeville, Ga., May 8, 1862," June 17, 1862. President Jefferson Davis argued the federal government had the power to pass a conscription act because each individual state, when they joined the Confederacy, delegated some of their powers to the Confederate government. One of these powers, according to Davis, was the raising of armies for the common defense.

[11] *Correspondence between Governor Brown and President Davis, on the Constitutionality of the Conscription Act* (Atlanta: Atlanta Intelligencer Press, 1862), 4-7, Georgia Historical Society. In addition to the impact it would have on the state, Brown's protests against conscription also had to do with the fact that this policy attacked the state system of political patronage. Before the act, the governor was responsible for appointing officers and training the militia. Under the conscript act, these powers now shifted to the president. The conscription act, in essence, weakened Brown's political power and that was at the heart of the issue.

Davis argued conscription was indispensable since the twelve month volunteers were close to leaving the army. New Confederate recruits could not be inducted into the army fast enough without disaster to the Confederate cause so conscription helped the nation avert disaster.

Furthermore, Davis told Brown the true test of the constitutionality of the act was determined by asking whether "the law is intended and calculated to carry out the object; whether it devises and creates an instrumentality for executing the specific power granted." If the answer to these questions was yes, then the law was constitutional. Davis said the conscript law was constitutional because "none can doubt that the Conscription Law is calculated and intended to raise armies." At the end of his letter, Davis relied on one final argument by asking Brown to imagine a time when the independent Confederacy might need to protect their rights by waging an offensive war. Davis asked, "If this Government cannot call on its arms-bearing population otherwise than as militia, and if the militia can only be called forth to repel invasion, we should be utterly helpless to vindicate our honor or protect our rights."[12]

Brown responded to Davis on June 21, 1862. He replied to Davis' question about how an independent Confederacy would wage an offensive war and said the Confederate people would be motivated by patriotism to voluntarily enlist. Brown told the president the honor of the Confederacy would not suffer simply because the federal government lacked the power to forcibly compel men to defend the nation. Brown also used the example of Great Britain and France to illustrate the dangers of the conscription act. He argued that Great Britain did not have a conscript law but was still able to raise an army of men to defend the country's rights. France however did have a conscript law and the results were disastrous. When France enacted a conscription act, Brown said, the country went from being a republic to an empire and "left her people without the constitutional safeguards which protect the people of Great Britain." Even

[12] *Correspondence between Governor Brown and President Davis*, 17-18, 23.

though Brown did not come out and say it, his implication was clear. He felt Confederate citizens, in following the example of France, would also be without the protections afforded them by the Constitution.

Brown also tried to use the fear associated with a possible slave rebellion to highlight how the conscript law would impact white Georgians if an event of this nature ever happened. If a slave rebellion occurred, Brown said that there would be no force within the state to protect "helpless" women and children who would be at the mercy of their slaves. As a result of the conscription act, the men in the state militia who would have defended women and children during a slave rebellion would be out of the state serving in the Confederate Army.[13] Davis' last response to Brown on July 10, 1862 was less than one page. He told Brown that he simply could not share Brown's concern about states' rights. Instead, Davis wrote Brown's fears seemed to be unfounded.[14]

One should not think Governor Joseph Brown was the only prominent politician from Georgia who opposed the Conscription Act on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. On December 9, 1862 Senator George Anderson Gordon attacked the conscription act in a speech before the Georgia state senate. His main argument against conscription was that Congress only had the power to compel enlistment in the creation of a militia. According to Gordon a "regular army" could only be raised by voluntary enlistment. While he believed the Confederate government had the right to approach any state in the Confederacy, and "through the machinery of the militia, compel every man to do military service," Gordon felt the federal government lacked the authority to enter the state of Georgia and "force a freeman" to join their regular

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[13] *Correspondence between Governor Brown and President Davis*, 29-30, 44-45.

[14] *Correspondence between Governor Brown and President Davis*, 47-48.

army.[15] Gordon believed conscription violated the constitution, yet unlike Brown he did not refuse to comply with the act and said the Georgia General Assembly would not hinder its enforcement. On the other side of this issue were A. H. Kenan, a state representative, and Confederate Senator Benjamin Hill. Kenan and Hill both publicly expressed their support of conscription.

A. H. Kenan explained in a letter to the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* why the conscription act did not violate the Constitution. Kenan said that under the first article of the Constitution, Congress had the power to declare war, raise armies and support them. He believed these powers were different from the militia clause which gave the federal government the power to raise a militia. He argued the clause that gave Congress the ability to raise and support armies also gave them the power to pass the Conscription Act. Kenan reminded his readers that the true fight between the Union and the Confederacy had to do with "LIBERTY, and DELIVERANCE or SUBJUGATION" and stated issues involving states' rights could be adjusted once "we ESTABLISH the RIGHT to have states." Kenan reminded Georgians they needed to stand as one during the war or render the efficiency of the Congress and the President "nugatory and powerless."[16]

On July 4, 1862 the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* published a letter in support of conscription from Confederate Senator Benjamin Hill. Hill believed it was the responsibility of every member of the Confederacy to support the Conscription Act wholeheartedly and without

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[15] George Anderson Gordon, *Speech of the Hon. George A. Gordon, of Chatham, on the Constitutionality of the Conscription Laws, Passed by the Congress of the Confederate States, Delivered in the Senate of Georgia, on Tuesday, 9th of December, 1862* (Atlanta: Office of the Daily Intelligencer, 1862), 3, 12, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

[16] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "Governor Brown and the Conscription Act," May 13, 1862. Kenan explicitly said it was under the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth paragraphs of the eighth section of the first article to the Confederate Constitution that established Congress' power to pass a conscription law to raise an army. The *Richmond Enquirer* also published a letter from Kenan in support of the Conscription Act.

complaint. He wrote states' rights and individual rights would not be saved by "issue-makers and abstruct theorizers" like Brown. Individual rights and states' rights would be saved by soldiers. Similarly to Kenan's letter in the *Southern Recorder*, Hill's letter also touched on the need for unity among citizens in the Confederacy. Hill admonished Georgians to "preserve our only strength-our unity" and wrote "no good can, but much harm will, come of opposition" since "every blow strikes the cause."[17]

Hill followed his letter to the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* with a visit to the Georgia General Assembly in December 1862. Hill traveled to Georgia at the request of President Davis, who wanted him to speak in favor of the Conscription Act, even though Hill told Davis a few months earlier that public opinion in Georgia seemed to support conscription.[18] In his speech before the General Assembly, Hill pointed out how Governor Brown himself tried to enact a conscription law but lacked the authority to accomplish such a measure. While Hill said he agreed with Brown that "eternal vigilance was the price of liberty," he did not believe "eternal vigilance meant perpetual snarling, snapping, fault finding, and complaining."[19] Hill and Kenan were not the only people within Georgia who thought the times demanded unity and that issues involving states' rights should be settled once the Confederacy achieved its independence. Articles in Georgia's newspapers expressed these sentiments as well and vocally supported the Confederate policy of conscription.

After the passage of the first conscription act on April 16, 1862, the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* and the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* advocated shelving the states' rights

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[17] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "A Patriotic Letter from Senator Hill," July 4, 1862.

[18] John Brawner Robbins, "Confederate Nationalism: Politics and Government in the Confederate South, 1861-1865" (PhD diss., Rice University, 1964), 106. The letter from Hill to Davis was dated October 23, 1862.

[19] Parks, 223.

discussion until after the Confederacy achieved its independence. The *Southern Confederacy* asked people to put aside their differences and do everything in their power to support the Confederate cause. In 1862, the paper called Brown's opposition to the Conscription Act "ridiculous and *almost* treasonable" and claimed there appeared to be "very few sympathizers" who agreed with his position. This editorial declared conversations about states' rights, given the circumstances the Confederacy found itself in, to be "contemptible" and asked "what rights have the citizens of Nashville, New Orleans, Norfolk, and other captured cities…"[20] In other words, the *Southern Confederacy* said Georgians did not have the right to complain about the issue of states' rights since the citizens in cities occupied by the Union had no rights whatsoever. Instead of squabbling over states' rights doctrine, everything needed to be done in order to restore the rights of Confederate citizens in Nashville, New Orleans and Norfolk.

The *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* made the decision, unlike the *Richmond Enquirer*, not to publish the 1862 correspondence between Governor Brown and President Davis about conscription on the grounds that a discussion of this nature was not only "useless" in a time of war but that any discussion about whether or not the Conscription Act violated states' rights would "engender strife and division at a period when perfect harmony among ourselves is so essential to the common cause."[21] This newspaper labeled the conscription act a military necessity that would not hamper states' rights.[22]

The newspapers that attacked Governor Brown and his stance on the conscription act and the suspension of habeas corpus believed that it was an inopportune time to discuss issues of states' rights when the very existence of the Confederacy hung in the balance. This opinion

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[20] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "Our Special Correspondence from Rome," June 18, 1862.

[21] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "Governor Brown and the President," July 1, 1862.

[22] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, April 22, 1862.

appeared within the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* and the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*. These papers also created an unflattering image of Governor Brown. They depicted Brown as an enemy to the Confederate nation because he increased dissension within the country at a time when people needed to be united. Newspapers also questioned his loyalty to the Confederate cause and portrayed him as hostile to the Confederate government in Richmond and their policies which prolonged the life of the nation. These images of Brown appeared in the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* and the *Savannah Daily Republican*.[23]

In addition to the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* and the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, the *Macon Telegraph* also attacked Brown. In no uncertain terms, the newspaper warned that whenever a Georgia citizen met a "growling, complaining and sore headed man, hostile to the government and denunciatory of its measures and policy or a croaking, desponding dyspeptic who sees no hope for the country…you will invariable find a friend, admirer, and defender of Governor Brown."[24] The *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* and the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* also published editorials from ordinary Georgians who announced their support for the conscription act, on the grounds that it was a necessity that kept the country alive.

One exception was a letter "Silver Grey" wrote to the editor of the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*. "Silver Grey" vented his frustrations about the Confederate government and noted that while there may have been a deficiency in arms, ammunition and men, there had been an ever greater deficiency in brains. "Silver Grey" then attacked the conscription act and asked

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[23] *Savannah Daily Republican*, "The Governor's Message," March 14, 1864.

[24] James Ford Risley, "Georgia's Civil War Newspapers: Partisan, Sanguine, Enterprising" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1996), 204.

sarcastically, "why should our ardor be dampened and our enthusiasm chilled by the passage of the edious Conscription Act?"[25]

"A Mountain Hoosier Away up in Gordon Co." responded to "Silver Grey's" editorial less than a week later. The "Mountain Hoosier" took offense at the criticism "Silver Grey" leveled at the Confederate government. He thought "Silver Grey" would cause the Confederacy less harm "if he was in the army of the enemy, engaged as a sharp shooter, picking off our officers and men..." On the issue of conscription, the "Mountain Hoosier" deemed the act to be the "most economical, equitable, and just plan that could have been devised…to bring into the field an efficient army at once." This man ended his letter by expressing his support for Davis and declared him to be "the right man, in the right place."[26]

In December 1862, another editorial entitled "The Conscript Law-States Rights-The Decision of the Supreme Court of Georgia" expressed the popular belief that now was not the time for citizens of the Confederacy to have disagreements among themselves. Instead, everyone in the Confederacy needed to focus on the common goal of resisting the advances of the enemy and protecting their homes from invasion. In response to the conscription act, this individual wrote, "Let us say to Congress "raise your *armies*" how, when and where you need them; we will "do or die." The editorial was signed "These are the views of an ORIGINAL STATE RIGHTS MAN."[27] Thus, the editorial proclaimed that one could still support states' rights, just like Governor Brown did, and support conscription and the Davis administration in a time of war. While this individual was a supporter of states' rights, this now took a backseat to

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[25] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "Who is to Blame," May 28, 1862.

[26] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "We Must Hang Together or We Will Hang Separately," June 4, 1862.

[27] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "The Conscript Law-State Rights-The Decision of the Supreme of Georgia," December 3, 1862.

winning Confederate independence and this "ORIGINAL STATE RIGHTS MAN" appeared willing to temporarily sacrifice states' rights in order to achieve this goal.

In spite of the fact the Georgia Supreme Court, in the 1862 course case *Jeffers vs. Fair*, ruled the conscription act did not violate the Confederate Constitution,[28] Governor Brown still continued to voice his opposition to the Confederate policy of conscription, this time in an 1863 speech before the Georgia General Assembly. Brown said it was the duty of the state of Georgia to restrain the federal government if it violated the Constitution and that as long as freedom of speech and thought existed in the Confederacy, people should be able to freely express their problems with federal policies.

He argued that if Confederate citizens went along with the federal government and quietly consented to the policy of conscription, the concept of states' rights would then cease to exist in the Confederacy after the war because "power once usurped, with acquiescence, is never relaxed but at the point of the bayonet;…and rights surrendered in war, are never regained in peace." Yet in the same speech, he discussed how southerners needed to support not only the Confederacy, but the administration as well and "do no act which can seriously embarrass the administration in the persecution of the war."[29] Sadly, it appears Brown neglected to follow his own advice. But by 1863, some local newspapers agreed with Brown's opposition to the suspension of habeas corpus.[30]

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[28] For a discussion on the Jeffers vs. Fair ruling, see Robbins, 108-109.

[29] *Message of His Excellency, Joseph E. Brown, to the General Assembly, Convened in the Capitol by his Proclamation, March 25, 1863* (Milledgeville: Boughton, Nisbet & Barnes, State Printers, 1863), 11-12, 17, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

[30] Historian John B. Robbins said the conditions in 1863 were the impetus for the attacks on the suspension of habeas corpus. Skyrocketing prices, hoarding and ineffective relief programs led people to take their frustrations out on the Confederate government. John B. Robbins, "The Confederacy and the Writ of Habeas Corpus," 90.

Newspapers like the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, the *Augusta Constitutionalist*, the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, and the *Milledgeville Confederate Union* openly sided with Governor Brown and attacked the Davis administration and the federal government over the issue of habeas corpus.[31] These Georgia newspapers relied on the arguments that the suspension of habeas corpus was unconstitutional and that it violated the principle of states' rights, the very principle Confederates fought the war to defend. It is interesting that these papers limited their protests to the issue of the suspension of habeas corpus and did not mention any opposition to the conscription act.

The *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* initially denounced Governor Brown and his opposition to conscription. While the newspaper supported the conscription act in order to raise an army to fight for southern independence, it seemed to draw the line at the suspension of habeas corpus. An editorial in the *Southern Confederacy* stated Georgia had "wisely issued a protest against the law of the late Congress suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*." The piece told its readers now was "no time to be shifting issues" since the conflict "began on the strict State Rights doctrine" with the Davis Administration as its staunchest defender. The article warned if the nation and its leaders continued to compromise the principles the war was based upon, they would be playing with fire and the Confederacy, and everyone in it would "be burnt most damnably."[32]

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[31] According to historian J. Ford Risley, the *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer*, *Milledgeville Confederate Union*, and the *Athens Southern Watchman* supported the stance of Governor Brown and Vice-President Stephens. Some of the Georgia newspapers which attacked Brown and Stephens were the *Rome Courier* and the *Macon Telegraph*. J. Ford Risley, "Georgia's Controversial Civil War Editor: Nathan S. Morse and the Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel," Georgia Historical Quarterly 83, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 221-241, 225.

[32] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "The State of Georgia," March 24, 1863. The *Augusta Constitutionalist* concurred with the opinion expressed by the *Southern Confederacy* on the issue of habeas corpus. The *Constitutionalist* characterized the suspension of habeas corpus as "the blundering folly of the late Congress." *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, March 23, 1863.

Another Georgia paper that supported Brown in his public fight against the suspension of habeas corpus was the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel.* On April 16, 1863 the paper expressed hope Congress might refuse to give President Davis the right to suspend habeas corpus during the war. The *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* felt "no man" even if he possessed "all the moderation, wisdom, and patriotism of a Washington…" should have this power because it would "make him [Davis] a dictator."[33]

Echoing the statement made earlier by Governor Brown and *the Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, the *Confederate Union* announced that Georgia fully supported "the principles for which the war was inaugurated." The paper mentioned Georgia would not abandon the cause, but their continued dedication to the Confederacy was contingent upon the nation adhering to the "great principles for which she entered into the compact…"[34] It appeared that even though the paper said Georgians were thoroughly on the side of the Confederacy, the editor mentioned their continued support was based on the Confederate government and the Davis administration adhering to the principles upon which the Confederacy was founded, states' rights and adherence to Constitutional principles.

In June of 1863, Governor Joseph Brown again stated his opposition to conscription, this time in a letter to the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*. Brown felt southerners would be "untrue to ourselves and our posterity" if they allowed the principles of states' rights and state sovereignty to be discarded during the war since the South began the war "in defence of the great

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[33] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, "Suspension of the Habeas Corpus," April 16, 1863. In 1865, the paper admitted their vocal stance against the administration and their support of a state convention to discuss the possibility of a separate peace, led the newspaper to be "labeled a traitor by persons not named…" Yet, the paper seemed unaffected by this charge and insisted they had done nothing wrong since "the people have a right to discuss the official conduct of the Executive of this Confederacy." The *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* said those guilty of treason were the individuals who passed laws in violation of the Constitution. See *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentine*l, "Treason! Traitors!," January 26, 1865.

[34] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "The Spirit of the People of Georgia," January 20, 1865.

doctrine of State rights and State sovereignty…" While Brown believed southerners should continue to fight until the independence of the Confederacy was a certainty, he felt that it was the job of citizens in the Confederate States of America to "restrain the Confederate Government within the limits assigned to it by the Constitution..."[35] Clearly, Brown felt that it was the job of Confederate men and women to speak up and resist policies passed by the federal government that exceeded their constitutional authority. And in Brown's opinion, Congress did not have the power to pass a conscription act under the powers given them by the Constitution.

As Brown launched his re-election campaign for governor of Georgia in 1863, a series of editorials spoke out against his candidacy because of his stance on the issue of conscription. In "Governor Brown and his Fourth Candidacy," a Georgian said he had "grave objections" to the re-election of Brown as governor based on the fact that his re-election would be tantamount to "endorsing his opposition to the *conscript* law" which this person referred to as "that measure of deliverance in our darkest hour…" The author then declared that instead of arguing about the issue of states' rights, there needed to be "*harmonious, united action*."

The second editorial, signed by RANDOLPH, stated that he believed Brown's re-election would be in direct opposition to the "honor and welfare of the State and the Confederate States." RANDOLPH felt it was the responsibility of every southerner to support any effort or piece of legislation by the government that would help bring the war to a "speedy and successful termination." While RANDOLPH declared he supported the Confederate government, he emphatically stated Governor Brown did not. A third editorial also blasted Governor Brown. The piece expressed the opinion that now was not the time for "wrangling and squabbling "States rights" men" to rear their heads. In fact, this author believed anyone who supported the

[35] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "Letter from Governor Joseph Brown," June 2, 1863.

Davis administration in Richmond was duty-bound to vote against the re-election of Brown. This third editorial was simply signed "A Voter."[36]

Yet in spite of the newspaper editorials that spoke out against him and the campaign he waged against conscription, Brown still managed to be re-elected as governor in 1863. One reason for his victory was the overwhelming support he received from Georgia soldiers. Out of the 15, 223 votes cast by seventy-five Georgia regiments in the gubernatorial election, Brown received 10,012 of these votes or sixty-six percent.[37] Brown's popularity among soldiers was with good reason. During the war, Brown helped the families of soldiers in a number of different ways which earned him the allegiance of these men. In 1863, Brown distributed corn from his own plantation to the wives and widows of Georgia soldiers who fought for the Confederacy. He also asked the General Assembly to raise the pay soldiers received to twenty dollars a month which no doubt would have helped ease the financial strain many families faced as a result of their husbands, fathers, or brothers serving in the Confederate forces. Also, Brown appealed to the Confederate government not to impress food supplies from the farms in the Cherokee region of Georgia because a draught the previous year stalled the production of grain.[38]

These examples explain why soldiers supported Governor Brown in his re-election bid of 1863 but they do not explain why these men decided to publicly turn against him in 1864, as

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[36] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "Governor Brown and his Fourth Candidacy!," June 16, 1863, "The Claims of Governor Brown Examined," July 28, 1863, "Gov. Brown and this 4th Candidacy," August 4, 1863. The writer of the June 16, 1863 editorial took issue with Governor Brown's claim that the Supreme Court judges declared the conscription act constitutional because outside forces influenced them to do so. The individual who wrote the editorial also disagreed with Brown's statement, in his October 18, 1862 letter to President Davis, that "no act of the Government of the United States, prior to the secession of Georgia, struck a blow at constitutional liberty, so fell, as has been struck by the conscription acts!"

[37] Parks, 252.

[38] Parks, 233, 235-236.

evidenced by the petitions soldiers sent to Confederate newspapers. What had changed? Brown's March 10, 1864 address to the General Assembly and the submission of the Stephens Resolutions changed the situation from a debate over the constitutionality of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus, to a debate about individual Confederate states seeking a negotiated peace with the Union.

In response to Governor Brown's 1864 speech before the Georgia General Assembly, which was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the *Savannah Daily Republican* decided to denounce Brown and his opinions on the policies of conscription and habeas corpus. The paper made the decision to print a portion of Brown's address but expressed shock that Brown, a "Southern man," chose the moment when the Confederacy was "marshalling our forces for a last grand effort for the liberties of a great people" to express his displeasure with Jefferson Davis and the Confederate Congress.

The article then determined that Governor Brown, who "invoked the spirit of discord and dissension among the people, and inspired the armies with distrust and disloyalty," was an enemy to the Confederate States of America and needed to be judged by his countrymen as such. The paper argued the conscription act and the suspension of habeas corpus were necessary to secure the liberties of the Confederate people. The *Daily Republican* believed Brown's words "would inspire Lincoln and his minions with a new hope."[39] Later that same month, the *Daily Republican* published a small article about the impact Governor Brown's words and actions had on the reputation of the "Empire State." A correspondent for the *Charleston Courier* wrote Georgia now had to prove her dedication to states' rights was as strong as her dedication to the

[39] *Savannah Daily Republican*, "The Governor's Message," March 14, 1864. Four days later, the paper addressed Governor Brown's denunciation of the conscription act and the suspension of habeas corpus in a forty-nine page document. The newspaper wrote Brown's words would "dishearten the Southern patriot" while bringing "true joy to the hearts of the enemy." See *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Governor Brown's Message," March 18, 1864.

Confederate cause in order to convince southerners that the state was not in favor of Reconstruction.[40] Because of Governor Brown, Georgia citizens, in the eyes of the *Charleston Courier*, were guilty by association.

In 1864,[41] Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens joined Governor Brown in publicly opposing the Davis administration and the policies of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus.[42] In March 1864, Stephens made a speech before the Georgia House of Representatives in Milledgeville where he criticized the conscription act on the grounds that it was an "extraordinary and a dangerous power" because all the "useful and necessary occupations of life will be completely under the control of one man." Stephens argued that no citizens in the Confederacy, between the ages of seventeen and fifty, would be able to tan leather, make shoes, or grind grain without permission of the president.

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[40] *Savannah Daily Republican*, "Some of the Fruit," March 30, 1864.

[41] Even though Alexander Stephens publicly opposed conscription and habeas corpus in 1864, this was not the first time he spoke out against these two governmental policies. In 1862, Stephens wrote a letter to the *Augusta Constitutionalist* using the name "Georgia." In this letter, he stated a citizen's first allegiance was to his state, not to the government of the Confederacy. Therefore, a citizen could only be obligated to serve in his state's military service, not in the military service of the federal government. Furthermore, Stephens expressed his disapproval of the suspension of habeas corpus in a letter to President Davis. Stephens believed suspension of habeas corpus would decrease popular morale. See Thomas E. Schott, *Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, A Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 361, 395.

[42] While the relationship between Davis and Stephens was amicable in 1861, it deteriorated during the course of the war. When the Confederate capital was still in Montgomery, Davis and Stephens met on a regular basis. However, once the capital moved to Richmond, historian William C. Davis argues, these meeting became more infrequent. William C. Davis believes that Davis' isolation of Stephens led Stephens to become an adversary of the administration. William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis, American* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 388. In addition to Davis, Stephens biographer Thomas E. Schott also discussed the relationship between Davis and Stephens in his work, *Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, A Biography*. According to Schott, Davis began to treat Stephens as a nonentity after the Confederate government moved to Richmond. It was this frustration, coupled with Congress passing the third law suspending the writ of habeas corpus on February 25, 1864, that finally led him to speak out publicly against the administration in March 1864. His private opinions about Davis, expressed in personal correspondence during this time, also highlighted the personal animosity Stephens held for Davis. In a letter to Confederate Senator Herschel V. Johnson, Stephens characterized Davis as having "above average intelligence" and said he was not "fit" for the presidency. Schott, 397, 413.

Next, Stephens attacked the suspension of habeas corpus because he believed while the Constitution granted Congress the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, Congress lacked the authority to give the president the power to issue arrest warrants for civilians. He warned the suspension of habeas corpus gave President Davis dictatorial power and placed the country at the mercy of one man who could "order the arrest of any man, woman or child in the Confederacy on a bare charge, unsupported by oath…" Stephens declared that he would trust no one, living or dead, with this kind of absolute power and therefore, felt he had no choice but to declare the suspension of habeas corpus "unwise, impolitic, unconstitutional and dangerous to public liberty." The vice-president admonished the members of the General Assembly to remember the constitutional liberty Confederates inherited as a birthright was not secondary to independence since "one was resorted to to save the other."[43]

Later that same month, Linton Stephens, a member of the Georgia General Assembly, and the half-brother of Vice-President Alexander Stephens, proposed the Stephens Resolutions. The first resolution asked the Georgia General Assembly to denounce the suspension of habeas corpus as unconstitutional while the second resolution asked the Assembly to support peace overtures to the Union after each Confederate victory. However, if any individual states wanted to approach the Union separately in order to reach a peace agreement, Linton Stephens argued this would also be acceptable. In this instance, Stephens clearly supported state sovereignty and felt each individual state should be able to decide whether they continued to fight for Confederate independence or settled for peace at the expense of the Confederate nation.

The response of the Georgia General Assembly to the Stephens Resolutions was mixed. While the General Assembly condemned the suspension of habeas corpus as unconstitutional and urged its repeal, they stopped short of criticizing President Davis for his support of this policy.

[43] Stephens, 17, 24-25, 27-28. See also the *Richmond Enquirer*, March 29, 1864.

Instead, the General Assembly expressed their faith and "undiminished confidence in the integrity and patriotism of Jefferson Davis."[44] And on the subject of peace overtures to the Union, while the General Assembly supported this proposed policy in theory, the body pledged to continue the fight "until peace is obtained upon just and honorable terms…until the independence and nationality of the Confederate States is established upon a permanent and enduring basis."[45] This seemed to indicate the General Assembly would not be open to any peace overtures which would compromise Confederate independence.

While Governor Brown and the Stephens brothers waged their own personal crusade against the policies of conscription and habeas corpus, the actions of some of the state's inhabitants seemed to indicate they took their recommendations to heart. In early 1865, the residents of Wilcox County passed a resolution in favor of a truce with the Union. While the residents of this county preferred that all states in the Confederacy agree to peace terms with the Union, they felt that if cohesion could not be achieved in regards to peace, then each state should have the option of deciding for themselves whether or not to accept the terms of peace offered by the Union. In their petition, the men and women of Wilcox Country admitted they had "lost the hope."[46]

The words of Governor Brown and the Stephens brothers had the opposite effect on Georgia soldiers stationed outside the state. Instead of losing hope, these men became more determined than ever to fight for Confederate independence, as evidenced by the petitions they drafted and sent to local newspapers for publication. For the men who drafted these petitions, it

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[44] Parks, 274, 283. See also William C. Davis, *The Union that Shaped the Confederacy: Robert Toombs and Alexander Stephens* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1996), 209.

[45] Parks, 282.

[46] Parks, 307, 314-315.

was not just about supporting the Confederate government but about convincing the public to continue the fight. These men had seen the horrors of war firsthand and seen countless relatives and friends give their lives for Confederate independence. For these men, nothing could be worse than to agree to peace with the Union as if nothing had happened. The petitions these soldiers' drafted implored Georgia citizens to denounce Governor Brown and his policies and place their faith and support behind Jefferson Davis and his administration.

Georgia soldiers stationed near Zollicoffer, Tennessee, Gordonsville, Virginia and Jacksonville, Florida drafted the petitions which denounced the actions of Governor Brown as unpatriotic. These men were in a unique position because they experienced firsthand what it was like for citizens in other states of the Confederacy to have their territory overrun by the enemy. Georgia soldiers in Tennessee and Virginia must have realized the precarious state the Confederacy was in by the spring of 1864 and knew that at such a pivotal time in their nation's history, the last thing they needed was anything which weakened Confederate nationalism and the commitment of citizens to Confederate independence.

On April 12, 1864, a petition signed by the Twenty-fourth Georgia regiment appeared in the *Richmond Sentinel*. This petition condemned Brown's objection to the suspension of habeas corpus, but in a glaring omission, did not express any confidence in the leadership abilities of Jefferson Davis. The document began by saying it would be more beneficial for the Confederacy if Governor Brown would "blow the bugle and rally every resource of resistance" instead of yelling at Confederate authorities with "unjust and untimely clamors and assaults." The petition announced the Confederate Congress was the voice of the Confederate people and took exception to others, like Governor Brown, who attempted to shape policy by bypassing Congress. The soldiers from the Twenty-fourth Georgia regiment unequivocally condemned

Brown's suggestion of asking the Union for peace terms after a Confederate victory. The soldiers said such an appeal would "stimulate them [northerners] to greater efforts for our subjugation" when all that Confederates wanted was their "inalienable rights to be free…" In another break with tradition, this petition chose to acknowledge the "patriotic efforts" of their former commander, General Howell Cobb.[47]

"Sentiments of the Army" was the name of the petition submitted to the *Savannah Daily Republican* by soldiers from the Fifth Regiment Georgia Cavalry. These men, stationed near Jacksonville, Florida, thought it was their duty to express their views about the Stephens Resolutions and the actions of Governor Brown. This petition declared they had the utmost confidence and respect in the leadership of President Jefferson Davis. They acknowledged that they held states' rights, along with personal and individual rights, in high regard. But they did something truly interesting because these soldiers mentioned specific policies enacted by Governor Brown that some construed as an infringement on personal rights, such as laws which restricted the planting of cotton and the distilling of grain into liquor.[48] The soldiers wrote that while these laws were certainly unconstitutional and infringed upon personal rights, they followed the laws because "the necessities of our country required it." The same principle applied to the policies of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus enacted by President Davis and the Confederate Congress. Even though these soldiers believed conscription and

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[47] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "The Georgia Soldiers to Governor Brown, Greeting," April 12, 1864.

[48] An editorial from the March 17, 1863 edition of the *Southern Recorder* also referenced policies enacted by Governor Brown which infringed upon individual liberty. The author, identified as "W," discussed an order issued by Brown which limited people from shipping more than six bales of cotton from the state and another order which prohibited shipping any goods from Georgia which could be used for army supplies. "W" characterized these orders as "high-handed, illegal and unconstitutional," yet no one complained about them. "W" stated Brown infringed upon the personal liberty of his state's citizens and then had the nerve to complain, louder than anyone else, about the Confederate government violating the constitutional rights of its citizens. *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "For the Southern Recorder," March 17, 1863.

habeas corpus did violate the concept of states' rights, it was their "duty as loyal citizens and soldiers to submit to it."[49]

"A Voice from the Army" was a unanimous petition signed by members of Georgia's Brigade in the Army of Northern Virginia. The brigade consisted of the 13th, 26th, 31st, 38th, 60th and 61st Georgia Regiments. These men, who felt their "fealty to state rights" had been proven by their participation in battle, criticized all Georgians who, through their conduct, produced "disaffection at home or discouragement in the army" instead of promoting "harmony of sentiment and action…" These men believed states' rights was not in any real danger and warned that attacking the Confederate Government and its policies under the guise of states' rights could lead to every Confederate citizen losing all their rights if the South lost the war.[50]

A petition from Georgia soldiers stationed near Zollicoffer, Tennessee appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer* on April 22, 1864. This petition defined the causes of the war in now familiar terms. The objective of Northerners was to "subjugate our [Confederates] people, emancipate our slaves, confiscate our property and reduce us to a vassalage worse than death." The printed appeal stressed that everyone who identified themselves as patriots needed to present a united front to the common enemy but within the state of Georgia, citizens used the argument of "State rights and State sovereignty…to sow the seeds of discontent and undermine the Temple of Liberty." These men, from the brigade of General George T. Anderson, declared they had the "utmost unbounded and exalted confidence in the integrity, patriotism, wisdom, and superior statesmanship" of Jefferson Davis. The petition characterized the "Stephens Resolutions," and

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[49] *Savannah Daily Republican*, "Sentiments of the Army," April 19, 1864. The petition ended with a request that it be reprinted within the pages of the *Savannah Republican*, the *Morning News*, and the *Augusta Constitutionalist*, and all other papers "friendly to our cause."

[50] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "A Voice from the Army," April 19, 1864

parts of Governor Brown's message that dictated how peace should be achieved as "unwise and unpatriotic" and warned it would "aid and comfort the enemy."[51]

Another petition from Georgia soldiers appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer* two weeks later on May 6, 1864. This second appeal came from Georgia soldiers stationed near Gordonsville, Virginia. Like the previous petition, this one announced the soldiers' support of President Davis and said he was a "leader fit for the cause and crisis." Similar to the previous petition in the *Enquirer*, this one also condemned the message of Governor Brown and the actions of the Georgia State Legislature in regard to the Stephens resolutions, as "extremely harmful to the cause" because it had the power to "distract our councils at home, and destroy the spirit of our armies in the field" and provide the enemy with hope. While this second appeal from Georgia soldiers acknowledged the war was being fought to secure states' rights, they saw "no cause for the hue and cry of the alarmists at home."[52]

These petitions, regardless of the fact soldiers stationed in different parts of the Confederacy wrote them, possessed certain commonalities. Most of these petitions announced their support of the Davis administration and the Confederate Congress. These documents also expressed their support of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus on the grounds that the measures were in the best interest of the nation. Each petition also denounced Governor Brown for his opposition to the Confederate government, characterized Brown's actions and the Stephens Resolutions as unpatriotic and said Brown's support of peace overtures to the Union would provide the enemy with hope that the Confederacy would soon fall apart. Soldiers who wrote these petitions also mentioned now was not the time to raise issues about the

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[51] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Views on the Message of Governor Brown of Georgia," April 22, 1864.

[52] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Georgia Soldiers in Public Meeting," May 6, 1864.

constitutionality of the conscription act or the suspension of habeas corpus since discussions of this nature had the ability to generate dissent.

At the end of each petition, the soldiers asked that the documents be sent to various newspapers, such as the *Macon Telegraph*, *Savannah Republican*, and the *Richmond Examiner*. This indicated one intended audience was Georgia and Virginia citizens. Georgia citizens had the greatest potential to be influenced by the opinions of Governor Brown and these petitions were a way to show the Georgia public that in spite of Brown and the declining prospects of the Confederacy, Georgia soldiers on the front lines still remained loyal to the Confederate cause. Another target audience were citizens in the rest of the Confederacy because Georgia soldiers wanted to convince Virginia residents, and the rest of the Confederacy, that Georgians were still devoted to the Confederate cause.

As mentioned earlier by the *Savannah Daily Republican*, Georgia had to prove to the other citizens of the Confederacy that the state was as dedicated to Confederate independence as it was to states' rights.[53] These petitions proved that Georgians, at least the ones on the battlefield, still placed the independence of the Confederacy above the protection of states' rights. Georgia soldiers stationed outside the state were still willing to sacrifice everything for the sake of Confederate independence and Brown's actions and words would not hinder their ability to fight. The *Rome Courier* said these soldiers "who have laid all on the altar of the country" did not intend for a "contentious whipper snapper rider of a hobby horse" to hinder the fight for southern independence."[54] Other Confederate soldiers stationed outside the state continued to denounce the position of Governor Brown and his supporters.

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[53] *Savannah Daily Republican*, "Some of the Fruit," March 30, 1864.

[54] Risley, *"*Georgia's Civil War Newspapers*,"* 203.

A soldier from Hancock County, Georgia wrote an appeal "To the Citizens of Hancock County" which the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* published. The appeal declared Georgia was now associated with the word traitor and asked the citizens of the county to make a public declaration that the resolutions introduced before the state legislature by Linton Stephens were "not the sentiments of the citizens of Hancock county…" This soldier asked all Hancock County citizens to meet at the courthouse in order to show their support for the Confederacy.[55]

Alva Benjamin Spencer, a member of the Third Georgia Regiment, expressed his opinion about the conflict created by Governor Brown and Alexander Stephens in a letter to his wife Margaret whom he affectionately referred to as "Mags." From Petersburg, Virginia, Spencer told his wife that he doubted the dedication of Georgia citizens to the cause because he feared that "those few execrable reconstructionists, would cause some trouble in our deeply afflicted country."[56] Even though Spencer did not mention Governor Brown and Linton Stephens by name, he probably referred to them as the individuals he believed favored reconstruction with the Union.

Edgeworth Bird, a member of Georgia's Hancock Volunteers, also mentioned the disagreements prominent men in the state had with the Davis administration over the issue of conscription in a letter to his wife, Sallie. Bird noted how Robert Toombs, the former Confederate Secretary of State, spoke in his hometown of Sparta and assaulted the Confederate policy of conscription. On August 28, 1863, from his camp location at U.S. Ford, Virginia, Bird noted his surprise at "the state of public feeling in Georgia as represented by the returned furloughed men." He told Sallie how he hoped the reports that "Georgia is now almost

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[55] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, "To the Citizens of Hancock County from A Hancock Soldier," May 3, 1864.

[56] Clyde G. Wiggins III, ed., *My Dear Friend: The Civil War Letters of Alva Benjamin Spencer, 3rd Georgia Regiment, Company C* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2007), October 15, 1864, 163-164.

whipped" were false and he specifically mentioned how Georgia "has hardly ever had an armed heel on her soil."[57] Bird expressed the sentiment that since Georgia had barely been touched by the Union Army, the state's people should not be feeling pessimistic about the Confederacy's chances of success, especially since major Georgia cities like Atlanta and Savannah remained in Confederate control.

A young soldier in the Army of Northern Virginia wrote a letter to his mother that ended up being published by the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*. The letter illustrated to the Virginia people and other citizens of the Confederacy that not all Georgians wanted to negotiate a separate peace with the Union. In fact, this young man, who was originally from Macon, Georgia, implicitly attacked Georgians who favored peace conventions and a return to the Union. In his opinion, the fact that "Georgians have sacrificed nothing in the war" eliminated their right to even think about terms of peace with the Union. The young soldier also made a direct comparison between Georgians, who talked constantly about peace, and Virginians whom he described as "being more zealous than they were the day Virginia seceded."[58]

The zealous nature of Virginians was apparent in the articles printed in state newspapers that unequivocally condemned Governor Brown's stance on conscription and habeas corpus. Not one editor or article admitted that Brown raised some interesting questions that might need to be addressed once Confederate independence was an established fact. Instead, Virginia newspapers portrayed Brown as a Confederate citizen who, because of his stand against Confederate policies many thought crucial to the survival of the nation, was disloyal to the cause. The articles in the Virginia papers argued that Brown's words provided hope to the enemy. In

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[57] John Rozier, ed., *The Granite Farm Letters: The Civil War Correspondence of Edgeworth and Sallie Bird* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 145.

[58] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "The Spirit of Virginia," December 24, 1864.

Georgia, the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* and the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* expressed these same sentiments.

The *Lynchburg Daily Republican* took offense to the words of Governor Joseph Brown and Vice-President Stephens and began their assault in early 1864. In response to Brown's opposition to conscription and habeas corpus, the paper proclaimed him to be "the biggest fool upon others which we have ever known." The paper expressed its support of the conscription act by declaring the law constitutional and writing that the right to suspend habeas corpus was granted by the third paragraph of the ninth section of the first article of the Confederate Constitution. This paragraph said the writ of habeas corpus would be suspended only in cases of rebellion or invasion and the *Daily Republican* believed the Confederacy's situation certainly fit these circumstances. The only individuals affected by the suspension of habeas corpus, the *Daily Republican* wrote, would be "traitors and skulkers," which meant those who were loyal to the Confederacy had nothing to fear by such a new law.[59]

In early 1864, the *Richmond Examiner* published an article in response to the March 10, 1864 address Brown gave to the Georgia General Assembly where he attacked the Confederate policies of conscription and habeas corpus. The piece said Brown unwisely attacked these two Confederate policies since all loyal Confederate citizens recognized them as "planks which keep us from sinking at once." According to the *Examiner*, those who opposed conscription obviously advocated "the speedy ruin of the Southern organization." The article then discussed the positive impact the conscription act had on the life of Governor Brown. "It is not enough to say, in general, that if the Law of Conscription had not been made in 1862," the piece declared, "Governor Brown would now moulder in his grave, fill a prisoner's cell in a Yankee

[59] *Lynchburg Daily Republican*, "The Writ of Habeas Corpus," January, 7, 1864, "The Writ of Habeas Corpus," January 13, 1864, "Governor Brown of Georgia," March 15, 1864.

penitentiary, or wander a miserable exile in strange lands..." Not only did conscription prolong the life of the Confederate nation, according to the *Examiner*, it also saved Brown's life from complete and utter destruction. Near the end of the article, the author eluded to the fact that Governor Brown supported peace overtures to the Union by the Confederate government, as well as individual state governments. The author of the article expressed outrage Georgia would even consider such a proposal since "she has struggled less than any other" during the war.[60]

Into the fall, discussion about Governor Brown's opposition to conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus continued. The *Petersburg Express* expressed an opinion similar to that of other Virginia papers about Governor Brown. The *Express* wrote "it was impossible to think that the Governor of Georgia is devoted heart and soul to the cause of the South-that he would submit to any sacrifices to ensure its success…"[61]

One exception to the trend of Virginia newspapers condemning Governor Brown occurred in the *Richmond Whig*. A brief two paragraph article in the *Whig* echoed the same concern expressed by Brown and the Stephens brothers over the loss of states' rights in the Confederacy. In an article entitled "$100,000 Reward," the author, identified only as T. Southron, said he was looking for his horse that was either lost or stolen. The name of the horse was "State Rights" and the author claimed the horse had been "raised by Mr. T. Jefferson of Albemarle county, Va.-carefully groomed and tended by Mr. J. Randolph, of Charlotte county, in the same State, and well cared for since in several of the Gulf and other States." T. Southron then told the *Whig's* readers the horse had been "absent from home for several months" but if the

[60] *Richmond Examiner*, March 21, 1864.

[61] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, "Voice of the Southern Press," March 23, 1863.

animal was still alive, it might be headed toward the home of "Mr. Joseph E. Brown, of Milledgeville, Ga., by whom he was always kindly and humanely treated."[62]

This article, in a unique way, illustrated the importance of states' rights to the history of the South by connecting states' rights to Thomas Jefferson and the founding of the United States. The piece highlighted that the principle of states' rights had been established by the founding fathers and passed down to seceding generations of Americans. And the fact that the piece established Governor Joseph E. Brown as the current protector of "State Rights" was no accident since this is the very identity Brown created for himself during the war. In spite of the fact that the feelings of Louisiana residents about conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus are difficult to determine, there is evidence one paper in this state characterized the conscription act in the same way as the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* and the *Richmond Examiner*. Conscription was simply a necessity.

In Louisiana, *Le Courier des Opelousas* expressed its support for the conscription act in an article from December 13, 1862. The essay stated it was the duty of the government to develop the country's military power and conscription allowed them to achieve this goal. While the piece declared it had the utmost confidence in the patriotism of the southern people, it stated "without the prompt and thorough organization," which conscription provided, "courage and patriotism will be but the strength of the blind Sampson." In the eyes of *Le Courier*, conscription was a necessity.[63]

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[62] Marcellus Augustus Stovall, Marcellus Augustus Stovall Scrapbooks, Volume 2, Georgia Historical Society.

[63] *Le Courier des Opelousas*, "Prepare for the Final Struggle, "December 13 1862. The article in *Le Courier* also said it was the government's responsibility to not only raise new troops, but to keep them healthy and comfortable once they entered the Confederate Army.

The fifth theme of Confederate nationalism, states' rights, included a debate over the issue that did not occur with the other themes of Confederate identity. No one debated whether or not southerners were God's chosen people or whether or not Confederates were really carrying out the revolution began by their ancestors in 1776. During the Civil War, citizens of Georgia and Virginia felt the need to debate the issue of states' rights as a result of Governor Joseph E. Brown's criticism of the Confederate policies of conscription and habeas corpus and his belief that these two policies violated states' rights. In Georgia and Virginia, there were significant variations in the way primary sources, such as newspaper articles and editorials, soldiers' petitions and speeches discussed this issue. There was dissension in Georgia over states' rights and the policies of conscription and habeas corpus while in Virginia the discussion about these same issues promoted unity. This led to the creation of a Confederate nationalism that varied by geographic location. In Georgia, there were two distinct groups that argued for and against the constitutionality of the conscription act and the suspension of habeas corpus. One group, led by Governor Joseph E. Brown, attacked conscription and habeas corpus on the grounds that it not only violated states' rights but the Constitution as well.

In speeches before the General Assembly, and in letters to Georgia newspapers and President Jefferson Davis, Brown repeatedly used these arguments against the conscript law. From stating that the conscription act would take away the men responsible for running the state and local governments to writing that the Constitution did not give Congress the power to pass a draft law, Brown kept the debate over states' rights alive by illustrating how conscription chipped away at state authority. Brown was soon joined by Senator George A. Gordon and Vice-President Alexander Stephens. Gordon voiced his opposition to the conscription act on the grounds that a regular army could only be raised by voluntary enlistment, not a forced draft. The

vice-president spoke out against conscription and habeas corpus because of the amount of power they gave the president. Stephens warned giving Davis these powers was tantamount to making him a dictator.

However, by March of 1864, Brown pushed the concept of states' rights and state sovereignty to the extreme when he advocated allowing individual states to approach the Union for peace terms if the Confederate nation was unwilling to do so. Later that same month, Representative Linton Stephens submitted a series of resolutions to the Georgia General Assembly that asked them to condemn the suspension of habeas corpus as unconstitutional and support Confederate peace overtures to the Union after each southern victory. However, while the General Assembly declared habeas corpus unconstitutional, they still pledged their support to Jefferson Davis and stated their dedication to continue the fight for Confederate independence.

Newspapers like the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, and the *Milledgeville Confederate Union* defended Brown's stance on the suspension of habeas corpus, but not conscription. Yet, not all the local press supported Brown and the Stephens brothers in their quest to end conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus. The *Savannah Daily Republican* characterized Brown as an enemy of the Confederacy and pronounced habeas corpus and conscription as two policies vital to the liberties of the southern people. Meanwhile, the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* argued the conscription act was simply a military necessity and the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* labeled Brown's opposition to it as treasonous.

Brown and his supporters created an image of themselves as the defenders of states' rights. They felt it was their duty as patriotic citizens to oppose any governmental policy issued in Richmond that violated the Confederate Constitution. However, individuals who looked at

Brown's position and supported conscription and habeas corpus as necessary to the very survival of the Confederate nation, found the actions of Brown and his supporters treasonous, especially after Brown's 1864 speech which advocated individual Confederate states approach the Union for peace terms. These people, including Senator Benjamin Hill and Representative A. H. Kenan, urged unity of action at this crucial time in the war and declared now was not the time to discuss issues involving states' rights. These individuals also saw themselves as patriots since they were willing to sacrifice anything, including states' rights, to obtain the country's independence.

The petition of Georgia soldiers also called for a united front during the war. These men, stationed outside their home state, declared their support for the policies of conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus because they were in the nation's best interest. The petitions of these soldiers also announced their support for President Jefferson Davis while at the same time denouncing Governor Joseph E. Brown for trying to dictate the terms of peace with the Union. Some of these petitions denied states' rights were even in any real danger. Similar to the opinions expressed in the petitions that conscription was in the nation's best interest, Virginia newspapers and the Louisiana newspaper, *Le Courier des Opelousas*, also portrayed this policy as critical to the country's survival.

Virginia newspapers also thought any discussion revolving around the constitutionality of these policies was untimely and supported both the conscription act and the suspension of habeas corpus. The state's newspapers took a similar stance on the issues of conscription, the suspension of habeas corpus, and peace overtures to the Union. The *Petersburg Express*, the *Lynchburg Daily Republican* and the *Richmond Examiner* each expressed their opposition to Brown's position while upholding the governmental policies of conscription and the suspension

of habeas corpus. As a result of their vocal opposition to Brown in the Virginia newspapers and their support of conscription and habeas corpus, Virginians created an image for themselves as patriotic individuals who were willing to sacrifice anything, including states' rights, to ensure the country's independence.

States' rights, along with the themes of the American Revolution, religion, slavery and white supremacy, defined Confederate identity during the Civil War. These five themes allowed southerners to carve out a distinct image for themselves as citizens of the Confederate States of America, but the Confederacy also needed a physical symbol of the nation that would connect people as well. The Confederate flag became the physical representation of the new nation. The Confederate flag, and the music it generated, became the medium through which the Confederacy disseminated their message to the public that the nation consisted of like minded individuals who were bound together by their commitment to the ideals associated with the American Revolution, religion, slavery and white supremacy, and states' rights. The Confederate flag simply became the physical symbol of all five themes of Confederate nationalism.

CONCLUSION

Four of the five themes of Confederate nationalism, the American Revolution, religion, slavery, and white supremacy, were unifying within the states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia. The fifth theme of Confederate identity formation during the war, states' rights, proved to be divisive within the state of Georgia. There were those in the state of Georgia, led by Governor Joseph E. Brown, who felt states' rights needed to be protected at all costs. At the same time, there were other Georgians who believed it was no time to argue over whether states' rights was in imminent danger. Instead, these individuals felt Confederates needed to be willing to make any sacrifice to win the country's ultimate goal of independence.

The four unifying themes of Confederate nationalism created an identity for southerners in the seceded states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia that was different (at least in their minds) from the identity of Americans. Confederate citizens relied on the theme of the American Revolution to establish their identity during the war. Southerners in these seceded states felt they were the true descendants of the American Revolution and therefore, fought to maintain and protect the revolutionary concepts of freedom, liberty, and self-government. Religion depicted Confederates as God's chosen who He entrusted with the protection of the enslaved African Americans race and the perpetuation of the institution of slavery. All whites in the Confederate states this study examines were all connected by the idea of white supremacy which elevated all whites, regardless of religion and ethnicity, above people of African descent. According to white Confederates, the Union wanted to destroy the institution of slavery and establish racial equality, further generating a separate identity for citizens in the Confederate States of America.

SECTION I

THE THEMES OF CONFEDERATE NATIONALISM

SECTION II

THE PHYSICAL MANIFESTATION OF CONFEDERATE NATIONALISM

CHAPTER 5

"RALLY 'ROUND THE FLAG"

What did Eliza Frances Andrews, Lemuel P. Connor and Aquila Johnson Peyton, have in common? Andrews, Connor and Peyton each represented a different state in the Confederacy and all three of them mentioned in their personal correspondence how southerners used the flag prior to the formation of the Confederate States of America to show their support for secession.

Eliza Frances Andrews, a member of a prominent family from Washington, Georgia recalled in her diary the celebration that occurred after secession was approved by the state. She and her sister-in-law, Cora, made a flag with "a large five-pointed star, the emblem of States' Rights" on a blue field.[1] Andrews and her sister-in-law chose to celebrate Georgia's secession with a flag that represented the protection of property rights.

In a letter to his wife, Fanny, Lemuel Conner recounted what happened after the passage of the secession ordinance in Louisiana. Connor was a delegate in the Louisiana secession convention and he also helped write the state's secession ordinance. According to Conner, the "Pelican flag was…hoisted on a part of the Speaker's desk," blessed by a Catholic priest and eventually placed atop the capitol.[2]

Virginian Aquila Johnson Peyton mentioned in his diary, prior to the state's secession, how "a flag was raised at the store to-day having on it fifteen stars."[3] The person who raised the

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[1] Eliza Frances Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-1865* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1908), 177.

[2] Lemuel P. Connor to Fanny Connor, January 26, 1861, Lemuel P. Connor Papers, Historic New Orleans Collection.

[3] Aquila Johnson Peyton, January 19, 1861, 244, Aquila Johnson Peyton Diary, Virginia Historical Society. The fifteen stars represented all the southern states that might possibly secede from the Union. There were officially eleven states in the Confederacy and some people hoped the four slave states that remained in the Union

flag at the store obviously supported secession, the possible formation of an independent southern government, and decided to publicly express his/her support by raising a flag. Andrews, Connor and Peyton recounted in their personal correspondence how individuals within their home state chose to celebrate secession. All three of these locations celebrated secession with a flag, but each flag was different. In Georgia, Andrews celebrated with a flag that represented states' rights while Connor in Louisiana mentioned how he and the other members of the secession convention raised the state flag to commemorate the occasion. And in Virginia, Peyton referred to a flag raised to support secession that included stars for each southern slaveholding state that might wish to join an independent southern confederacy. At this point in time, the different flags discussed by Andrews, Connor and Peyton highlighted regional differences. In order to promote a Confederate nationalism without regional variation, the Confederate States of America needed to adopt an official flag southerners would see as the symbol of their nation and rally behind. The *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, along with the *Richmond Enquirer*, recognized the importance of a national flag for the Confederacy relatively early.

In December 1861, the *Daily Dispatch*, the most widely read newspaper in Virginia recommended the adoption of a flag distinctly different from the United States, a flag southerners would want to "live under-to fight under-to conquer under-and to die under." The paper also stated the flag would be the foundation for the nation's loyalty.[4] The flag adopted by

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(Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Delaware) would eventually join the Confederacy. The addition of these four slave states would have increased the total number of Confederate states to fifteen.

[4] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "The Confederate Flag," December 10, 1861. Historian J. Cutler Andrews characterized the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* as the single most important daily paper in Richmond. The *Dispatch* had 18,000 subscribers in March 1861, more than all the other Richmond papers combined. By the end of the war, the *Daily Dispatch* would have 30,000 subscribers. See J. Cutler Andrews, *The South Reports the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 32.

the Confederacy needed to inspire the devotion of their citizens so they would be willing to make the ultimate sacrifice of dying in defense of their country. A month later, an editorial from the *Daily Dispatch* also captured the importance of a flag for the fledgling nation. A citizen who identified himself as "Tueri" wrote, "Outward signs and symbols of nationality, small mater as they seem, are really of vast importance; and a flag to fight under, and to learn to love, is now almost our greatest need."[5] "Tueri" realized that a nation made up of individual states with disparate interests would need to have a universal symbol that reflected unity. A flag could be such a symbol.[6]

For southerners, the Confederate flag became a symbol that tied the five themes of Confederate nationalism together and promoted a sense of Confederate unity. The Confederate flag became the vehicle the new nation used to transmit the idea that the country possessed a national Confederate identity devoid of geographic variation. At the beginning of the war, there were no battles or sacrifices yet to instill pride in the hearts of Confederate citizens. In the beginning of the war, the flag took the place of battles and sacrifices, instilled pride in the hearts of Confederate men and women and allowed Confederate citizens to see themselves as members of an "imagined community" with common interests, regardless of where they lived. Historian Benjamin Carp stressed the importance of common interests in the forging of nationalism in his article, "Nations of American Rebels: Understanding Nationalism in Revolutionary North America and the Civil War South." Carp believed the benefit of common interests was

[5] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "The Flag," January 31, 1862.

[6] An article from the *Richmond Enquirer* entitled "Liberty" also mentioned to its readers the importance of a flag for the Confederacy. The essay characterized a free nation as one which developed their institutions, all "under the shadow of a national flag." See *Richmond Enquirer*, "Liberty," March 20, 1863.

threefold: common interests justified the development of a new nation, encouraged expressions of nationalism from the nation's inhabitants and convinced people to support the war effort.[7]

The five themes of Confederate nationalism, the American Revolution, religion, slavery and white supremacy and states' rights, attempted to highlight the common interests and similarities among citizens in the Confederacy with varying degrees of success. Yet, these themes could not be seen or touched by members of the Confederate nation. The Confederate flag became the physical manifestation of the five themes of Confederate nationalism. While men and women in Savannah, Georgia would rarely, if ever, come face to face with people from New Orleans, Louisiana, they would still feel a connection to one another because of the five themes of Confederate nationalism and the Confederate flag. The position of prominence the United States flag held in the hearts of every American illustrated that a national Confederate flag would help the new nation instill a sense of pride in its citizens and create what historian Benedict Anderson described as an "imagined community."

The common history the flag reinforced focused on the imagined community created during the War of 1812 with the song, "The Star Spangled Banner." The song's lyrics discussed how in spite of insurmountable odds, the American forces held off the British at Fort Monroe during the War of 1812. This created an image of American perseverance that northerners and southerners alike could respect. The Confederate States of America wanted to project this image of perseverance to their own people and foreign countries abroad to demonstrate that just like their revolutionary forefathers, the citizens of the Confederacy would persevere against all odds and achieve their independence. The Confederate flag, like the United States flag during the war of 1812, would become a symbol of independence, perseverance and determination. To

[7] Benjamin L. Carp, "Nations of American Rebels: Understanding Nationalism in Revolutionary North American and the Civil War South," *Journal of Civil War History* 48, no. 1 (March 2002): 5-33, 10.

Confederates, while the flag represented a common past they could remember fondly (the war of 1812), it also represented a common future they all wished for, the independence of the southern Confederacy. This was another way the flag created a community of people with common interests.

It should come as no surprise therefore, that one of the first acts of the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy was the adoption of an official flag for the new nation. On February 9, 1861, William Porcher Miles of South Carolina asked for the formation of a Congressional committee to discuss the adoption of a national Confederate flag. The committee included a representative from each state in the nation.[8] Since the Provisional Congress had only been meeting since the fourth of February in Montgomery, Alabama, this proposal by Miles illustrated the impetus congressional members placed on the adoption of a Confederate national flag.

After soliciting southerners' recommendations, the first flag adopted as a symbol of the Confederacy was the "Stars and Bars." The "Stars and Bars," adopted as the national flag on March 4, 1861, contained three horizontal stripes that alternated between red and white. In the upper left corner, there was a blue box with seven white stars which represented the first seven states of the Confederacy. However, southerners felt this flag too closely resembled the flag of their former country. This led to the adoption of the second Confederate flag, the St. Andrews Cross battle flag, on May 1, 1863.

The St. Andrews Cross battle flag had a white background and in the upper left corner there was the Southern Cross with thirteen stars that denoted the eleven states in the Confederacy, plus the slaveholding states of Missouri and Kentucky, even though they did not

[8] *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States, 1861-1865, Volume I* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 40.

officially secede from the Union. William Thompson, editor of the *Savannah Morning News*, supported the adoption of the second national flag of the Confederacy. Like others in the South, Thompson thought the "Stars and Bars" too closely resembled the "Star-Spangled Banner," which was viewed in the South as a symbol of "abolition despotism." For Thompson, the new flag represented white superiority, African American inferiority and defined the cause of the South as the fight to maintain the "Heaven-ordained supremacy of the white man over the inferior colored race…"[9] Thomson equated the St. Andrews Cross flag with the third and fourth themes of Confederate nationalism, slavery and white supremacy.

Because the St. Andrews Cross was occasionally mistaken for a flag of surrender on the battlefield, the Confederate Congress approved the last Confederate flag on March 4, 1865. This flag looked exactly like the St. Andrews Cross battle flag, except that a red vertical stripe was added to the flag's right edge. While the Confederate flag underwent many modifications one thing remained constant; the close association of the flag with Confederate identity.

In "Flag Culture and the Consolidation of Confederate Nationalism," historian Robert Bonner noted how in the spring of 1861 the flag of the Confederacy appeared throughout the new nation.[10] A special correspondent from the Georgia Volunteers wrote a piece for the Atlanta *Southern Confederacy* about his experiences in Virginia that supported Bonner's assertion. This young man, identified only as T.D.W., wrote, "Every house had a flag; everybody a flag, and the ladies had their dresses made like flags…I began to think that secession flags was one of the

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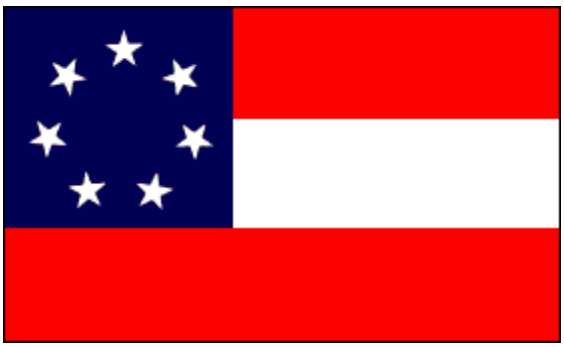
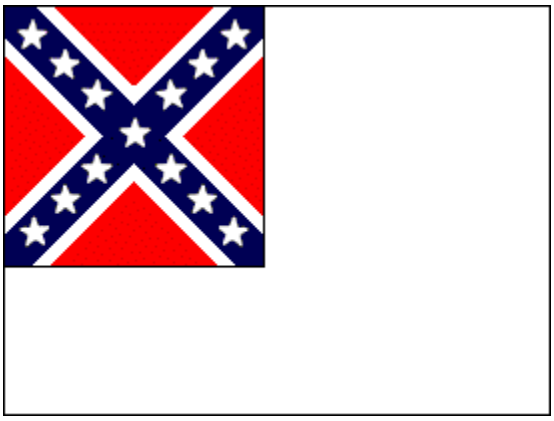
[9] James W. Loewen and Edward H. Sebesta, eds., *The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause*" (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2010), 194-185.

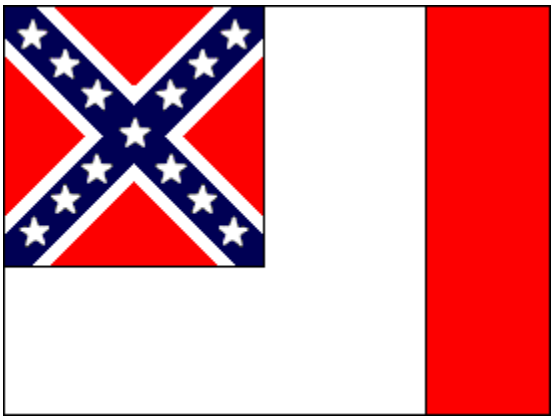
[10] Robert E. Bonner, "Flag Culture and the Consolidation of Confederate Nationalism," *Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 2 (May 2002): 293-332, 296.



The “Stars and Bars:” The first flag of the Confederacy



The St. Andrews Battle Cross: The second flag of the Confederacy



The third flag of the Confederacy

Figure 1.1 The Flags of the Confederate States of America

Source: http://www.usflag.org/history/confederatestarsandbars.html

products of the soil, of spontaneous growth." [11] Even though the Confederacy had only been in existence for a short period of time, citizens in Virginia showed their allegiance to the Confederacy with a flag. Since the flag appeared to capture the attention of Confederate citizens, it is not surprising that the subject of the flag captured the attention of songwriters as well.

Music published in the Civil War South that contained references to the flag reinforced the idea the Confederate States of America possessed a Confederate nationalism which transcended geographic location. Music about the Confederate flag emphasized how Confederate citizens shared common interests and a common outlook. In fact, music became one of the major conduits that spread a nationalist ideology throughout the Confederate States of America. According to music scholar Richard Harwell, there were ten cities in the Confederacy that published sheet music. These cities included: Augusta, Macon, and Savannah in Georgia, New Orleans, Louisiana, and Richmond, Virginia. Harwell argues that out of 648 songs published in the Confederacy, 528 of these, or eighty two percent, happened to be published in the cities of Augusta, Macon, and Savannah, Georgia, Richmond, Virginia and New Orleans, Louisiana.[12] This meant some citizens of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia would have, most likely, been exposed to the themes articulated in music that connected the nation to the Confederate flag because the music which discussed this topic would have been readily accessible.

Even though there were cities within some states that lacked a music publisher, such as Petersburg and Norfolk in Virginia, these towns still had music distributors which meant men and women in these locations still had a chance to be exposed to the patriotic sentiments

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[11] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, August 16, 1861.

[12] Richard B. Harwell, *Confederate Sheet Music* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 8-25,160.

contained in songs. For example, the publishing firm of Blackmar and Bro. was based in New Orleans until the Union occupation of the city in April 1862. Yet, Blackmar and Bro. had music distributors located in the cities of Atlanta, Columbia, Goldsboro, Macon, Savannah, Mobile, Montgomery, Raleigh and Richmond. Music published by Blackmar in New Orleans could be sold to inhabitants of Richmond, Virginia or Savannah, Georgia through a music distributor. The pieces of music that bore the publication mark of Blackmar and Bro. had the potential to reach Confederate citizens far beyond the city of New Orleans and the state of Louisiana. As a result of the numerous music distributors and publishers, music had the ability to reach beyond the locale where it was published.

Richard Harwell suggests the main reason for publishing songs in the Confederacy was for the enjoyment of patrons and to make a profit for the publishing houses and the composer. He goes on to say that "it [music] seems not to have been used as a planned propaganda weapon" by the Confederacy but perhaps the role of music was more political than Harwell suggests.[13] While music may not have been a planned piece of propaganda, as the war progressed, this is exactly what music published in the Confederacy became, a propaganda tool that helped to create the image of the South as a region of people with similar interests. As Harwell noted in his study on Confederate music, the flag was "the most popular subject for Southern patriotic songs and the most popular decoration for their music sheets."[14]

E. Lawrence Abel extols the significance of music in the formation of Confederate identity in his work, *Singing the New Nation: How Music Shaped the Confederacy, 1861-1865*. According to Abel, songs inspired emotions that had the power to draw people together in support of a common cause when played and sung in public. The first part of Abel's work

[13] Harwell, 7.

[14] Harwell, 67.

focused on the creation of Confederate identity through music and he named the chapters based on the common themes he thought present in Confederate songs. Some of his chapter titles included "The Bonnie Blue Flag," "The Stars and Bars," "Jefferson Davis and His Generals," and "My Country's Call." In "Stars and Bars," one of the two chapters that highlighted the significance of the flag in shaping Confederate identity, Abel proclaimed a nation's flag was the physical representation of a country's independence and that no topic received more attention from songwriters during the war.

Even though Abel believes songs to be the major medium that articulated Confederate nationalism, he neglects to illustrate how the songs that he named or discussed would serve to create, as he defined it, a united people with the same principles and a similar psychological outlook.[15] While Abel may be correct when he described the flag as the physical representation of a country's independence, to a country like the Confederacy who was still in the midst of fighting for their independence, their flag became a symbol which reinforced their common interests and encouraged them to continue the fight to establish an independent southern nation.

In addition to Abel and Harwell, historian Drew Gilpin Faust also recognized the importance of song in the creation of Confederate identity during the war. Unlike newspapers which had to be printed, music could be printed or it could simply be sung. Faust wrote that songs and sheet music published during the war reinforced the importance of oral sources, in addition to the written word, in passing along the themes of Confederate identity to southerners. According to Faust, songs became the vehicle for the popular expression of Confederate

[15] E. Lawrence Abel, *Singing the New Nation: How Music Shaped the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2000), x, xii, 81, 6, 10.

nationalism.[16] In a population where some of the people were illiterate, the transmission of words set to music or spoken in a poem had the ability to capture the minds and attention of illiterate, as well as literate, members of the Confederacy.

Robert Bonner argues the songs and pieces of poetry that focused much of their attention on the Confederate flag led to the development of a patriotism that crossed state lines, and Bonner believes this was similar to the sense of nationalism created by Francis Scott Key's "The Star-Spangled Banner" during the war of 1812. He states how ordinary southerners were most responsible for strongly associating Confederate identity with the flag by flying it from important town buildings, by referencing it in the newspapers, and because of popular tunes that mentioned the flag.[17] Yet he does not reference any of these popular songs that would have cemented the association of the flag as a symbol of Confederate nationalism.

Besides the expression of nationalistic themes in music, newspapers also exposed its readers to patriotic sentiments. David Waldstreicher argues in "Rites of Rebellion, Rites of Assent," that printed material was a way to increase the geographical reach of nationalist ideology.[18] This is the reason why printed sources such as newspapers, poems, sheet music, songsters, sermons, speeches, and Confederate textbooks became the driving force for the dissemination of the five themes of Confederate nationalism during the Civil War. Printed material, which had the potential to reach ordinary men and women living in different sections

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[16] Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 11-14, 18, 22, 18. Faust also believes that one major aspect of Confederate nationalism was its attempt to identify itself with other successful independence movements such as the French Revolution and the American Revolution.

[17] Bonner, 303-304, 325. John M. Coski concurs with the opinion of Robert Bonner because he also argues that after the adoption of the "Stars and Bars" as the official flag of the Confederate States of America, it was celebrated in song and poetic verse. See john M. Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 4.

[18] David Waldstreicher, "Rites of Rebellion, Rites of Assent: Celebrations, Print Culture, and the Origins of American Nationalism," *Journal of American History* 82, no.1 (June 1995): 37-61, 46.

and locales of the Confederacy, embodied an opportunity to connect citizens of Georgia with inhabitants of Louisiana through the expression of similar patriotic themes.

For example, when Jefferson Davis proclaimed nine Thanksgiving and Fast Days throughout the four years of the Confederacy, some of these sermons delivered on national fast days ended up being published. Therefore this material had the potential to reach a greater number of Confederate citizens who may not have attended service that day or who lived in another area entirely. The same thing happened with music and songs. Songs reached beyond the locale where they were published not only as a result of the musical distribution networks that existed throughout the Confederacy, but also because of the willingness of newspapers to print songs and highlight the release of new material.

Advertisements published in southern newspapers announced the publication of new music, as well as public performances of patriotic songs. One such advertisement in the *Daily Picayune* announced a performance by the widely popular Harry Macarthy who "had returned from a most successful engagement at Richmond and commences one here." The ad promised Macarthy would cover the old classics such as "The Bonnie Blue Flag" and "The Stars and Bars."[19] If one assumes Macarthy kept his engagement in New Orleans, then inhabitants of this city heard the same patriotic songs with the same patriotic lyrics as their counterparts in Richmond, Virginia. Just the fact that Macarthy performed the same songs in two separate locations emphasized that "The Bonnie Blue Flag" and "The Stars and Bars" held significance for the entire Confederacy and not just a specific region of the nation.

Furthermore, it was not unusual to see a publisher take out an advertisement in a local paper either publicizing his entire catalogue or announcing new music for sale. This was yet another way Confederate citizens became exposed to patriotic songs. In 1862, the *Milledgeville*

[19] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, April 22, 1862.

Southern Recorder announced that the publishers West and Johnston would soon release *War Songs of the South* by Georgia native Dr. Shepardson. The newspaper expressed hope the music would "stir the enthusiasm of the Southern mind to a still higher pitch in the struggle for independence."[20] Two years later, on February 16, 1864, the *Examiner* touted the publication of a "new song" by Richmond publisher George Dunn and Company. The paper informed its readers that for a reasonable fee, any piece of music that was part of their catalogue could be mailed anywhere in the Confederacy.[21]

In Augusta, the *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* mentioned the opening of Blackmar and Bro. in the city, after the publisher fled Union occupied New Orleans. The paper told its readers Blackmar and Bro. published the popular songs "The Bonnie Blue Flag," and "The Volunteer," and could "supply customers with these Songs in large or small qualities."[22] The willingness of publishing houses to advertise their catalogs in local newspapers and their readiness to sell their music in different locations meant music with patriotic themes had the potential to surpass regional lines.

In the first year of the war, there were songs published throughout the south which identified the flag as a symbol of Confederate nationalism by highlighting the common interests of Confederate citizens. One of the most popular songs of the war was "The Bonnie Blue Flag," written in 1861 by Irish immigrant and popular performer Harry Macarthy and described by the

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[20] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, June 10, 1862.

[21] *Richmond Examiner*, February 16, 1864.

[22] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 3, 1863. After the Union occupied New Orleans in late April 1862, Henry Blackmar moved the shop to Augusta. General Benjamin Butler charged Henry's brother, Armand Blackmar, with treason and imprisoned him on Ship Island because he was the publisher of "The Bonnie Blue Flag." For a more in-depth discussion of the Blackmar brothers, see Abel, 264-266.

Richmond Daily Dispatch as one of the "popular national songs" of the South.[23] Previously, this chapter mentioned Eliza Andrews' diary entry that referenced the "The Bonnie Blue Flag." According to Andrews, the blue flag with a large, single five pronged star served as an emblem for states' rights ideology. While the song served to make the flag an emblem for the larger Confederacy, the lyrics also attempted to unite all southern states that seceded from the Union as "sovereign and independent nations" in the new Confederate nation. The song began by proclaiming that southerners were united as brothers in the fight for liberty and the protection of their rights, thus supporting the idea that Confederates, regardless of geographic location, were united by a common cause. The opening lines stated:

> We are a band of brothers and native to the soil
> Fighting for our Liberty, With treasure, blood and toil
> And when our rights were threatened, the cry rose near and far
> Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star!

Additionally, the naming of each individual state with a special verse emphasized that seceded states were now aligned with one another because they all had the same goals in mind; the achievement of Confederate independence, the protection of personal property and the perseverance of liberties achieved by the founding fathers during the American Revolution. All the Confederate states were now united under the banner of the "Bonnie Blue Flag" and the fight for property rights. The lyrics of the third stanza were:

> First gallant South Carolina
> Nobly made the stand,
> Then came Alabama,
> Who took her by the hand.
> Next quickly Mississippi,

[23] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Metropolitan Hall," March 10, 1862.

Georgia and Florida

All raised on high the Bonnie Blue Flag

That bears a single star.[24]

The cover page of the sheet music for "The Bonnie Blue Flag" further served to illustrate the connection between the flag and Confederate identity. The song's cover page featured two flags, one contained a large five pronged white star while the other flag had eleven stars in the upper left hand corner. The flag on the left represented states' rights while the flag, on the right, "The Stars and Bars," represented the Confederate States of America. Since the poles of both flags were intertwined; it indicated that the cause of states' rights and the Confederacy were one and the same and that you could not have one without the other. The preservation of states' rights depended on the existence of the Confederacy and vice versa.

Virginia resident Cornelia Peake McDonald mentioned this song in her diary. McDonald wrote how she watched the army of General Johnston pass by on their way to Manassas and discussed how the playing of the song "The Bonnie Blue Flag" instilled a sense of pride in the men and "gave wings to their feet" as they "kept time with the joyous music."[25] This is evidence that this song highlighted the common interests among Confederate citizens and bonded people together. The men under General Johnston were from different regions of the Confederacy, yet, according to McDonald, the song seemed to inspire these men and propel them toward battle. The song "The Bonnie Blue Flag," or perhaps more importantly, what the song represented, had the ability to bond these soldiers together and unite them behind a common cause.

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[24] Harry Macarthy, *The Bonnie Blue Flag* (New Orleans, La.: A.E. Blackmar and Bro., 1861), Manuscript Division, Tulane University. The popularity of this song is evidenced by the fact that there were six different editions of this song published during the course of the war.

[25] Minrose C. Gwin, ed., *A Woman's Civil War: Reminiscences of the War from March 1862* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 34.

"Our Flag and its Origins" was also written by Harry Macarthy and referred to as the "Southern National Song" by publishers Blackmar and Bro. The lyrics of this song discussed how "The Star Spangled Banner" had been a source of pride that represented the "brave and the free." This was no longer the case. When the North corrupted the banner of the United States and sacrificed southern rights, the South "unfurl'd the Stars and Bars, And the CONFEDERATE FLAG is its name." Now Confederate citizens were united as one under the flag, "The Stars and Bars" and in the fight for the preservation of southern rights.[26]

"Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner," written by Mrs. E.D. Hundley of Virginia, was yet another song published during the initial year of the war that said goodbye to the United States banner and welcomed the new banner of the southern Confederacy.[27] The song underscored the idea that the flag provided Confederates with a common outlook because all southerners, not just those in Virginia, said goodbye to the flag of the Union and looked toward the new banner of the Confederate States of America. The chorus of the song contained these words:

> Farewell forever to the star spangled banner,
> No longer shall it wave o'er the land of the free;
> But will unfurl to the broad breeze of Heaven,
> Thirteen bright stars 'round the Palmetto tree.

Gilmer W. Crtuchfield, member of Company B in the Ninth Virginia Calvary, hand copied this song into his commonplace book on October 4, 1864, three years after the initial

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[26] Harry Macarthy, *Our Flag and its Origin*, *Southern National Song, Written, Composed and Sung at his Personation Concerts, by Harry Macarthy, Author of "Bonnie Blue Flag," "The Volunteer," "Missouri," etc.* (New Orleans.: A.E. Blackmar and Bro., 1862), Manuscript Division, Tulane University.

[27] The sheet music itself does not attribute the song to anyone. However, Mary Lee Cooke did research that attributed the song to Mrs. E. D.Hundley. See Mary Lee Cooke, "Southern women, Southern voices: Civil War Songs by Southern Women" (D.M.A. diss., University of North Carolina, 2007), 49.

publication of "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner." The fact that this hand written copy of the song appeared in Crutchfield's commonplace books tells us two things. First of all, some soldier in Crutchfield's company or some other soldier he came in contact with had the sheet music for this song; he simply might have heard it being sung or he may have come across a broadside of the song. It was therefore important to someone else besides Crutchfield. Since Crutchfield took the time required to hand copy this song, it meant that it also held some sort of significance for him. What exactly the significance was can only be inferred at this point since Crutchfield did not explicitly state in his journal what prompted him to copy "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner."

However, one can imagine that a Confederate soldier, like Crutchfield, might be attracted to the language that tied all the states of the Confederacy together as "seceding Sisters" and gave their struggle for independence a successful outcome. The fact that there were "thirteen bright stars" united around one of the symbols of secession, "the Palmetto tree," emphasized how southerners from different states came together to achieve a common goal. The last stanza looked toward the future when southern independence would be achieved and the Confederacy took its place among nations. The last stanza said:

> And when the fifteen Sisters in bright constellation,
> Shall dazzling shine in a nations emblem Sky;
> With no hands to oppose nor foes to oppress them,
> They'll shine there forever, a light to every eye.[28]

In addition to Mrs. E.D. Hundley's "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner," there were other women who wrote patriotic songs that established the flag as a symbol of Confederate nationalism by highlighting the common interests that existed among members of the nation.

[28] Gilmer W. Crutchfield, October 4, 1864, Gilmer W. Crutchfield Commonplace Book, Virginia Historical Society.

Through the writing of songs and poetry women were able to express their patriotism for the Confederacy even though they were not permitted to fight in battle. "The Confederate Flag," written by Mrs. Susan Blanchard Elder is but one example of this trend. Southern men and women could purchase Elder's song, which the *Richmond Enquirer* referred to as "a new national song," for five cents.[29] "The Confederate Flag" identified the flag as a symbol of liberty. Confederates fought to achieve and protect the concept of liberty, like their Revolutionary ancestors in the eighteenth century. Confederates, united by the common interests of liberty and freedom, were one under the banner of the nation. The first stanza began:

> Bright Banner of Freedom! with pride I unfold thee,
> Fair flag of my country, with love I behold thee,
> Gleaming above us in freshness and youth,
> Emblem of Liberty, symbol of truth, Emblem of Liberty, Symbol of truth.[30]

While Dr. William B. Harwell wrote the lyrics for the song, "Up with the Flag," Mrs. Harwell did the musical arrangement for the piano. This song, published in 1863, depicted the flag as having a special place in the hearts of all Confederates because it was a symbol of freedom. In this song, the Confederate flag also became a symbol of hope. Although what hope represented for Dr. Harwell was not clearly stated, one can infer what hope may have referred to based on what the Confederacy wanted to achieve. The Confederacy, and its inhabitants, hoped they would become an independent nation, they hoped the institution of slavery would forever be protected, they hoped the principles of self-government which the founding fathers fought for

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[29] *Richmond Enquirer*, January 17, 1862.

[30] Mrs. C.D. Elder, *The Confederate Flag* (New Orleans: A.E. Blackmar and Bro., 1861), Manuscript Division, Tulane University. Susan Blanchard Elder, born in 1835, lived with her husband in New Orleans until the Union occupation of the city when they moved to Selma, Alabama. See Cooke, 53-54.

would be ensured, and they hoped the principle of states' rights would reign supreme in the new nation. The second stanza included these lyrics:

> Symbol of Freedom, to Southern hearts
> Up with the flag, and away!
> Banner of hope-let the nations of earth
> Honor its claims, and the cause of its birth.
> Up with the flag, and away![31]

In addition to Susan Blanchard Elder and Mrs. Harwell, Mary Louisa Walker wrote a song, "Onward, Southern Freemen," expressly for publication in the *Richmond Enquirer*. The song discussed how "sons of the Southland" from Louisiana joined the "country's grand army" with the sons of Carolina, thus highlighting how men from two different geographic locations banded together in the Confederate army to fight for the South. According to Walker, southerners fought for the common goals of equal rights, as well as for the right to have the national flag of the Confederacy, "The Stars and Bars," wave over every southern home from "Jersey's shore to the Rio Grande."[32]

Although Shreveport resident Annie Jeter Charmouche, did not write the "Confederate Oath" or the poem "Ode to New Orleans," she still clipped them out of a newspaper and glued them into her scrapbook. If one took the time to clip out newspaper articles, song lyrics or poems and arrange them carefully in a scrapbook, the items included had to hold some significance for them. "The Confederate Oath" reinforced the belief that members of the Confederate nation were now bonded together as "brothers" who fought for the same goal, which was to never bow to the "falling yoke" of the "Northrons." The banner of the Confederacy

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[31] Dr. William B. Harwell, *Up with the Flag* (Richmond: Geo. Dunn and Company, 1863), Manuscript Division, Tulane University.

[32] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Written for the Richmond Enquirer," August 8, 1862.

united southerners as a "band of brothers." The first stanza of "The Confederate Oath" included these words:

> By the cross upon our banner,
> Glory to our Southern sky,
> Swear we now, a band of brothers
> Free to live-or free to die.
> Northrons! By the rights denied to us,
> Listen to our solemn vow!
>
> Here we swear, as freemen, never
> To your falling yoke to bow!

And the "Ode to New Orleans" expressed the following sentiments:

> Our flag shall float high o'er land and o'er sea,
> 'Mong nations of earth, independent and free;
> And the Southern Confederacy proclaim to the world,
> That the banner of freedom, her sons have unfurl'd;[33]

Confederate broadsides as well contained song lyrics which reinforced the idea that the flag was the physical representation of the common interests between citizens of the Confederacy. A broadside was a one page document that could be distributed to a large number of people or hung in a public location where men and women would be able to see it and read it. In "Give Our Flag to the Breeze," John H. Hewitt of Richmond referred to the flag as "the rallying sign of the free" as well as the "beacon of young Liberty." According to Hewitt, the flag

[33] Annie Jeter Charmouche, Annie Jeter Charmouche Collection, Manuscript Department, Tulane University. "The Confederate Oath by a Lady of New Orleans" was also printed in the March 4, 1863 edition of the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*.

was significant to soldiers because it was a symbol of "the pride of the Southron" that would lead men into "carnage and fire."[34]

The 1862 tune "The Flag of Secession" was sung in the air of the "Star Spangled Banner." The "Star Spangled Banner" was a melody people already knew and therefore this song could be easily sung or read by anyone who knew the cadence of the United States anthem. References in "The Flag of Secession" alluded to the belief or possibly the hope that the South would emerge victorious in the war. The four stanzas of the song referred to the North being routed in battle and fleeing after their defeat on the battle field. However, it is the refrain which is repeated after each stanza which truly stressed that the flag symbolized the unity of all Confederate citizens. The "flag of secession" encompassed the entire southern Confederacy since it waved over the entire country and not just a specific state such as Georgia or Louisiana. The refrain said:

> Now the flag of secession in triumph doth wave
> O'er the land of the freed and the home of the brave.[35]

Soldiers also composed songs during this period which established the Confederate flag as a symbol of unity. J.S. Prevatt, of the Sixth Georgia Regiment, Company E, wrote the song "The Confederate Flag Red, White & Blue." This song claimed the colors associated with the United States flag as their own because the war permanently altered the image connected to a red, white, and blue flag. The fact that the Confederacy claimed the same colors for its flag as the Union did, allowed southerners to claim the heritage of the United States. This was a heritage southerner's helped build and naturally, took great pride in it. The song's second stanza

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[34] *Give Our Flag to the Breeze! A New National Song, written and composed by John H. Hewitt, Esq., of Richmond, 1861*, Williams Research Center.

[35] *The Flag of Secession*, 1862, Williams Research Center.

stressed how the flag connected people together who lived in different regions by different bodies of water. Citizens of the nation who lived near the Potomac River in Virginia and those who lived in Texas near the Rio Grande River were all connected under the banner of the "Confederate Flag, Red, White & Blue." The stanza said:

> Our banner is simple, and by it we'll stand,
> It floats from the Potomac to the great Rio Grande;
> It waves o'er a people that's gallant and true,
> And they'll die defending the Red, White and Blue.

The lyrics of the song also highlighted the common interests of all Confederate citizens when they mentioned particular Civil War battles that resulted in a southern victory. The third stanza focused specifically on the Battle of Big Bethel, which took place on June 10, 1861. The stanza said:

> We'd a nice little fight on the tenth of last June,
> Magruder at Bethel whipped out Picayune;
> They began in the morning and fought until two,
> When in glory waved o'er them, the Red, White and Blue.

The song's seventh stanza referred to President Jefferson Davis and battlefield generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, men that all Confederates would have had in common. This stanza proclaimed:

> They'll never subdue us, as you all will see,
> While we've Davis, Bragg, Beauregard, Johnson, and Lee;
> Magruder, Stonewall, and others as true,
> We'll stand by our colors of Red, White and Blue.[36]

[36] J. S.Prevatt, *The Confederate Flag Red, White & Blue*, Williams Research Center.

Besides broadsides, pocket size music publications, known as Confederate songsters, also contributed to the image of the flag as a symbol of unity. A Confederate songster was a small pocket sized book that contained only the lyrics to a song. For soldiers, the small size of these songsters meant that they could fit easily in their pockets and did not take up too much room. The popularity of the Confederate songsters is evidenced by the fact that some of them had multiple editions.[37] Some of the titles of Confederate songsters bore the names of Confederate generals, such as the *Beauregard Songster* or the *General Lee Songster*, published respectively in 1864 and 1865. Other titles for Confederate songsters were *The Dixie Land Songster*, published in Augusta and Macon, Georgia and the *New Orleans 5 Cent Song Book*. By the end of the Civil War, Georgia and Virginia led the Confederacy in the publication of songsters.[38]

The *Jack Morgan Songster*, published in 1861 and 1864, included the songs "The Southern Cross," and "The Confederate Flag," which closely associated the flag with liberty and freedom, two concepts which southerners fought the war to achieve.[39] The *Cavalier Songster*, published in Staunton, Virginia in 1865, contained the following songs which referred to the flag; "Farewell to the Star Spangled Banner," "Our Starry Cross," and "Rally Round the Flag Boys." Just the title of the song, "Rally Round the Flag Boys!" created an image of the flag as the symbol around which all southerners could gather around and express their patriotism as the song told its listeners how Confederate soldiers were "springing to the call from the East and from the West, Shouting the battle cry of Freedom." "Rally Found the Flag Boys" illustrated

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[37] For example, the *Stonewall Jackson Song Book*, published in Richmond in 1864, had eleven different editions by the end of the war.

[38] Kirsten Marelle Schultz, "Secessia's Song Books: The History of Confederate Songsters" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2002), 60.

[39] *The Jack Morgan Songster, Complied by a Capt, in General Lee's Army* (Savannah: Schreiner and Oxenius, 1861), 4, 49, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

men from the eastern and western border of the Confederacy joined together to fight for the common cause of freedom. As the song illustrated, the flag tied men from Virginia to their fellow citizens in Arkansas.

The song "Our Starry Cross" evoked an image of the flag waving above the battle fields of Manassas, Gaines Mills, and Cold Harbor. All three of these battles ended in Confederate victories.[40] In both "Our Starry Cross" and "The Confederate Flag, Red, White & Blue" the Confederate flag was a witness to the accomplishments of Confederate soldiers on the battlefield. In "Our Starry Cross," the flag witnessed southerners defending their rights and defeating the enemy at Manassas, Gaines Mill and Cold Harbor. And in "The Confederate Flag, Red, White & Blue," the flag witnessed the rout of General Benjamin Butler at the hands of Colonel Magruder at the battle of Big Bethel, and the defeat of the Union Army during the battle of Manassas.

The *General Lee Songster*, published in 1865 by John C. Schreiner and Son in Macon and Savannah, Georgia and Schreiner and Hewitt in Augusta, Georgia also contained a song that referenced the Confederate flag as a symbol around which all southerners could rally around. This song was "The Battle Cry of Freedom" by William H. Barnes. In what had become a common theme, Barnes wrote lyrics that highlighted the split from the Union by emphasizing the symbol of the United States, the eagle, had been replaced by the Confederacy with their own symbol, the cross. The lyrics for this catchy refrain were:

> Our Dixie forever, she's never at a loss,
> Down with the eagle and up with the cross.
> We'll rally round the bonny flag, we'll rally once again,
> Shouting the battle cry of freedom."

[40] *The Cavalier Songster*. *Containing a collection of Original and Selected Songs. Complied and Arranged Expressly for the Southern public* (Staunton, 1865), 43-44, 46, Virginia Historical Society.

The song mentioned the boys of the South who went "to the fields" and the "noble women" who supported the men and the Confederate war effort at home. The lyrics made it appear everyone was doing their part to further the Confederate struggle for independence.[41]

The *Stonewall Song Book* contained the patriotic song, "The Stars and Bars." In this song, the "Stars and Bars" becomes an important symbol that members of the Confederate nation would defend with their lives, if necessary. The song reinforced the idea that southerners held common interests and the lyrics used the flag to make this point. The lyrics discussed how Confederates needed to watch, guard and defend the flag until the "minions of tyranny flee." The song also mentioned how "brave sons of the South" defended their home of "bright sunshine and flowers" from northerners.[42]

In addition to broadsides and songsters, newspapers also published songs about the Confederate flag. These songs also defined the flag as a symbol of Confederate unity in order to emphasize the bonds that existed among southerners. "The Signal Flag" appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer* on November 18, 1862. The lyrics to the song heralded the fight for southern rights, a subject near and dear to the hearts of everyone who thought of themselves as a true southern patriot. The lyrics stated:

> There is a flag that's yet unsung,
> A banner bright and fair,
> Which speaks by waves to right and left,

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[41] *The General Lee Songster, Being a Collection of the Most Popular, Sentimental, Patriotic and Comic Songs* (Macon and Savannah: John C. Schreiner and Son; Augusta: Schreiner and Hewitt, 1865), 8, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress. Song books used the names of famous generals, like Robert E. Lee, Pierre Beauregard, and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. Confederates held all three of these men in high regard and the use of their names on these song books was a way once again to promote a sense of Confederate unity and national identity devoid of regional specificity.

[42] *The Stonewall Song Book*: *A Collection of Patriotic, Sentimental, and Comic Songs* (Richmond: West and Johnston, 1864), Virginia Historical Society.

Through Heaven's midmost air.

Hurrah! Hurrah! For Southern rights hurrah;

Hurrah for the bonnie white flag, That bears a crimson square.[43]

Another Richmond publication, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, published "The Southern Cross" by St. George Tucker in March 1861. The song would later be published by George Dunn and Company in 1863.[44] The song, which also appeared as a one page broadside, discussed how the "Southern Cross" represented peace and hope to all citizens of the Confederacy, not just those in a particular state. The "Southern Cross" was deemed to be the flag of the South, not just the flag of citizens in Georgia or Louisiana. As a result, this song characterized the flag as a unifying symbol that united members of the Southern Confederacy. In the song, the flag was the symbol of peace for Confederate states from the Gulf of Mexico to the Delaware border. "The Southern Cross" also depicted the flag as the rallying point in the Confederate struggle for independence. The lyrics said:

'Tis the emblem of peace, 'tis the day-star of hope;

Like the sacred Labarum, which guided the Roman,

From the shores of the Gulf to the Delaware's slope,

'Tis the trust of the free and the terror of foeman-

Fling its folds to the air, while we boldly declare,

The rights we demand, or the deeds that we dare;

And the Cross of the South shall forever remain,

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[43] *Richmond Enquirer*, "The Signal Flag," November 18, 1862.

[44] Harwell, 64. Confederate music historian Richard B. Harwell said the reason *The Southern Cross* was not printed with music until 1863 had to do with the fact that nearly every southerner would have known "The Star Spangled Banner."

To light us to Freedom and Glory again.[45]

"A New Red, White, and Blue," composed by General Jeff Thompson, appeared in the *Daily Picayune* on Sunday, February 9, 1862. The second stanza stated, similar to the song "Confederate Flag Red, White and Blue," there was a new red, white and blue flag floating over the southern nation. Thompson wrote how the flag would float over the land of the "faithful and true."[46] The *Daily Picayune* also published the "Confederate Song" on September 1, 1861. The flag here is seen as a symbol around which soldiers could gather and unite as one to fight for the common cause of southern independence. Men are asked to "rally 'round your country's flag,..come from every vale and crag,…" to fight for the cause of liberty.[47]

The *Savannah Daily Republican* published the song, "The New Confederate Flag" by C. E. LA Hatt. The song's lyrics indicated the flag represented not only the men and women who lived in the Confederacy, but the men who died on the battlefield defending it as well. The first stanza referenced Francis S. Bartow, a native of Savannah, Georgia who was mortally wounded during the Battle of First Manassas in 1861. The first stanza began:

I see it floating o'ver the plain,
Where brave Pulaski fell,
Where gallant Bartow mouldering lies
Within his narrow cell;

Furthermore, the Confederate flag is also connected to the ideals of "freedom and right," two words citizens in the South during the Civil War used to define their cause and explain why they

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[45] *The Jack Morgan Songster*, 4. See also the *Southern Literary Messenger* 32, no. 3 (March 1861), 189 and Dr. H. M. Wharton, *War Songs and Poems of the Southern Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1904), 83.

[46] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, February 9, 1862.

[47] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "Confederate Song," September 1, 1861.

chose to separate from the Union and form an independent southern government. The cause of "freedom and right" connected the citizens of the South and spurred them to defend the Confederate States of America. Part of the fourth stanza said:

> It is not raised on battle field
>
> For conquest or for might,
>
> But we have thrown it to the breeze
>
> For Freedom and for Right.[48]

George Washington Hall, a member of the Fourteenth Georgia Volunteers, copied a few patriotic songs into his diary. "The Flag of Virginia," discussed the flag of a particular state that was in the Confederacy, not the "Stars and Bars," the national flag of the Confederate nation in 1862. "The Flag of Virginia" mentioned how the state flag would prevail, in spite of the "fanatics" who attacked the rights of Virginia citizens. One could broaden this sentiment and apply it to the Confederacy and say the "fanatics" who attacked the rights of Confederates were doomed to fail. Even though the song focused on one particular state, it was the song's message which could be applied to the entire Confederacy. The song's fifth stanza proclaimed:

> Fanatics may our rights assail
>
> But, with true hearts, and brave
>
> Our enemies we will drive back
>
> And still our flag shall wave.[49]

In addition to the songs which trumpeted the connections which existed between Confederates, local farewell ceremonies for soldiers used the flag to stress the bond between individuals in different locations.

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[48] *Savannah Daily Republican*, "The New Confederate Flag," April 4, 1864.

[49] George Washington Hall, June 5, 1862, 19, George Washington Hall Diary, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

As southern men prepared to head off to fight the war, farewell ceremonies in their home towns almost always included the presentation of a flag to the unit from a group of women grateful for their service on behalf of their new country. These flag presentation ceremonies defied state boundaries and occurred in Georgia, as well as Louisiana, and Virginia. On July 2, 1861 the Brown Rifles of Georgia received a flag made by the ladies of Eatonton, Georgia. The group's spokesperson, W. W. Turner, said words failed him when he tried to express the thoughts that went through his head as he watched "that glorious emblem of Southern Nationality, floating proudly in the breeze." Turner ended his speech with a vow to "march under it [the flag], rally round it, fight for it, aye, and if necessary, die for it…"[50] For Turner, the flag represented something greater than silk and ribbon. It represented his southern heritage and the new nation he fought to protect.

Meanwhile in Fauquier County, Virginia "the beautiful flag bearing eleven stars of the Southern Confederacy" was presented by Mr. Calvert to Captain Carter. During the ceremony, Captain Carter thanked the ladies for the flag they made and gave to his regiment.[51] The same scene happened in the Garden district of New Orleans on July 7, 1861. Miss Mary Paul, who represented the ladies from the Fourth district, presented the Lafayette Guards with "this stand of colors-the stars and bars of our dear Southern Confederacy."[52]

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[50] *Atlanta Southern Recorder*, "Flag Ceremonies," July 2, 1861.

[51] Amanda Virginia Chappelear, May 23, 1861, Amanda Virginia (Edmonds) Chappelear Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[52] *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, "Flag Presentation," July 7, 1861. Not only did Confederate troops receive flags sewn by southern women, one regiment received a flag from the ladies of Matanels, Cuba. An acknowledgement from Colonel Wade Hampton appeared in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* on March 22, 1862. For Hampton, Colonel of the Legion, the flag in this instance represented the fact that the struggle for southern independence garnered international attention. It should also be noted that during this time slavery was legal in Cuba, which may explain why some ladies from Matanels, Cuba felt compelled to show their support for a slaveholding nation.

Even though these individuals came from different backgrounds and different regions of the country, the flag represented the Confederate States of America and the country's hope for independence from the United States. These flag presentation ceremonies were one way southern women could show their patriotism. Women could not serve in military units but they could sew flags for their states' troops, and attend a presentation ceremony, thus publicly showing their support for the cause of southern independence. The flag further advanced this image of an "imagined community" because while men might be waving the Confederate flag on the field of battle to rally the troops, women could also be waving the same flag at home to express their patriotic sentiments. Women realized early that displaying the flag was an act of patriotism that conveyed allegiance to the Confederate States of America.

Cornelia Peake McDonald, a resident of Winchester, Virginia, mentioned in her diary how she celebrated the Fourth of July in 1862 by placing a Confederate flag on her tea table.[53] Meanwhile, Louisiana native Sarah Morgan declared she spent all of her red, white and blue silk on the manufacture of Confederate flags. The presence of Union troops in New Orleans did not limit Morgan's effort in flag manufacturing. As she stated, "as soon as one is confiscated, I make another, until my ribbon is exhausted, when I will sport a duster emblazoned in high colors, "Hurrah, for the Bonny blue flag!" Morgan vowed to continue to wear the flag pinned to her bosom and said the first man who attempted to remove it would discover that she kept a pistol in her pocket.[54] And New Orleans native Clara Solomon recounted in her diary how her sister, Alice, suggested that she affix a Confederate flag to the gas fixtures in their house. Solomon warned if her city of New Orleans was ever invaded by the Union Army, the "tragedy

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[53] Gwin, 66.

[54] Charles East, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Sarah Morgan* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), 64-65.

of the Marshall House" would be re-enacted should any Union soldier attempt to remove her Confederate flag.[55]

Women also used the Confederate flag to publicly display their patriotism by making flags for mass consumption. In 1862, the *Daily Picayune* advertised the Confederate battle flag could be ordered, along with the various state flags. However, if someone wanted to order the flag of the "defunct Uncle Sam" she/he would be out of luck because this flag could not be purchased. The paper said these flags, made by Madam A.E. Aber, were affordable.[56] Now, the Confederate battle flag would not just be used by Army units on the field of battle. Women and men on the home front now had the opportunity, because of the sewing talents of Madam Aber, to purchase a flag for personal use and show their support for the Confederate cause.

While the flag continued to denote unity and was the symbol individuals used to express their patriotism, for those men and women in towns and cities occupied by the Union, the Confederate flag began to symbolize resistance, defiance and their continued support of the Confederate cause. In Union occupied areas, the display of the Confederate flag was prohibited because it was considered a treasonous symbol. Augusta, Georgia resident Leila Elliott Habersham pasted an article in her scrapbook entitled "Further from New Orleans." The piece informed its readers that the Union Army lowered the Confederate and state flags in New Orleans and replaced them with the United States banner after Union occupation of the city in

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[55] Clara Solomon, July 7, 1861, 92, Clara Solomon Diaries, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The "Marshall House tragedy" Solomon referred to occurred in Alexandria, Virginia on May 24, 1861. Union Colonel Elmer Ellsworth entered the Marshall House to remove a Confederate flag. After he successfully removed the flag, Ellsworth was killed by James Jackson, the owner of the Marshall House. Jackson was then shot dead by Union soldiers. Although Solomon does not specifically state what she meant, one can reasonably infer Solomon was willing to either kill the first Union soldier who attempted to remove her Confederate flags or she was willing to give her life in defense of her country's flag, as James Jackson did in 1861.

[56] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "The New Battle Flag," January 22, 1862.

April 1862.[57] In Norfolk, another city that fell to the Union in 1862, the military governor expressly forbid meetings for the purpose of discussing politics, as well as the "exhibition of badges and flags indicative of disloyal sentiments…"[58] Union occupation of New Orleans did not stop the men and women of this city from appropriating the flag to express their continued dedication to the Confederate cause and their hostility toward the North.

In a column titled "Doings in New Orleans," the *Richmond Enquirer* reported that young ladies who attended a private seminary run by Mademoiselle Cocqust on Camp Street drew secession flags in their copy books. When confronted by authorities with this evidence, Cocqust stated "it was none of her concern, that she did not teach politics or interfere with the political sentiments" of her students. Cocqust was ordered to pay a fine of $200.[59] In addition to Cocqust, New Orleans resident A. Jacques received a fine of sixty-five days in the Parish prison for causing a disturbance, just because he expressed his patriotism in the Union occupied city by singing a rousing rendition of the "Bonnie Blue Flag."[60]

Sarah Morgan wrote about her disgust in seeing the American flag flying over government buildings in New Orleans. One day after seeing the American flag flying in the breeze, Morgan returned home and made a five inch Confederate flag which she pinned to her shoulder and showed off by walking around the city.[61] It is telling that when Morgan chose to

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[57] Leila Habersham, Leila Habersham Scrapbook, Georgia Historical Society. In New Orleans, General Benjamin Butler, commander of Union forces, issued a proclamation prohibiting newspapers in the city from publishing any article whose purpose was to turn the people against the United States government. Any New Orleans newspaper judged by Butler to be in violation of this order would be shut down.

[58] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Despotism in Norfolk," July 4, 1862. The military governor was Brigadier General E. L. Vicle.

[59] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Doings in New Orleans," June 5, 1863.

[60] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "Latest News through Southern Sources," January 3, 1863.

[61] East, 67.

publicly express her support of the Confederacy, she decided to use the symbol of the flag to make her statement. At least in Morgan's mind, it appeared that the flag had become synonymous with the expression of support for the Confederacy and resistance to Union authority.[62]

New Orleans resident Charles Mumford, along with a group of men and women, witnessed the Confederate flag being taken down from the Custom House on Canal Street and replaced with the United States flag. On April 24, Mumford responded by immediately ripping down the flag of the United States from the Custom House. Mumford would eventually be executed for this crime. In response to the hanging of Mumford, the *Franklin Banner* printed a message from Governor Moore to the people of Louisiana. Moore mentioned how Mumford "pulled down the detested symbol [the flag] with his own hands" and instead of swearing allegiance to the Union, Mumford, "inspired by fervid patriotism," went to his death courageously.[63]

The association of the Confederate flag as a symbol of Confederate nationalism was also evident in a text directed at children in the South. *For the Little Ones*, published by an anonymous woman in Savannah, contained "Willie's Political Alphabet." In a catchy rhyme that children would be able to easily learn and comprehend, the "political alphabet" equated different letters of the alphabet with symbols of the Confederacy. For example, the letter "A" stood for the Army, the letter "C" for the "Southern Confederacy" and the letter "B" stood for the

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[62] According to the *Columbus Times*, a little girl from Savannah also planned to use the Confederate flag as a symbol of resistance. She feared her hometown would be attacked by the Union so she made a Confederate flag "for the express purpose of waving it saucily in their [the Union] faces as they landed." See H.W. R. Jackson's *The Southern Women of the Second American Revolution* (Atlanta: Intelligencer Steam Power Press, 1863), 12, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

[63] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Message of Governor Moore, of Louisiana," August 26, 1862.

"Banner, the "flag of the free, For Beauregard, Barton, Bethel and Bee!"[64] All of these different letters, in being linked to an independent Confederate States of America, taught the children and others who bought the book, exactly which symbols and images held significance for the Confederacy.

Children who read this book knew that the flag or "banner" represented to the southern people freedom from the tyranny of the North and the four men associated with the letter "B" physically represented the Confederate quest for freedom on the battlefield. Francis S. Bartow and Bernard E. Bee lost their lives during the battle of First Manassas in July 1861 to advance the Confederate pursuit of freedom. Bethel referred not to an individual but to a battle. The battle of Bethel was the first skirmish between Union and Confederate forces on land in the state of Virginia in 1861. The Confederacy won this battle, putting them one step closer to attaining their ultimate goal. General Beauregard gained respect and perpetual fame for his firing on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor in April 1861 and for his victory over the Union at the battle of First Manassas.

The Confederate flag reinforced Confederate nationalism during the American Civil War. The flag was the physical manifestation of the five themes of Confederate nationalism and emphasized the common interests which existed between all members of the Confederate States of America, regardless of their geographic location. As a result, the flag became a symbol that united Confederate citizens in Georgia, with their counterparts in Louisiana and Virginia. From the flag presentation ceremonies which took place in Eatonton, Georgia, New Orleans, Louisiana and Fauquier County, Virginia to the proliferation of songs about the Confederate flag, the flag

[64] *For the Little Ones: Dedicated to the Little Girls and Boys of the Southern Confederacy, By a Lady of Savannah* (Savannah: John M. Cooper and Co., 1863), 32, Virginia Historical Society.

represented unity among Confederates and stressed their commonalities instead of their differences.

The number of music publishers in the South, along with their numerous distribution networks, enabled people in different regions of the Confederacy to be exposed to the same imagery that portrayed the Confederate flag as a symbol of unity. The men and women who wrote, published, and sang songs that highlighted the importance of the Confederate flag helped make the flag a symbol of southern unity and a rallying point for Confederate independence. Songs like "The Bonnie Blue Flag" depicted southerners as a band of brothers united in the fight for liberty. This song noted how South Carolina made the first stand against northern tyranny and was soon joined by the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Florida who, regardless of their geographic location, depicted "The Bonnie Blue Flag" as a symbol all Confederate united around.

During the Civil War, there were also broadsides and Confederate songsters produced which included songs which reinforced the image of the South as a region of people with similar interests. Broadsides such as "The Confederate Flag Red, White & Blue" contained lyrics designed to connect citizens in different regions of the country together as one by stressing the battle field victory at Big Bethel, a victory all true Confederates would have taken pride in. "Our Starry Cross" which appeared in the *Cavalier Songster* also stressed the bonds that tied Confederate citizens together, in spite of their diverse backgrounds. In this song, as in "The Confederate Flag Red, White & Blue," the Confederate flag connected citizens from Texas to Virginia under the banner of the flag.

In addition to songs, newspapers reinforced the commonalities between Confederate citizens by publishing patriotic songs. In Richmond, the *Southern Literary Messenger* published

the song, “The Southern Cross” in the spring of 1861 and in New Orleans, the *Daily Picayune* published “A New Red, White and Blue” in the winter of 1862. Subscribers of the *Savannah Daily Republican* would have noticed “The New Confederate Flag” in an April 1864 edition of the paper. Even though these songs ended up being published in different regions of the Confederacy, they each emphasized a common theme. Confederate citizens were connected by the Confederate flag and the flag represented the similarities which existed between citizens of the nation, regardless of whether they lived in New Orleans, Louisiana, Richmond, Virginia or Savannah, Georgia. Additionally, newspapers such as the *Daily Picayune* in New Orleans and the *Daily Dispatch* in Richmond also announced performances by musicians like Harry Macarthy where patriotic tunes like “The Bonnie Blue Flag” and “The Stars and Bars,” discussed the common purpose and the Confederate flag which bonded all southerners together.

After the occupation of New Orleans by Union forces in April 1862, while the Confederate flag was still seen as a symbol of Confederate nationalism, the flag also became a symbol of resistance and defiance. For residents of New Orleans, the display of the Confederate flag enabled them to show their continued patriotism and support for the Confederate cause, even though Union occupation meant they were virtually cut off from the rest of their nation. For these men and women, the Confederate flag represented the solidarity that existed between the inhabitants of New Orleans and the rest of the Confederacy.

The students of Mademoiselle Cocqust drew secession flags in their copy books, A. Jacques performed a spirited rendition of the “Bonnie Blue Flag,” and Sarah Morgan chose to wander the streets of occupied New Orleans with a Confederate flag pinned to her shoulder, virtually daring any Union soldier to remove it. These individuals wanted it to be known that even though they no longer lived in Confederate held territory, they still identified themselves as

Confederate citizens and supported the cause. Men and especially women in Union occupied territory used the flag to make this point. Women in the Confederacy also used the flag to illustrate their support for the nation, as evidenced by their participation in flag presentation ceremonies and the creation of songs which highlighted the connection between all citizens of the Confederacy.

While the Confederate flag and the music the flag generated were vehicles to highlight the common interests that existed among members of the Confederacy, there were still some perceived threats to Confederate nationalism. One of these potential threats involved free people of color who lived in the Confederate States of America while the other perceived threat were Jews who called the Confederacy their home. Did the presence of free African American and Jewish communities within the states of Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia undermine Confederate nationalism?

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SECTION III

PERCEIVED THREATS TO CONFEDERATE NATIONALISM

INTRODUCTION

Free African Americans defied the third, and in some cases, the fourth theme of Confederate nationalism, slavery and white supremacy, which deemed slavery and subordination to whites as the natural position of all people of African descent. As a result, all free people of color who lived in the Confederacy faced a hostile environment. While the state of Virginia had the largest free African American population of any state in the entire Confederacy, there was a large free African American population in the Louisiana parish of New Orleans. Some free people of color from this parish managed to achieve levels of economic prosperity that surpassed some of the white inhabitants of the state. In comparison, Georgia's free black community was considerably smaller. Did the presence of free African American communities undermine or sustain Confederate nationalism? Did these individuals adopt the Confederate cause as their own and willingly labor on behalf of their new nation or did white officials in some locations force free African Americans to support the war effort?

While free people of color and Jews were both viewed with suspicion by whites in the Confederate states, there was one large fundamental difference between them. Jews, even though they were a religious minority in the Civil War South, were still white and as a result of the fourth theme of Confederate nationalism, white supremacy, were placed in a position of authority over all people of African descent. As was discussed in the previous chapter on religion, one constant message of Civil War sermons in Confederate Georgia, Virginia, and Louisiana discussed how all whites were responsible for the protection of the enslaved African American race. Yet, the loyalty of Jews to the Confederate war effort was constantly in question. Was there any reason to question the dedication of Jews to the Confederate cause? Did this group of individuals sustain Confederate nationalism with their actions or did their

presence, as some argued, undermine Confederate nationalism during the war? The next two chapters will address and answer these questions about free African Americans and Jews in the Confederate states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia.

CHAPTER 6

AFRICAN AMERICANS: COERCED PATRIOTS OR SOUTHERN RIGHTS PROPONENTS

"A Notice to Free Negroes of the City of Richmond." This was the headline that appeared in the January 1, 1862 edition of the *Richmond Dispatch.* The article that followed demanded free African Americans come to City Hall to do their duty in the service of the Confederacy. If they failed to do so, free blacks would be punished as the law allowed.[1] Two years later, Louisiana Governor Henry W. Allen, delivered a speech to a legislative session in Shreveport. Allen acknowledged the contributions of free people of color to the Confederate war effort and said many were "good and loyal citizens in every respect" who had "suffered heavily in this war." The governor then said the "legal and constitutional rights of free people needed to be protected" but free people of color also had to "bear the burthens of this war equally with our fellow-citizens." Governor Allen then suggested that every free black male between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five "be enrolled and held subject to the orders of the Executive, to be employed by the State in shops and manufacturing establishments…"[2]

These two examples show that at times and in different locales, whites regarded free African Americans as not contributing enough to the war effort. As a result, whites coerced free blacks in the Confederacy to support the Confederate war effort. The threat mentioned in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* was abundantly clear. Free African Americans in Virginia would be expected to volunteer their services to the state or face punishment. The fact that the article

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[1] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "A Notice to free Negroes of the city of Richmond," January 1, 1862. The Richmond City Council allowed Mayor Joseph Mayo to impress free African Americans to work on behalf of the state and the Confederacy. Mayo told free African Americans in Richmond that they and white citizens both had an obligation to their country. See Ernest B. Ferguson, *Ashes of Glory: Richmond at War* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1996), 69.

[2] *Message of Governor Henry W. Allen, to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, Delivered at Shreveport, 1864*, Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

never stated clearly what the punishment entailed may have had the effect of producing fear in the free black population.

However, the coercion of free blacks by white Confederates is not the entire story. As Governor Allen alluded to, there were free people of color who supported the Confederacy and proved themselves to be "good and loyal citizens." For example, James C. Muschett, a free black man, owned a store in Quantico Mills, Virginia that furnished food, clothing, and blacksmithing services to the Confederacy. He was later imprisoned during the war as a Confederate loyalist.[3] In Milledgeville, Georgia, a free black man named Wilkes Flagg donated twenty six dollars to a local military company. Flagg received praise from a local newspaper editor for his donation.[4] These are two examples of free black men who sustained the Confederate cause with their actions. As the stories of Muschett and Flagg illustrate, there is the possibility these two black men voluntarily aided the Confederacy.

In light of the fact that free and enslaved African Americans in the Confederacy lived in a racially hostile environment, where slavery and white supremacy were two of the themes of Confederate nationalism, the question then becomes how did this racially hostile environment influence the decision of African Americans to contribute to the state and Confederate war efforts? Did these individuals do so because they wanted to support their home state and their new nation or did free and enslaved African Americans support the Confederacy, thereby sustaining Confederate nationalism, because they feared possible retaliation if they did nothing? Were free people of color coerced into showing support for the Confederacy or did they willingly align themselves with the southern nation? Furthermore, did the presence of free

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[3] Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 213-226.

[4] Clarence L. Mohr, "Georgia's Blacks during Secession and Civil War, 1859-1865" (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 1975), 87.

people of color undermine Confederate nationalism? The stories of James C. Muschett and Wilkes Flagg, the article that appeared in the *Daily Dispatch*, and the address of Governor Henry Allen illustrate the possibility that for free African Americans in Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia, coercion and volunteerism may have existed side by side during the war.

It is important to make the distinction that not all coercion was overt. Some forms of coercion may have been less explicit. Examples of explicit coercion included notices in the newspapers about the future impressments of free blacks in support of the state, as well as legislation enacted by the Confederate government that drafted free black men to labor on behalf of the Confederacy by working on fortifications. In no uncertain terms, explicit coercion forced free blacks to labor in support of their state and by association in support of the Confederacy. Examples of implicit coercion included newspaper articles that attacked the free black population or government speeches and policies that left no doubt about the precarious position free people of color occupied in the Civil War South. Faced with the perceptions that many southern whites held about them, some free blacks may have felt there was no other alternative but to support the state and the Confederate war efforts, in the hope it would offer them a measure of protection in the future.

While coercion explains why some free African Americans in Virginia and Georgia supported the South's war effort, the same cannot be said of free people of color in Louisiana. The statement of Governor Henry Allen is telling. While Allen was in favor of forcing all black men of a certain age to labor on behalf of the state, he also favored protecting the legal and constitutional rights of free people of color. Allen's statement illustrates that some white Louisiana citizens viewed free people of color differently than their counterparts in Confederate Georgia and Virginia. In Louisiana, the economic status achieved by many free blacks led them

to willingly align themselves with the white population and hence, the state's war effort since some free people of color believed they had more in common with the white population and stood to lose the most if the Confederacy lost the war. African American exceptionalism existed in Louisiana, not Virginia or Georgia. Free people of color in Louisiana, through their actions and deeds, showed their allegiance to the state and the Confederacy during the war and helped to maintain Confederate nationalism.

It is certainly possible that some free blacks supported the Confederacy, not because they necessarily supported the institution of slavery and a southern social system that deemed all African Americans to be inferior, but because they felt a personal connection to their home state. Individuals from a particular state, regardless of color, had more connections and more interactions with their state and local governments. Therefore, it is a distinct possibility that free people of color supported the Confederacy out of loyalty to their state. However, the way free African Americans showed their support for the Confederacy was continually challenged and defined by white southerners. This was certainly the case in Louisiana.

In the states of Georgia and Virginia, white officials coerced free blacks to volunteer for work that supported the state and the Confederate war effort. The examples of coercion were more apparent in Virginia than in Georgia since there were more free African Americans in Virginia than in Georgia.[5] Since coercion defined the experience of some free blacks in Georgia and Virginia, while volunteerism on behalf of their state and the southern nation characterized the lives of some free people of color in Louisiana, these differences at the state level illustrate the position free African Americans occupied within the Confederacy was not static and varied by geographic region.

[5] There were 59,000 free blacks in Virginia while only 3, 500 free African Americans lived in Georgia. See 1860 census, University of Virginia Library Historical Browser, http://www.fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus.

The difficulty in determining whether African Americans willingly supported the Confederacy or were coerced into doing so is based on the number of available sources. The feelings of free and enslaved African Americans toward the Confederacy cannot be ascertained merely by an examination of letters and diaries, since these individuals rarely left written correspondence and whites seldom thought about the personal thoughts and motivations of African Americans. Instead, broadsheets, newspapers, sheet music, song lyrics, sermons, and speeches yet again offer a glimpse into how white southerners attempted to define the place of African Americans within the Confederacy and how free people of color, especially in Louisiana, were able to interject their voices into the debate at the state level and define for themselves the position free people of color would occupy in their home state.

Some previous scholars who examined the topic of Confederate nationalism left African Americans completely out of the narrative. Paul Escott examined the subject of Confederate nationalism from the viewpoint of elite white southern males while Gary Gallagher discussed the importance of Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia in his account of Confederate identity. Even though historian Drew Faust mentioned the centrality of slavery to the creation of a distinct Confederate identity, African Americans in her work do not appear as individuals who may have made a conscious choice to support the Confederacy.[6] African Americans in Faust's work lack a sense of agency. Other works that focused on African Americans in the South

[6] See Paul Escott's *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), Gary Gallagher's *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), and Drew Faust's *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

examined the military contributions of blacks to the Union, as well as to the Confederate war effort.[7]

Historians such as Ervin L. Jordan Jr. and Donald G. Nieman placed free and enslaved African Americans back into the narrative about Confederate nationalism by illustrating that there were free blacks who supported the Confederacy through their actions. Jordan also expressed the belief in his work that the influence of African Americans shaped the Confederacy's existence.[8] In *Confederate Emancipation: Southern Plans to Free and Arm Slaves during the Civil War*, Bruce Levine agrees with Ervin L. Jordan, Jr, that African Americans performed essential tasks which aided the Confederate war effort. According to Levine these tasks included making horseshoes, guns and ammunition, maintaining roads, canals and railroads, loading and unloading military cargoes, building and maintaining fortifications and serving as stretcher bearers, hospital attendants and nurses.[9]

Historian Cary H. Latimore agrees with Jordan and Nieman that free blacks performed tasks which supported the war effort, but said their work on Confederate operations did not necessarily mean they supported the Confederate cause. Latimore believes as the war progressed, it became more difficult for free blacks to earn a living and free African American men worked on Confederate fortifications as a way to earn money to provide for themselves and

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[7] Some of the works that discuss the contributions of blacks to the Confederate war effort are J.H. Segars and Charles Kelly Barrow, eds., *Black Southerners in Confederate Armies* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing, 2001), Arthur W. Bergeron and Richard Rollins, eds., *Black Southerners in Gray: Essays on Afro-Americans in Confederate Armies* (Rank and File Publishers, 1997), and Charles K. Barrow, R.B. Rosenburg, and J.H. Segars, eds., *Forgotten Confederates: An Anthology About Black Southerners, Vol. 14* (Murfreesboro: Southern Heritage Press, 1997).

[8] See Jordan, 1 and Donald G. Nieman, ed., *The Day of Jubilee: The Civil War Experience of Black Southerners*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994).

[9] Bruce Levine, *Confederate Emancipation: Southern Plans to Free and Arm Slaves during the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 62-63.

their families. For Latimore, necessity combined with self-preservation led free African Americans to support the Confederacy.[10]

Historian A. Wilson Greene viewed the actions of free blacks from the city of Petersburg who supported the Confederacy as an attempt to make white southerners believe they were not a threat to the status quo and would not incite slaves to rebel against their owners. Greene mentioned how the free black community of Petersburg supported the city's Confederate soldiers out of fear, as well as genuine loyalty to their region.[11] Ervin L. Jordan, Jr. would define these free blacks from the city of Petersburg and other African American supporters of the Confederacy as Afro-Confederates, yet this is not how southerners at the time would have characterized these men and women.[12] In light of the cause they ultimately supported, free and enslaved African Americans who supported the Confederacy would have been identified as "Southern Rights" African Americans.

Southerners who supported the Confederate war effort used the phrase, "Southern Rights," to describe what they fought for during the war and as a result, the term "Southern Rights" appeared in numerous sources from the Civil War era. The term could also be applied to individuals who supported the goal of Confederate independence. The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* mentioned the term "Southern Rights" in an article titled "Confidence in the Confederacy." The essay mentioned wealthy men who purchased Confederate bonds and discussed how true "Southern Rights men" showed their faith in the cause through their actions.[13]

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[10] Carey H. Latimore IV, "Always a Minority: Richmond Area Free Blacks in the Civil War Era" (PhD diss., Emory University, 2005), 104.

[11] A. Wilson Greene, *Civil War Petersburg: Confederate City in the Crucible of War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 65-67.

[12] Jordan, 216.

[13] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Confidence in the Confederacy," August 5, 1861.

In addition to newspapers, several songs of the period adopted the phrase "Southern Rights" to define what was at stake for southerners during the war. The *Hopkins' New-Orleans 5 Cent Song-Book* contained the "Volunteer Mess Song." The opening line of the third stanza proclaimed southerners fought for the cause of "Southern Rights."[14] A song that became an emblem of the Confederacy, "The Bonnie Blue Flag," referenced the expression "Southern Rights." In the chorus, southerners sang "Hurrah! Hurrah! For Southern rights, hurrah!"[15] Meanwhile, "The Southern Girl's Song" highlighted the sacrifices of women who supported the Confederacy. The woman in the song discussed her plain homespun dress and her palmetto hat and said these two items illustrated "what Southern girls for Southern rights will do."[16] Additionally, southern men and women, both before and during the war, appropriated the term "Southern Rights" in their diaries and speeches.

In a diary entry from January 23, 1863, Louisiana resident Sarah Morgan lamented the loss of her home and all of its contents in defense of "Southern Rights." Later in the same entry, Morgan articulated some of the key concepts that defined her as a supporter of the Confederate States of America. Morgan said she called herself a rebel, sang the song "Dixie," prayed that God would support the cause, and "shouted [for] Southern Rights."[17] Before the war, Congressman Robert Barnwell Rhett of Georgia spoke in support of "Southern Rights" on the floor of Congress. In this instance, Rhett defined "Southern Rights" as the ability of southerners

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[14] *Hopkins' New-Orleans 5 Cent Song-Book*, (New Orleans: John Hopkins printer, 1861), 3, Virginia Historical Society.

[15] "The Bonnie Blue Flag," (New Orleans.: A. E. Blackmar, 1861), Manuscript Division, Tulane University. The song "The Signal Flag," that appeared in *The New Confederate Flag Song Book*, also used the phrase "Southern rights" in exactly the same way as "The Bonnie Blue Flag" did in its chorus. See *The New Confederate Flag Song Book, No.1*, (Richmond, Va.: A. Harris Bookseller and Publisher, 1864), 30, Virginia Historical Society.

[16] *The New Confederate Flag Song Book, No.1*, 53.

[17] Charles East, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Sarah Morgan* (Athens.: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 411.

to take their slaves anywhere within the United States, including new territories.[18] A person who identified themselves as a supporter of "Southern Rights" was a true Confederate patriot. By declaring oneself to be a "Southern Rights" man or woman, it allowed the individual to express their patriotism.

Therefore, a "Southern Rights" African American could be a free or enslaved person of African descent who appeared to support southern independence through their actions or deeds, appeared to respect the peculiar institution of slavery, supposedly knew their place within Confederate society, and perhaps, more importantly, did not pose a threat to the southern way of life. The presence of the "Southern Rights" African American combated the image among white southerners that blacks did not support the Confederate war effort for southern independence. By appearing in the discussions as "Southern Rights" African Americans, these individuals defined themselves as true patriots whose loyalty was not in question.

Just as Jennifer Ann Stohlman argued Jewish women during the Civil War became "Jewish Ambassadors" to combat anti-Semitism, free blacks who supported the Confederacy and were seen as "Southern Rights" African Americans also became goodwill ambassadors in the hope that once the Confederacy achieved their independence, the sacrifices free people of color made on behalf of the cause would be recognized and rewarded.[19] Evidence will illustrate that "Southern Rights" African Americans who through their actions appeared to support the state, and by extension the Confederate States of America, also established themselves as "practical

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[18] John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1979), 69.

[19] In "Building up a House of Israel in a land of Christ: Jewish women in the Antebellum and Civil War South," Jennifer Stollman argues that amid growing anti-Semitism, Jewish women became involved in a number of wartime activities in order to prove their loyalty to the Confederate cause while at the same time, combating the rising cries against Jews in the Confederacy. See Jennifer Stollman, "Building up a house of Israel in a land of Christ: Jewish women in the Antebellum and Civil War South" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2001), 344-357.

patriots." Practical patriots demonstrated their loyalty to their home state, and by extension the Confederacy, in ways that provided immediate benefit to the nation and/or the people who resided in the state. African Americans in the Confederacy established themselves as "practical patriots" who supported "Southern Rights" by volunteering for military service and contributing financially to the Confederate cause. In Virginia, there were examples of free African Americans who became "practical patriots" and "Southern Rights" proponents.

The majority of free, as well as enslaved, African Americans in Virginia lived in the Tidewater region. According to the 1860 census, there were 351,000 free blacks in the Confederate South and 59,000 of these free people of color lived in Virginia. These numbers meant Virginia had more free people of color than any other slaveholding state, except for Maryland which had 84,000 free African Americans at the beginning of the Civil War. And eighty-three percent of the free African American population of Virginia lived in the cities of Alexandria, Farmville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Petersburg, Portsmouth, Richmond, Manchester, and Winchester.[20]

In Richmond, there is evidence that some free African Americans supported the Confederacy. The *Richmond Examiner* heralded the contributions of two free black men, Benjamin Judah and Lomax B. Smith, because they had "enough patriotism to come forward and offer their services to aid the Commonwealth…" Judah established his patriotic devotion for the Confederacy by giving his life for the cause. A year after the end of the war, Judah's widow, Judith, sent a wreath to Richmond in honor of her husband, whom she described as a "Colored Southern Soldier" who had fallen on the field of battle" as a member of the Richmond Light

[20] Jordan, 7-9, 201.

Infantry Blues.[21] Outside the city of Richmond, there were other examples of free blacks who sustained Confederate nationalism with their actions. In Charlottesville, free blacks petitioned the city council to allow them to serve as military volunteers. And a free black farmer in Fairfax County sold a portion of his farm and donated the proceeds to the state of Virginia.[22]

These African Americans demonstrated their loyalty to the state of Virginia in practical ways. What motivated these people to appear in the historical record as "Southern Rights" African Americans cannot be determined conclusively. The motivations of these individuals died with them. However, based on the landscape of the state of Virginia,[23] it is most likely that these individuals supported the Confederacy because they were implicitly or explicitly coerced into doing so. In the state of Virginia, whites used legislation to coerce free African Americans to sustain Confederate nationalism. In 1863, Virginia Governor John Letcher publicly stated his support in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* for a law that would force all free African Americans who lived in parts of the state "over run by the enemy to be removed and put to work upon the fortification." Supposedly, if this new law took effect, the services of free blacks would only be required until the danger was over, at which time they would be permitted to return home.[24]

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[21] Latimore, 105-106. Latimore also mentioned the contributions of free African American Ruben West to the Confederate cause. West, one of the most affluent free black men in the city of Richmond, owned $12,000 in real estate and $20,000 in personal property. He was also a member of the local white militia prior to the Civil War. Benjamin Judah served as a musician in the Richmond Light Infantry Blues.

[22] Jordan, 213, 219.

[23] Ervin L. Jordan, Jr. discusses the hostile environment free blacks faced in Virginia. Free African Americans were denied their civil liberties and were not permitted to learn and/or practice certain trades. In spite of the fact that free blacks in Virginia had no civil liberties, the state still required them to pay local and state taxes. If free African Americans failed to pay their taxes, they could be sold into slavery. In Portsmouth, the city sold one hundred free blacks for failure to pay their taxes. See Jordan, 158, 206. The example of free African American William Kennedy, a resident of Henrico County who worked as a mechanic, is evidence that the state required free black men to pay a black male tax. In 1863, Kennedy paid two dollars in taxes because he was a free black man. This amount was in addition to the tax amount he owed the county. See William Kennedy, William Kennedy Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

[24] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Free Negroes in the overrun counties," January 8, 1863.

In line with his beliefs, Letcher approved a request to employ free black laborers to work on fortifications around the city of Norfolk. Almost immediately, three hundred free African American men from the city of Petersburg volunteered for the job. City inhabitants recognized these men upon their departure from Petersburg when the ladies of the city presented them with a homemade flag. Charles Tinley, a twenty nine year old bricklayer and the group's spokesperson, discussed why free black men wanted to take part in the building of fortifications that would protect the city of Norfolk. Tinley said, "we are willing to aid Virginia's cause to the utmost extent of our ability…we do not feel that it is right for us to remain idle here, when white gentlemen are engaged in the performance of work at Norfolk…" It is important to note that Tinley mentioned the desire to aid Virginia's cause, not the Confederacy's. This signals that Tinley's first allegiance may have been to his home state of Virginia. Tinley also expressed pride and support of the Confederate cause when he said, "I could feel no greater pride, no more genuine gratification than to be able to plant [the Confederate flag] upon the ramparts of Fort Monroe.[25]

These words identified Tinley and his fellow workers as practical patriots since their work on fortifications was of immediate benefit to the Confederacy. Tinley's words also established these men as "Southern Rights" African Americans, regardless of whether or not they had been coerced into assuming this role. And even though it appeared Tinley and the men he represented willingly volunteered for service, there may have been a monetary motivation, mainly a paycheck. But perhaps Tinley and his cohorts and other seemingly willing volunteers were implicitly coerced to volunteer because of the hostile environment in Virginia. In addition to volunteering to work on fortifications, free blacks in Petersburg also showed their willingness to sustain Confederate nationalism when they gave a benefit concert in order to raise money for a

[25] Greene, 35-37, 65.

Petersburg company stationed in Norfolk. While it appeared free blacks like Charles Tinley and the residents of Petersburg willingly participated in activities which supported the state, there were also instances when the state of Virginia coerced free African Americans to support the Confederate war effort.[26]

Free African Americans who lived in the Confederate states during the war would have known the potential dangers that awaited them in an independent Confederacy if they did not show their devotion to the cause. During the four years the South fought for its independence, there can be no doubt the Confederacy was hostile to all African Americans and as a result, free African Americans were in constant jeopardy. The words from men who held prominent positions within the Confederate government support this assertion and illustrate the hostile environment all free people of color faced in the Confederate States of America.

Confederate Vice-President Alexander Stephens delivered his now famous "Corner-stone" speech in Savannah, Georgia on March 21, 1861. Stephens' speech highlighted the perilous conditions which surrounded free African Americans who resided in the Confederacy. In his discussion, Stephens declared that not only was slavery the "Corner-stone" of the new nation, but that the "negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery-subordination to the superior race-is his natural and moral condition." Later in his speech, Stephens said he thought the natural condition of the African race was a "great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."[27] It is important to note that in his speech, Stephens made no distinction between enslaved or free African Americans. Instead, he placed all African Americans into the same category and stated that the normal condition of the entire race was slavery. If the entire condition of the African

[26] In 1863, the state of Virginia impressed fifty free black women to collect food for animals in or near the city. See Greene, 124.

[27] *Atlanta Intelligencer*, March 24, 1861.

race was slavery, at some time in the future, there was the possibility that free African Americans in the South were in danger of one day being enslaved.

President Jefferson Davis' "Address to the People of the Free States," clearly showed free African Americans the potential dangers that awaited them in an independent Confederacy. Similar to Stephens, Davis said the natural condition of blacks was either "slavery or a complete subjection to the white man" and that one day in the immediate future slavery would be "naturally declared the proper condition of all of African descent…" Davis stated that all free blacks, taken by the Confederacy in any area where slavery did not exist, would be "reduced to the condition of helotism" to protect the normal conditions between the white and black races.[28]

This address by Davis illustrated exactly what free African Americans who lived in the Confederacy had to fear if the South won the war. He talked of enslaving free blacks from the North because he believed slavery to be their natural condition. Who is to say that Davis would not judge the normal condition of free blacks in the South to be the same as free blacks in the North? Free African Americans in the South might have believed the only way to protect their freedom, and their self-interests was by proving through their actions and deeds they were loyal to their home state and the Confederacy. These individuals, especially free people of color in Louisiana, may have believed the state would intervene on their behalf with the Confederate government and protect their economic and personal interests. This belief was not without foundation since one of the five themes of Confederate nationalism was states' rights.

During the war, free African Americans in Virginia had to confront the negative stereotypes whites held about them which probably contributed to the hostile environment free blacks faced. This, in turn, may have led some free blacks in Virginia to feel as if they had no

[28] Jefferson Davis, *An Address to the People of the Free States, By the President of the Southern Confederacy* (Richmond: Richmond Enquirer Print, 1863), Rare Book and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

choice but to volunteer their services for the state, in an attempt to affirm their loyalty. Historian Ervin L. Jordan, Jr. mentions in his work that as the war progressed and the burdens of war increased, white Virginians believed blacks were not doing their part to attain a southern victory.[29] This negative feeling white Virginian's held about free blacks was evident in the state's newspapers.

An editorial in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* characterized free African Americans as unworthy citizens who were a burden to society. The article "Free Negroes," depicted all free people of color as one entity and therefore, deemed them to be "worthless as citizens, though there are many honorable exceptions to their ranks." The editorial concluded by saying, "The bad, however, bring discredit on those entitled to credit, and therefore, for the most part, in the eyes of the people, to be a free negro is to be idle, trifling, and good for nothing."[30] Two years later, the *Daily Dispatch* continued to express frustration about free African Americans in the state and their supposed indifference to the war. Once again the paper used the disparaging terms "worthless" and "lazy" to refer to free blacks and articulated the opinion that there was "enough of this class…who could dig sufficient dirt to make Richmond as impregnable as Gibraltar." The article stated that in their present condition free blacks were "neither ornamental or useful" but that could change if Virginia impressed free black people to work on the building of fortifications and railroads for the state.[31] In addition to newspaper articles, which highlighted how whites negatively viewed the free African American community, there was also an

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[29] Jordan, 211.

[30] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 29, 1861.

[31] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "The free Negroes," November 3, 1863. Eight months after the official start of the war, an article from the December 16, 1861 edition of the paper indicated free blacks would be sold into slavery if they failed to pay their taxes. The *Daily Dispatch* could not resist the urge to disparage the free African American community and articulated the belief the condition of free blacks would be much improved if they ended up enslaved. See *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Free negroes," December 16, 1861.

ordinance passed by the city of Richmond which further illustrated that whites in Virginia viewed free blacks with suspicion.

In Richmond, a city ordinance passed in July 1863 restricted the ability of free blacks to enter into the capital for the purpose of conducting trade unless the individual displayed a certificate from a justice of the peace which testified to his/her loyalty to the Confederacy and the state. Any free African American who entered Richmond without a certificate of loyalty would be subject to arrest and punishment.[32] In the nineteenth century, free African Americans either lived in or near cities because there were more opportunities for employment here than in many rural areas. If the city prohibited African Americans who earned their living through trading to enter the city, it would not be unreasonable to assume that some free blacks simply obtained this certificate of loyalty for economic motivations in order to support their families and not out of loyalty to either the state of Virginia or the Confederacy. This state ordinance, which took effect on August 1, 1863, was a direct attempt to coerce free blacks into publicly announcing their loyalty for the cause. Another example of coercion occurred in the city of Petersburg on November 19, 1863 and was mentioned in the *Richmond Examiner*.

A free black man resisted a white impressment officer who told the free black man "that the Government was in need of his services." When the article described the free black man, it used the word "refractory" and thus labeled this man as stubborn and unmanageable, simply because he did not want to labor on behalf of the state of Virginia.[33] This implied that the individual in question was at fault, not the practice which forced free African Americans to labor on behalf of the state without their consent. It is also significant that the article did not say to

[32] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, July 13, 1863.

[33] *Richmond Examiner*, "A Negro Resisting an Impressing Officer," November 19, 1863.

this man that "his Government" needed him. Instead, the piece used language that established this free black man as not being a part of the Confederate state of Virginia.

This may not have been the only example of free black people who resisted impressment. Instead, other examples that showed free people of color resisting impressment may have been covered up to create the image that all people within the Confederacy supported the new nation, regardless of color. The Confederacy thought it imperative to create an image of a united southern front to those inside as well as outside the nation. This united front projected an air of confidence and seemed to say to people the Confederacy would ultimately prevail because it had the support of the entire southern nation, not just those with white skin. In the Confederate state of Louisiana, the relationship free people of color had with their home state was radically different than the relationship free blacks had with the state of Virginia.

Even though there were only 18,647 free African Americans in Louisiana, there existed large communities of free people of color at the county level. The largest community of free African Americans was in Orleans Parish where 10,939 free people of color made their home.[34] Free African Americans, regardless of their economic status, in Georgia and Virginia occupied the bottom rung of society; this was not the case in the largest city in Louisiana, New Orleans. Free blacks had more privileges and more rights here than their counterparts in Georgia and

[34] The overall population of Louisiana in 1860 was 708,002. After Orleans County, the next largest community of free African Americans was St. Landry Parish, centered around Opelousas, Louisiana, with 965 residents. This was followed by Natchitoches Parish with 959 free people of color. 1860 census, University of Virginia Library Historical Census Browser, http://www.fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/states/histcensus. In terms of the free African American population, these numbers indicate there was a difference between New Orleans and the rest of Louisiana. The difference between Orleans parish and the rest of Louisiana also becomes evident when one examines the number of black real estate owners in the state in 1860. While there were 581 black real estate owners who had property valued at over 2.6 million dollars, the next parish with the largest number of black real estate owners was Pointe Coupee with 82. These 82 individuals in Pointe Coupee parish owned property valued at 770,000. These numbers illustrate the wealth of the free African American population was not confined to Orleans parish, but it was centered there. A chart with black real estate owners in 1860 is in Loren Schweninger's "Antebellum Free Persons of Color in Postbellum Louisiana," Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association 30, no. 4 (Autumn 1989): 345-364, 363.

Virginia. Virginia denied free blacks their civil liberties, the right to vote, and threatened to enslave them if they failed to pay their state and local taxes. A bill introduced by the Virginia General Assembly to re-enslave emancipated slaves further illustrated the discriminatory atmosphere that existed in Virginia toward free African Americans.[35]

However, free people of color in New Orleans were not required to register their status with the state, they could testify against whites, and were permitted to enter skilled occupations which, in some cases, elevated their economic status. In fact, a Louisiana state Supreme Court ruling from 1856 established the dissimilarity between slaves and free people of color when the court said, "there is…all the difference between a free man of color and a slave, that there is between a white man and a slave."[36] In this example, the state Supreme Court deemed free people of color and whites had more in common with each other than with slaves.

In 1859, an editorial from the *Daily Picayune* expressed the idea that the free people of color in New Orleans were "a sober, industrious, and moral class, far advanced in education and civilization" because free people of color followed in the footsteps of whites and emulated their example "in the various branches of industry most adopted to their sphere."[37] The 1859 editorial and the 1856 Supreme Court ruling established greater similarity between whites and free people of color than between free people of color and slaves in Louisiana. The above statement also illustrated free people of color in New Orleans were viewed much differently than their counterparts in Virginia who had been described in local newspapers as "idle and trifling."

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[35] Jordan, 17, 158. The Virginia state constitution, ratified in 1861, required newly freed slaves to leave the state within a year of obtaining their freedom or face re-enslavement.

[36] Nieman, 310, 312, 326-327. Some of the skilled occupations held by free people of color in New Orleans included barbers, butchers, carpenters, and cigar makers.

[37] James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience during the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 5-6.

One of the factors which elevated the status of free men and women of color above that of a slave in Louisiana was the fact that many free people of color in the state prospered economically. This trend was apparent in the 1830's since some free people of color possessed the economic resources to purchase slaves. During that year, there were 965 black slave owners in Louisiana who owned a total of 4, 206 slaves. One example of a free black slave owner was New Orleans resident Eulalie de Mandeville Macarty. Macarty owned and operated her own dry goods store with the help of her thirty- two slaves. And in the parish of Iberville, there were six African American plantation owners who owned a combined total of 184 slaves. The numbers relating to slave ownership among free people of color in Louisiana continued to steadily increase in the years prior to the Civil War, as did the figures relating to the number of free people of color in the state who owned property.[38]

By 1850, 642 free blacks in the parish of Orleans owned property that totaled $2,465,000. The average property value for a black person was $3,840. The total value of all property in the state of Louisiana owned by free people of color was a little over $4.5 million dollars. A decade later, the total value of property held by free African Americans in Louisiana increased to $5.5 million. Among the free African American men who succeeded financially during this time was Pierre Casenave. Casenave, owner of a funeral home in New Orleans, invented an embalming process that increased his annual income during the 1850's by $30,000. During this same time, Francois Lacroix invested in property in the city and accumulated an estate worth $242,600. And while the parish of Orleans saw fewer African American property owners in 1860, the

[38] Schweninger, 348. David Rankin argues that not only did mulattoes hold ninety percent of the wealth of the free black population in 1850, they were also the largest black slaveholders in antebellum Louisiana. See David Rankin, "The Forgotten People: Free People of Color in New Orleans, 1850-1870" (PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1976), 115, 159-160.

average value of property had increased to $4,524.[39] In spite of the economic success achieved by some free people of color in Louisiana, they still found themselves under constant attack from white members of society.

A group of white planters from St. Landry Parish asked the state legislature to ban free African Americans from owning slaves because slaves were "beings of their own color, flesh, and blood." The supposed reason the planters did not want free African Americans to own slaves was out of concern for them since it did not seem normal to own slaves who were physically similar to you. Of course, it would have nothing to do with the fact that the success of some free blacks which may have scared and unsettled the white planters who tried to push through this piece of legislation. And in 1852, delegates to the state Constitutional Convention tried to introduce a bill that would have prohibited free African Americans from obtaining property by purchase or inheritance.[40] This was another attempt by whites in the state of Louisiana to limit the wealth of free people of color.

Yet in spite of these proposed pieces of legislation, some free African Americans willingly chose to align themselves with the state of Louisiana and the Confederacy during the war and contributed to sustaining Confederate nationalism. Some free people of color in Louisiana believed they had more in common with whites than with enslaved blacks as a result of their privileged status in the state. The economic security some free people of color possessed, the special privileges they received in Louisiana society, the Louisiana Supreme Court ruling, and the way local newspapers described free people of color as a class all served to elevate their states beyond that of an enslaved person of African descent. The case of Thomas Durnford illustrates how some free people of color internalized this belief that they had more in

[39] Schweninger, 362, 351, 363.

[40] Schweninger, 349-350.

common with whites than with enslaved blacks. Durnford's father, Andrew, was a mulatto (a person with one white and one African American parent) who owned a sugar plantation in St. Plaquemines Parish in Louisiana and seventy-seven slaves in 1859. Thomas Durnford advocated sending his father's slaves back to Africa since it was the "land of their fathers."[41] What Durnford failed to admit or chose to ignore was that Africa was also the land of his ancestors since his paternal grandmother was black. It is clear from Durnford's statement that he believed he had less in common with enslaved blacks than with white Louisiana citizens, quite possibly as a result of his multi-racial heritage.

The multi-racial identity of some in New Orleans also explains why some of these individuals willingly chose to support the Confederate cause and maintain Confederate nationalism. In *Black New Orleans*, historian John Blassingame argues that color, not race, dictated the organization of New Orleans society. Individuals classified as mulattoes were usually free while blacks were typically enslaved.[42] Ben Melvin Hobratsch, who examined the lives of free people of color who lived in antebellum New Orleans, agreed with Blassingame that color, not race, structured New Orleans society.

Hobratsch argues that until 1803, when Louisiana officially became a part of the United States, there existed a three tier social structure in New Orleans which placed free people of color below whites but above enslaved African Americans. This three tier hierarchy was threatened after Louisiana entered the United States because Anglo Americans, according to Hobratsch, only saw a two tiered society with whites and non-whites. As a result, free people of color attempted to distance themselves from enslaved blacks in order to ensure that if the two

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[41] Rankin, 160-161.

[42] John Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 21. In 1860, seventy seven percent of the free people of color in New Orleans could be classified as mulattoes while seventy four percent of the slave population was classified as black.

tiered hierarchy was ever adopted in New Orleans, free people of color would be classified with whites and not enslaved blacks.[43] Therefore, one can reasonably assume some multi-racial citizens in New Orleans supported the Confederate cause in an attempt to highlight the commonalities they shared with whites while at the same time distancing themselves from enslaved blacks. As a result, free men and women of color in New Orleans actively sought out ways to show their loyalty to their home state of Louisiana and through their actions they sustained Confederate nationalism, and simultaneously defined themselves as "Southern Rights" African Americans.

Nearly a month before the secession of Louisiana, the *Daily Delta* published a letter from some free people of color who lived in New Orleans. With the publication of this letter, these free people of color attempted to allay any fears that white New Orleanians may have had about the loyalty of the free black population if and when Louisiana decided to secede from the Union. The tone of this letter implied that free people of color, at least those individuals who wrote this letter, and whites in New Orleans shared the same mindset and the election of Abraham Lincoln had done nothing to alter it. The letter's introduction, written by the editor, concurred that whites and free people of color in Louisiana were equally devoted to their state. The editor wrote how the "free native colored population of Louisiana had never given grounds for any suspicion, or distrust." The *Daily Delta* stated the free population "frequently manifested their fidelity in a manner quite as striking and earnest as the white citizens."

The body of the letter highlighted the similar feelings which existed between free people of color and whites. The free people of color who wrote the letter asserted how much they "loved their home, their property" and declared they "owned slaves and were dearly attached to

[43] Ben Melvin Hobratsch, "Creole Angel: The Self-Identity of the Free People of Color of Antebellum New Orleans" (M. A. Thesis, University of North Texas, 2006), 1, 10-11, 29-30.

their native land." The letter ended with their declaration that they had no love for abolitionists and the North but plenty of love and affection for their home state of Louisiana. These individuals wanted nothing more than to prove themselves "worthy sons of Louisiana" and wanted white Louisiana natives to know they stood ready to "shed their blood for her defense."[44] These men and women left no doubt that they wanted to be viewed as free people of color who supported "Southern Rights" since they supported the cause of Louisiana and made it their own, even if the state chose to secede from the Union and join a confederation of southern states.

An article from the *New Orleans Daily Crescent* wholeheartedly supported this notion that free people of color supported the cause of Louisiana and therefore, the Confederacy. "Our free colored men," wrote the *Daily Crescent*, "are certainly as much attached to the land of their birth as their white brethren here in Louisiana." Free men of color, the article said, would fight the "Black Republicans" with as much passion and determination as any white men in service of the Confederacy.[45] With the creation of the Free Market in New Orleans, free people of color demonstrated their attachment to the state of Louisiana and by extension, the Confederate States of America.

The Free Market of New Orleans, which raised money and foodstuffs to feed the families of white Louisiana soldiers who fought for the Confederacy, opened for the first time on August 16, 1861 at the corner of Canal Street and distributed items such as bacon, bread, bullocks, greens, ham, and sugar. The number of people who received aid from the Free Market rose steadily from 1, 272 families in early September 1861 to around 2,000 families by February

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[44] *New Orleans Daily Delta*, "The Free Colored Natives of Louisiana," December 28, 1860.

[45] Hollandsworth, 2.

1862.[46] The *New Orleans True Delta* discussed the beginning of the Free Market in an article from the summer of 1861. The essay predicted the Free Market would serve as an example of the "patriotic charity of 1861."[47] In Richmond, the *Examiner* heralded the creation of the Free Market as an example of "practical patriotism" because the citizens of New Orleans donated their time to repair the market stalls and assumed important roles such as bakers and butchers in order to maintain the Free Market. The paper described the Free Market as being under the control of respectable New Orleans citizens.[48]

Even though the *Examiner* and the *Daily Dispatch* might not have had any idea about the valuable contributions free and enslaved African Americans made to the Free Market, the two newspapers defined the actions of all who supported this organization as patriotic. Therefore, through their actions and deeds, the financial support of the Free Market by enslaved African Americans and free people of color enabled them to publicly demonstrate their patriotism for their home state. The free African American ladies of New Orleans organized "a fair to benefit the Free Market" to demonstrate their support of the state's soldiers and their families.

An advertisement for this fair appeared in the November 24, 1861 edition of the *Daily Picayune*. The headline read, "Colored Ladies Fair, for the Benefit of THE FREE MARKET." The newspaper heaped praise upon these free "colored ladies" who supported the cause of southern independence when they wrote, "the noble enthusiasm pervading our whole white population, for the defence and protection of our common country, equally animates the colored classes, who, in innumerable instances, have spontaneously manifested their unselfishness and

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[46] *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, "Opening the Free Market," August 17, 1861, "Free Market," September 4, 1861, October 21, 1861, "Free Market," February 22, 1862.

[47] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Patriotic Move," August 9, 1861.

[48] *Richmond Examiner*, "Free Market for Soldiers Families," October 22, 1861.

devotion to the glorious cause…"[49] This article expressed the opinion that whites and free people of color in Louisiana were both equally devoted to the cause of the Confederacy.

In addition to the free women of color, enslaved African Americans also offered their support for the benefit of the Free Market. The President of the Free Market Committee, Thomas Murray, stated in the *Daily True Delta* how supportive slaves had been of this organization. "Patriotism is a holy impulse…could the northern fanatics only see how, not only our people," Murray said, "but our slaves subscribe liberally to the Free Market, and the sustaining of our rights, they would retire with shame…"[50] Murray assigned patriotism to the enslaved people of color who aided the Free Market and by doing this indicated that slaves, because of these actions, supported the impetus for southern independence, and thus defined these individuals as "Southern Rights" African Americans and practical patriots. Perhaps it did not occur to Murray, or he chose to ignore the distinct possibility these enslaved African Americans may have been coerced by their owners to help the Free Market. Sadly, the motivations of these individuals are not known.

Besides the statement by Thomas Murray, the Report of the Committee of the Free Market of New Orleans emphasized the contributions free people of color and enslaved African Americans made in support of an organization which benefitted the Confederacy. This report mentioned how slaves "apportioned a part of their own produce to feed the families of our gallant soldiers" who were waging a war "against the fanatics of the North, the oppressors of the South and the enemies of the slave." Furthermore, the report acknowledged the "colored ladies

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[49] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "Colored Ladies Fair: for the Benefit of THE FREE MARKET," November 24, 1861.

[50] *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, "Free Market," January 3, 1862.

of New Orleans" raised $250 through their fair and noted how one free woman of color made a personal donation in the amount of twenty dollars to the Free Market.[51]

The fact the *Daily Picayune* publicized this fair by the free ladies of New Orleans said something about the status these women occupied in New Orleans society. The term "ladies" designated a certain amount of respect for these women, possibly based on their socio-economic status. Yet, while the advertisement described these women as "ladies," they also described them as "colored." The term "ladies" created a distinction between them and enslaved women while the term "colored" acted as a way to illustrate the differences between white women who were never identified as "white ladies" and free women of color.

An example which illustrates that race was not used as a descriptive term to identify white ladies appeared in the June 7, 1861 edition of the *Daily Picayune*. A brief article mentioned the "patriotic and influential ladies" from the Ladies' Sewing Association. The piece mentioned the efforts of these women in making uniforms for Confederate soldiers and announced how ladies could still submit an application if they wished to join the Association. The language used to describe these women is striking because they were identified as "ladies" only and not "colored ladies," which meant the women who were in this sewing association were white because the article failed to assign a specific race to these individuals.[52] Even though free women of color supported the Confederate cause, their status within Louisiana society was subordinate to white women and the language used by the *Daily Picayune* emphasized this distinction.

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[51] *Report of the Committee of the Free Market of New Orleans: Established for the Benefit of the Families of our Absent Volunteers, Together with the List of Contributions, Number of Markets, and Families Supplied, From 16th August to 31st December, 1861, inclusive* (New Orleans Louisiana: Bulletin and Job Office, 1862), Historic New Orleans Collection.

[52] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "Ladies Sewing Association," June 7, 1861.

Free women of color in New Orleans who organized this fair reiterated, through their actions, that they were practical patriots and "Southern Rights" African Americans because their deeds provided immediate financial support for the families of Louisiana soldiers and benefitted the Confederate war effort. But one has to wonder why white southerners accepted the help of free women of color in the Free Market when financial assistance of this kind seemed to indicate they occupied a higher socio-economic status than poor whites? What made it acceptable for the families of white soldiers to receive financial support from women whom Confederate society deemed inferior to all whites in the South?

In "The Forgotten People: Free People of Color in New Orleans, 1850-1870," David C. Rankin argues that even though it was certainly evident free people of color held a position in society which elevated them above that of slaves, whites in the city made sure there was a noticeable separation between them and free people of color.[53] There were three levels of society in Civil War New Orleans. At the top were whites, followed by free people of color and then the enslaved population. Therefore, it was acceptable for whites to take the monetary support offered by free women of color in the New Orleans Free Market because the racial hierarchy of the city was still intact.

Additionally, the laws passed by the Louisiana state legislature, as well as the New Orleans City Council, restricted the personal freedoms and the economic opportunities of free people of color. These laws and statutes further reinforced the racial hierarchy which separated free people of color from their white counterparts in the city and the state. During the 1830's, a law made it illegal for newspapers to publish articles that portrayed free people of color and

[53] Rankin, 61. In this dissertation, Rankin stated how under the Code Noir, free blacks could be enslaved if they hid a fugitive slave and failed to pay the fine. There were no circumstances where white men and women could be enslaved. According to Rankin, this was one way whites preserved the distance between themselves and free people of color.

slaves in a positive way.[54] Two decades later, the state legislature passed several pieces of legislation designed to illustrate that free people of color were inferior to whites in Louisiana society. The state legislature banned free people of color from creating any charitable, religious or literary societies and banned them from owning establishments such as coffee houses and liquor stores. One piece of legislation created the most distance between free people of color and whites because it enabled free people of color to become slaves.[55] There was no similar piece of legislation that allowed a white person to become a slave. Besides fundraising in support of the Free Market, free people of color showed their devotion to their state's war effort through their participation in military companies and battalions.

However, the duties that the state of Louisiana allowed free black soldiers to perform further created a divide between whites and free people of color. The *Baton Rouge Daily Advocate* published a story that discussed the military companies and battalions being formed by free African American men. The paper stated some free people of color, whose descendants fought with General Andrew Jackson at the Battle of Chalmette in the War of 1812, wanted to form a battalion to protect the state of Louisiana.[56] While these free men of color expressed a willingness to aid their state in a time of war, Governor Moore dictated the extent of their participation in the Confederate war effort. Moore refused to allow their battalion, the Native Guards, to do more than participate in drills and parades, even though the Native Guards asked to escort Union prisoners.[57] This illustrates that while free men of color actively sought ways to

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[54] Mary Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans* (New Orleans.: Margaret Media, 1994), 67.

[55] Rankin, 62-63.

[56] *Baton Rouge Daily Advocate*, January 26, 1861.

[57] Gerald M. Capers, *Occupied City: New Orleans under the Federals, 1862-1865* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 216.

prove their loyalty to their state, the roles their patriotism could take was defined for them. As a result, the role assumed by the Native Guards would not upset the racial hierarchy in the state.

After federal occupation of New Orleans, some members of the Native Guards offered their services to Union General Benjamin Butler. In fact, some of these men told Butler they originally joined the Native Guards out of fear. These free people of color feared retaliation if they were not seen as voluntarily doing their part in support of the Confederate state of Louisiana.[58] If this is indeed true, then some of these men volunteered to serve in the Native Guards not out of genuine loyalty to Louisiana but because of implicit coercion. The threat or idea of retaliation, even when not clearly defined, may have been enough in some cases to convince these men of the need to voluntarily join the Native Guards.

There was another military company comprised of free men of color from Baton Rouge and the surrounding area. This company, organized for home protection only, was featured in a local parade that received attention in the *Daily True Delta*. The article, entitled "The Free Colored Soldiers of Baton Rouge," described the free men of color who participated in the parade "as a fine looking batch of colored friends who are now with us heart and hand." The article went on to illuminate the reason why free men of color aligned themselves with the whites in the state. Free men of color were deemed "in sympathy as well as interest" to support the cause because "their lives and property, are in the same jeopardy by the invasion with ours…"[59] The magnitude of this statement cannot be ignored.

The author of this article believed free men of color to be friends of the Confederacy because invasion by the Union would place both free people of color and whites in a precarious

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[58] Capers, 216-217. In addition to the Native Guards, free black men organized militia companies to guard against potential slave revolts and donated money to the Committee on Public Safety. See Nieman, 312.

[59] *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, "Free Colored Soldiers of Baton Rouge," August 22, 1861.

situation. For free people of color, a Union victory would erase the color barrier which separated them from enslaved African Americans. In the state of Louisiana, especially in the city of New Orleans, some free blacks stood to lose millions of dollars worth of property if the Confederacy lost and the Union prevailed. Free men of color would share the same fate as white men if an invasion by the Union occurred. The common bonds forged between whites and free blacks in Louisiana were even more apparent in the African American owned newspaper, *Le Dimanche* and further illustrated the point that some free people of color were not a threat to Confederate nationalism.

Le Dimanche, or The Sunday, began publishing in 1861 and the February 10, 1861 issue showed some free people of color supported the secession of Louisiana and the creation of an independent nation made up of southern states. The editors of the newspaper expressed hope that the convention under way in Montgomery, Alabama would lead to the formation of an exclusively pro-slavery confederation. The reasons given for the establishment of a pro-slavery confederation were that "c'est le seul moyen d'assurer le maintien indefini de l'esclavage la our il existe, et c'est aussi le seul moyen de ne pas voir des obstacles a l'extension de cette institution, quand la mouvelle republique s'annexera de nouveaux Territories…"[60] In English, the paper said a pro-slavery government was "the only way to ensure the indefinite maintenance of slavery where it exists and also the only way to not see the obstacles to the extension of this institution, when the new nation annexes new territories…"

Clearly, the free people of color who made this statement were pro-slavery and once the Confederacy existed, it is not a stretch to imagine these same individuals as supporters of the

[60] *Le Dimanche*, "Les Conventions," February 10, 1861. There are the words of the editors of Le Dimanche that expressed the desire to see the formation of a pro-slavery government. "Contentons-nous done d'esperer , et esperons surtout que cette convention nous constituera une confederation exclusivement esclagagiste."

Confederate cause and Confederate nationalism. Perhaps these free people of color supported slavery because they themselves owned slaves or maybe they realized that in order to ensure their privileged status in Louisiana society, it was necessary for some people of African descent to be enslaved. If the Union freed the slaves, as the Confederacy believed they intended to do, then all black people would have their freedom and this would lessen the differences between free people of color and slaves until they were all seen as one and the same by whites in Louisiana.

Furthermore, the free people of color in New Orleans, and throughout Louisiana, might have been concerned about what their lives would be like under the control of the federal government. These free men and women of color in Louisiana knew what to expect from their home state and their home town but perhaps they might have thought that their treatment at the hands of the Union would have been much worse, especially if they were slave owners. Thus, it made sense for free African Americans to support the formation of an independent southern government in order to protect the status quo, and their privileged status in Louisiana society.

On its first page, *Le Dinamche* also mentioned "une chanson patriotique sur l'air de la Marseillaise" that the paper thought would be "revue avec plaisir par nos nombreux lecteurs." Since the state had already seceded from the Union, one can infer from the above statement that any patriotic song published in the air of the Marseillaise or mentioned in this paper dealt with either the independent state of Louisiana or supported the formation of independent southern states into a centralized federal government. And the fact the paper believed such a song in favor of the south, secession, and the formation of an independent southern government would be

"appreciated with pleasure by our numerous readers" meant the readers therefore were thought to espouse and support the same sentiments expressed in the song, as well as by the newspaper.[61]

Other newspapers besides *Le Dimanche* published articles that portrayed African Americans as "Southern Rights" proponents. A brief newspaper article about a free man of color named Joseph Snowden reaffirmed the idea that southern blacks supported the Confederate war effort, along with the belief that blacks were better off living in the South. According to the *Daily Picayune*, Snowden petitioned the court of Memphis to grant him permission to become the slave of Mrs. Sarah Ann Dare. The reason Snowden gave for relinquishing his freedom was displeasure living amongst the people of Pennsylvania and his wish to live among southerners whom he believed he had more in common with in terms of traditions, customs, and attitude.[62]

This small paragraph served a significant purpose that challenged the notion, prominent in the North, that slaves were mistreated under the institution of slavery and that it was not as paternalistic and benign as southerners liked to point out. The institution of slavery had to have some redeeming qualities if a free man of color was willing to relinquish his freedom to spend the rest of his life in servitude. The piece spoke to the fact that living as a freeman in Pennsylvania was, for Snowden, not preferable to living as a slave in Memphis. It is interesting that Snowden does not say that he wants to live as a free man in the South. Instead, Snowden's choice to be an enslaved African American man in the Confederacy reinforced the nation's social structure and the perceived place of blacks within it.

An article printed in the *Richmond Enquirer* discussed a young "colored boy" in New Orleans who showed his loyalty to the Confederacy by "hurrahing for the red, white and red, and the Southern Confederacy." As a result of having expressed these sentiments in Union occupied

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[61] *Le Dimanche,* February 10, 1861.

[62] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, June 2, 1861.

New Orleans, the young boy received a sentence of forty days and nights in jail.[63] These articles published in state newspapers may have been a planted piece of propaganda, deliberately put in place to try and reinforce the idea that all free people of color were loyal supporters of the Confederacy. However, these articles illuminate the position that white southerners wanted African Americans to hold within their new nation. The support of African Americans, regardless of whether they happened to be free or enslaved, reinforced the supremacy of southern society and attempted to lessen any doubts southerners had about the loyalty of persons of color, free as well as enslaved. How could anyone doubt the South would succeed when all its inhabitants, black as well as white, rallied in support of the Confederate cause and worked to sustain Confederate nationalism?

While Louisiana seemed to welcome the support and albeit limited participation of the free people of color in their state, the situation in Georgia was radically different. In Georgia, the free African American population numbered only 3,500 out of a total state population of 1,057,286. The county with the largest free black population in Georgia was Chatham with an African American community of 725 people.[64] This is nowhere near the total of the large community of free people found in the parish of Orleans, Louisiana which had 10,939 free people of color. As a result of these low numbers, white Georgians, similar to their counterparts in Virginia, viewed the free black population in their midst with suspicion and doubted their fidelity to the Confederate cause. After the Union Army occupied New Orleans in 1862, the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* discussed New Orleans residents who had openly declared themselves enemies of the United States. The paper surprisingly announced that "among this

[63] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Doings in New Orleans," June 5, 1863.

[64] 1860 census, University of Virginia Library Historical Census Browser, www.fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus.

class, strange as it may appear, were many free colored citizens."[65] Georgians seemed unable to comprehend that there might be free African Americans within the Confederacy, especially in New Orleans, who aligned themselves with the state of Louisiana in the war against the Union.

Yet, there is evidence that free people of African descent in Georgia, just like their counterparts in Louisiana and Virginia, supported the Confederate cause and sustained Confederate nationalism, in spite of the harsh climate free blacks encountered in the state.[66] Free and enslaved African Americans appear in the historical record of Georgia and both are portrayed, through their actions, as proponents of Southern Rights. In June 1861, the *Savannah Morning News* published a letter from fifty-five free African American men who lived in the city. The letter, addressed to Brigadier General Lawton, expressed their belief that they owed Georgia during this crisis since these free black men called the state their home. "We respectfully, in this hour of danger, tender to yourself our services, to be employed in the defense of the state," these men wrote, "at any place or point…and in any service for which you may consider us best fitted, and in which we can contribute to the public good."[67]

Like Virginia, examples of implicit coercion appeared in local Georgia newspapers. In June of 1861, a Savannah newspaper published an essay which said free African Americans in the city indulged in "indolence and vice in local grog shops" and resembled "drones in the hive." The article wanted the free black population of Savannah to contribute to the state's war effort. However, someone writing under the name "Justice" defended free African Americans against

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[65] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, November 5, 1862.

[66] Nearly two and a half months before Georgia seceded from the Union, the state house of representatives adopted a bill that required free African Americans to voluntarily enslave themselves or move from the state. During the war, Georgia would try three more times to pass a bill to enslave all free African Americans. This is certainly evidence of the inhospitable and negative environment free blacks faced in the state. See Mohr, 66, 68.

[67] Mohr, 86.

these charges. "Justice" discussed how free black women sewed clothes for local volunteer companies and mentioned how some free black men tendered their services to Governor Brown, only to have their offer rejected. "Justice" declared free African Americans were loyal "to the government which protects them."[68]

An article from the *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* discussed the Confederacy's large free African American population, which the paper believed was around three hundred thousand. The paper advocated the use of coercion to ensure the contributions of free African Americans to the war effort. The article recommended the Confederate Congress conscript all free blacks between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to work as teamsters to free up white males for the battlefield. Using language that denigrated the free African American population, the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* thought conscription and coercion the answer to this particular problem because "most" free blacks were "lazy, indolent, and generally a nuisance in the community…who would not work, unless compelled."[69] This viewpoint was similar to the opinion expressed in 1863 by the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* about the free blacks who lived in the state of Virginia. But just as in Virginia and Louisiana, whites in Georgia dictated how African Americans could show their support for the Confederacy.

Based on an article from the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* in the summer of 1861, it appeared that some slaves in Marietta, Georgia wanted to hold a benefit concert to aid soldiers in the Confederate Army. A white man from Marietta asked the paper to run an advertisement for the concert to publicize the event. The paper refused to run this advertisement on the grounds that "slavery is the normal condition of the negro race" and further stated that a concert organized and performed by slaves would lead them to entertain lofty ideas about their proper

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[68] Mohr, 85.

[69] *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, August 21, 1863.

place in society. The editors of the *Southern Confederacy* believed these slaves would become "disobedient and chafe under proper control for six months to come-perhaps to the end of their lives" if they received publicity for this event.[70]

Perhaps, slaves in Marietta truly wanted to hold a benefit concert or maybe they were encouraged to put together this concert by their masters in exchange for special concessions. But there is also the distinct possibility that this story was completely false and invented to serve as a piece of propaganda.[71] But this article once again reiterated the notion that enslaved African Americans within the state of Georgia would be allowed to show their patriotism for the Confederate cause if they knew their place and adopted the mantra of "Southern Rights." In the eyes of white Georgians, slave Harrison Berry fit this bill.

Harrison Berry wrote *Slavery and Abolitionism, as Viewed by a Georgia Slave* in April 1861. Attorney W.W. Clark of Covington, Georgia certified that Berry wrote the material himself and defined him as a "Southern Rights negro" whose book should be purchased and read by citizens of the South. Berry was born into slavery in Jones County, Georgia in 1816 and therefore was thought to possess a unique interpretation about questions regarding southern independence, slavery, and emancipation. The owner of Berry's wife, W. W. Clark, described him as "understanding the position of a *Slave*," and said that Berry "had uniformly kept himself in his proper place. He is neither insolent or impudent, but humble and polite."[72]

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[70] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, August 21, 1861.

[71] Another possible piece of propaganda appeared in the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* on August 26, 1863. The essay mentioned a slave named Henry Jones who donated $465 dollars to the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury. According to Jones, the reason he made this donation was because "the slaves of the South have a deeper interest in the establishment of Southern independence than the white population." See *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, August 26, 1863.

[72] Harrison Berry, *Slavery and Abolitionism as Viewed by a Georgia Slave, the Property of S.W. Price, Covington*, *Georgia*, Documenting the American South (Atlanta: M. Lynch and Company, 1861), 4, http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/berry/menu.html.

In his published tract, Berry wrote the abolitionists brought more harm than good to the lives of slaves. He gave an account of innocently reading a statement from an abolition convention and after reading this statement, Berry said he was in a depressed mood and returned home and scolded another slave for not having done enough work. As a result, the slave ran away.[73] Berry concluded his work by criticizing the Lincoln administration and supporting the South's decision to secede because the southern states "have only withdrawn for the vindication of their rights, which have been trampled on for years…"[74] In this instance, Berry articulated the argument that many white southerners had made in their pro-secession speeches, in their state secession declarations, and in material published throughout the course of the war.

While Berry may have written the pamphlet of his own accord, the possibility exists that he was coerced into doing so in exchange for greater privileges. However, this source is still significant because it illuminates how white southerners in Georgia wanted to define the patriotism of enslaved African Americans. Southerners found Berry acceptable because he articulated points that would have made whites unafraid of him; in essence he articulated beliefs that defined him as a "Southern Rights" African American. Berry supported the same southern way of life that white Confederates did and he found the institution of slavery preferable to Northern freedom. From this published source, it seemed clear that Berry knew his place in southern society.

Besides the above sources, the depiction of African Americans as supporters of "Southern Rights" was also highlighted in a song from the *Hopkins' New Orleans 5 Cent Song-Book*, "Happy Land of Canaan No.2." This song is a minstrel song that would have been sung by a white man in blackface. In the second stanza of the song, the lyrics emphasized enslaved

[73] Ibid., 14.

[74] Ibid., 45-46.

African Americans believed slavery to be preferable to freedom in the North because slavery, according to the song's lyrics, provided for the economic well-being of the slave while the free wage labor economy of the North did not. The song lyrics said:

> For the niggers on a Southern plantation,
> Are better off by far
> Than the Northern poor folks are,
> For they've always got a steady situation.

The song concluded with these lyrics:

> Then let us about Hurray!
> For our country, near and far,
> Let the Democrats good feeling be regaining,
> To preserve our Southern Union,
> And send discord to the Happy Land Caanan.[75]

This last stanza indicated the South was closing ranks because slaves and whites were united in the cause of southern independence. By allowing this "slave" to refer to the South as "our country" and "our Southern Union" it created an interesting precedence where enslaved African Americans were allowed to be a part of the Confederacy, but only if they were slaves who supported "Southern Rights" and knew their place in society.

The presence of a free African American community in the states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia did not undermine Confederate nationalism. In fact, some free African Americans actively contributed to sustaining Confederate nationalism through their actions which benefitted the Confederacy and created an identity for themselves as "Southern Rights" African Americans and practical patriots. Additionally, some free people of color in Louisiana volunteered for

[75] *Hopkins' New-Orleans 5 Cent Song-Book*, "Happy Land of Canaan No. 2," 15-16.

military service, donated money and organized fairs to benefit the Free Market, volunteered as nurses, and publicly voiced their support of the state and the Confederate cause during the war.

In Louisiana, free people of color were the anomaly. The free people of color in this state managed to achieve a level of economic prosperity and security that was unheard of in either Georgia or Virginia. They were also thought to have more interests in common with whites than with enslaved African Americans. This viewpoint was reiterated in the local Louisiana newspapers by free people of color and by whites, and in an 1856 Supreme Court decision. These circumstances led some free people of color in Louisiana to align themselves with the state, and as a result, the Confederacy during the war. These pre-existing social conditions in the state of Louisiana made some free people of color work to sustain Confederate nationalism. Here, volunteerism on behalf of the Confederacy was more of a reality than coercion.

The situation is Georgia and Virginia was vastly different. Even though the free black population in Georgia was much smaller than the free black population of Virginia, there is evidence that whites in both of these locations distrusted the commitment of free African Americans to the state's war effort. This was in spite of the fact that there was evidence some free blacks in Georgia and Virginia may have willingly supported the Confederacy and became "Southern Rights" African Americans.

And in both of these locations, as well as in Louisiana, whites determined how free and enslaved African Americans would show their patriotism for the Confederate cause. This happened in Georgia when free blacks in Savannah volunteered their services, only to have their offer rejected. In Virginia, white officials felt the need to coerce free blacks into supporting the state during the war by passing legislation that impressed these individuals into service. While there are a few examples of free black men and women in Charlottesville, Petersburg, and

Richmond who appeared to support the Confederacy, there are also examples of the state's use of coercion to get free blacks to labor on fortifications and other jobs that provided aid to the war effort. The harsh climate faced by free African Americans in the state of Virginia and Georgia made coercion more of a reality than volunteerism on behalf of the Confederate war effort in these locales.

Besides free African Americans, another perceived threat to nationalism was Jewish Confederates. In comparison to free African Americans, the number of Jews who lived in the Confederate States of America was even smaller. There were between twenty thousand and twenty-five thousand Jews who lived in the eleven states of the Confederacy. Did the presence of Jews, a religious and numerical minority in the Confederacy, undermine Confederate nationalism?

CHAPTER 7

JEWISH CONFEDERATES

"From the Traditions of our Ancestors we know as Hebrews, that we have suffered terriblely by being oppressed, subjugated, and overpowered therefore we hate those words and the meaning thereof and having full confidence in all Southern Rebels of this Confederacy"

With these words, the Hebrew Ladies of Shreveport aligned themselves firmly behind the Confederate cause. In the fall of 1861, these women donated 160 woolen shirts and drawers and 80 pairs of socks to the Shreveport Rebels, a group of local volunteer soldiers, to illustrate that Jewish women on the home front were willing to do their duty to defend liberty. The Hebrew Ladies of Shreveport mentioned their Jewish heritage to highlight the fact that there was a bond between southern Jews and Christians during this time of war. Jews, like Confederate Christians, according to these women, had been unfairly oppressed and subjugated and were therefore, in a unique position to understand the feelings of non-Jewish Confederates about abolitionists and northerners, two groups southerners believed wanted to oppress the South. The ladies ended their letter by assuring the soldiers they would "do their duty" for the Confederate cause.[1] In 1860, the year before the Civil War began, three hundred Jews called Shreveport, Louisiana home. Even though the majority of these individuals were recent immigrants who arrived during the previous decade, seventy-eight of them would fight for the Confederacy during the war.[2] The words, as well as the actions of the Jewish residents of Shreveport, demonstrated their devotion to and support of the Confederate States of America during the Civil War.

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[1] "To the Captain and Members of the Shreveport Rebels," October 24, 1861, Williams Research Center.

[2] Marcie Cohen Ferris and Mark I. Greenberg, eds., *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2006), 119-121.

In New Orleans, the Hebrew Congregation "Gates of Prayer" showed their support for the Confederacy by donating one hundred dollars to the city's Free Market which fed the families of Louisiana men in the Confederate Army. This charitable donation, noted in the "Correspondence" section of the *Daily True Delta*, was for a "praiseworthy enterprise" according to the group's president, M. Heidenheiner.[3] Donating one hundred dollars and having this donation publicly mentioned in the *Daily True Delta* allowed Jewish members of the "Gates of Prayer" to publicly show their fidelity to the Confederate cause. As was mentioned in a previous chapter, free African American women also supported the Free Market of New Orleans by holding a fair to raise money. The actions of these women, as well as the actions of the members of the "Gates of Prayer" created an image for themselves as loyal southerners who supported the cause of their state and their new nation.

Jewish congregations made financial contributions to the Confederate cause in Richmond, Virginia. The "House of Love," a German Jewish congregation under the leadership of Reverend M. Z. Michelbacher, donated $1, 230 to aid the families of Virginia's volunteers. Reverend Michelbacher announced his congregation's donation in a letter to Mayor Joseph Mayo on May 1, 1861 and noted how Jews "prayed to the God of Israel, to give unto our brave warriors in the righteous cause of liberty and independence, the sword of victory and the trophies of conquest, under the triumphant flag of the Confederate States." Furthermore, Michelbacher mentioned how members of his congregation, in addition to outfitting their own sons for the battlefield, belonged to other groups which raised money for the Confederacy. Reverend Michelbacher's words depicted members of his congregation as loyal Confederates who willingly gave their money and their sons to the southern cause. His words also let Virginians know that regardless of their religious differences, Jewish citizens, similar to their non-Jewish

[3] *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, "Correspondence," October 10, 1861.

counterparts, prayed that God would bless the Confederate cause and establish the independence of the Confederate States of America.

The editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, who published Michelbacher's letter, praised members of the Jewish faith and said the "South has had no warmer or truer friends than they, or those who have been more uncompromising in the maintenance of the true faith by contributions of men, money, counsel." According to the editor, the "Hebrews of Richmond" were not behind their patriotic counterparts in New Orleans, Charleston or any other Confederate city "in aiding the good cause of equal rights and constitutional liberty."[4]

At the start of the Civil War, there were between twenty and twenty five thousand Jews who lived in the Confederate South. The middle of the nineteenth-century saw an influx of German Jewish immigrants into the South. [5] German Jews immigrated to the United States because of the German Revolution of 1848 and the belief that America offered greater economic opportunity. There were Jewish communities in the cities of Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon, and Savannah, Georgia, New Orleans, Opelousas and Shreveport, Louisiana, and Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia. Historian Robert Rosen estimates eight thousand Jews lived in Louisiana in 1860 and half that number lived in the city of New Orleans, which means that between twenty-five and forty percent of the Confederate Jewish population lived in the state of Louisiana. While the population of Jewish residents in Georgia and Virginia was much lower than that of Louisiana, there were 2,500 Jews who lived in Georgia and 2,000 in Virginia at the start of the Civil War.[6] Out of a total free

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[4] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "An example worthy of Imitation," May 1, 1861.

[5] Mark K. Bauman, ed., *Dixie Diaspora: An Anthology of Southern Jewish History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 166. The first Jewish settlers arrived in Savannah, Georgia in 1733.

[6] Robert N. Rosen, *The Jewish Confederates* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 17, 19, 25. According to Rosen, Jewish residents in Georgia resided in the cities of Savannah, Augusta, Macon, Atlanta,

white population of 1,047,299 only 2,000 of these individuals in Virginia were of Jewish descent.[7] Even though their numbers were relatively small and they were a religious minority within the South, Jews adopted the Confederate cause as their own and worked to sustain Confederate nationalism. As historian Elliott Ashkenazi stated, "Jews in the South accepted the southern cause…They supported the Confederacy because they lived there."[8] In addition to adopting the southern cause as their own, Jews in the South also accepted the southern institution of slavery.

Bertram Korn believed the opinions southern Jews held about slavery was similar to the opinions non-Jewish southerners held about the institution. In fact, he argued the presence of enslaved African Americans elevated the social and political status of Jews in the South and lessened the expression of anti-Semitic statements.[9] According to historian Marc I. Greenberg, thirty-five Jewish adults in Savannah, or thirty-eight percent of the city's Jewish population owned slaves. In his work, Greenberg believed the Jewish acceptance of the institution of slavery, combined, in part, with their active commitment to the southern cause, led to the creation of a southern identity for Jews who lived in Civil War Savannah.[10] Despite the high percentages of slaveholding Jews in Savannah, Marc Bauman argues that in terms of the overall

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and Columbus. Jewish citizens of Virginia lived in Alexandria, Norfolk, Lynchburg, Harrisonburg, Fredericksburg, and Staunton.

[7] 1860 census, University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, http://www.mapserver.lib.virginia.edu.

[8] Elliott Ashkenazi, *The Business of Jews in Louisiana* (Tuscaloosa.: University of Alabama Press, 1988), 25.

[9] Jonathan D. Sarna and Adam Mendelsohn, eds., *Jews and the Civil War: A Reader*, (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 115-116.

[10] Marc I. Greenberg, "Creating Ethnic, Class and Social Identity in Nineteenth-century America" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1997), 258-259.

slave holding population, southern Jews were not represented in large numbers.[11] Evidence suggests that even though southern Jews contributed monetarily to the Confederate cause and adopted the region's societal norms and practices as their own, non-Jewish Confederates regarded them with suspicion throughout the war. An expression of this suspicion was the anti-Semitic rhetoric which appeared in local newspapers during this time. Previous historians who examined the experience of Jews in the Civil War South argued that the war led to a rise in anti-Semitism.

Historian Bertram Korn argued the economic and social disturbances caused by the war led to these vocal expressions of anti-Semitism.[12] Leonard Rogoff believed that when anti-Semitism appeared within the antebellum South, the reasons for it were economic or religious in nature. Rogoff argued that social and political issues had nothing to do with the rise of anti-Semitism during this time,[13] while historian Dianne Ashton discussed two reasons she felt explained the rise in anti-Semitism during the Civil War. Ashton believed that prejudice and economics, along with the southern belief that Jews held a "lack of reverence for Christ," at a time when Confederates needed God's support, accounted for the rise in the expressions of anti-Semitism.[14]

Jewish southerners saw themselves as Confederate citizens and acted and behaved in a way which illustrated their support for the southern war effort. Jews may have been a religious minority within the Confederacy, yet they adopted the viewpoint of the white majority when it came to the institution of slavery, the southern way of life, and the war for southern

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[11] Bauman, 268.

[12] Bertram W. Korn, American Jewry and the Civil War (New York: Atheneum Press, 1970), 156.

[13] Bauman, 396.

[14] Sarna and Mendelsohn, 280-281.

independence. In fact, Jews, like Christians invoked God's blessing on the Confederate cause. Reverend Michelbacher in Richmond, Virginia and Rabbi Gutheim in New Orleans, Louisiana each delivered sermons on Confederate fast days which asked God to bless their cause, just like Father O'Neill, a Catholic priest in Savannah, Georgia, and Jos. B. Walker, a Methodist minister in New Orleans, Louisiana.[15]

However, in the wake of rising prices for basic necessities and the desperate need for more men to fight on behalf of the Confederacy, southerners cast Confederate Jews as engaging in activities which crippled the fight for Confederate independence. These accusations made Jewish loyalty to the Confederate cause circumspect and as a result, led to an increase in anti-Semitic statements during the war. Yet, it is clear from the beginning of the war that Jewish Confederates felt the need to prove their fidelity to the war effort, either through monetary donations or petitions which declared their devotion to the Confederate States of America.[16] This illustrates the precarious situation Jewish southerners faced during the Civil War. Did all Jews in the Civil War South face the same precarious situation or did the experiences of Jewish

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[15] Michelbacher invoked God's blessing on the Confederate cause in his March 27, 1863 fast day sermon. See Rabbi M. J. Michelbacher , *A Sermon Delivered on the Day of Prayer, Recommended by the President of the C. S. A., the 27th of March, 1863, at the German Hebrew Synagogue, "Bayth Ahabah"* (Richmond: MacFarlane and Fergusson, 1863), Documenting the American South, http://docsouth..unc.edu/imls/michelbacher/michelba.html. For Rabbi Gutheim's sermon, see Bauman, 363. Father O' Neill's sermon is mentioned in David T. Gleeson's, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 158, 160. For Walker's sermon, see the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, "Fast Day Sermon Delivered in the M'Gehee Methodist Church on Carondelet Street, by the Pastor Rev. Jos. B. Walker," June 9, 1861," June 9, 1861.

[16] Jennifer Stollman argued in her dissertation that southern Jewish women participated in wartime activities designed to illustrate their support of the Confederate cause. According to Stollman, Jewish women hoped their actions would lead to a decrease in expressions of anti-Semitism during the war. As an example of the patriotic activities of Jewish women, Stollman discussed the family of New Orleans teen-ager Clara Solomon, who contributed to the war effort by knitting socks and sewing shirts for Confederate soldiers. See Jennifer Ann Stollman, "Building up a House of Israel in a Land of Christ: Jewish Women in the Antebellum and Civil War South" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2001), 357, 360.

Confederates differ geographically? Did Jewish Confederates sustain or hamper Confederate nationalism with their actions? These are two questions this chapter will address.

Less than four weeks after the firing on Fort Sumter in South Carolina, the Jewish community from Opelousas, Louisiana publicly declared their dedication to the Confederate cause in the *Opelousas Courier*. These citizens from Opelousas felt compelled to denounce the ideas espoused in the New York publication, the *Jewish Messenger*, which they referred to as an arm of the abolitionist press. Earlier, the *Jewish Messenger* asked all Jews, regardless of where they lived, to support the Union during the war. In response, the Jewish citizens from Opelousas "scorned and repelled" this advice and affirmed that they were "devoted with heart and soul, with our means and our lives, to the great cause of justice of right, of liberty and honorable independence which called our new Confederacy into being…"[17]

In addition to the Jewish community in Opelousas, Jews in Shreveport also felt compelled to respond to the article from the New York based *Jewish Messenger* and chose to disregard the advice from the *Messenger* and back the Confederacy during the war. They declared their intention to "solemnly pledge ourselves to stand by, protect, and honor the flag, with its stars and stripes, the Union and Constitution of the Southern Confederacy, with our lives, liberty, and all that is dear to us."[18]

While the Jewish community from Opelousas never explained exactly what compelled them to issue this public statement of loyalty to the Confederate cause, one can infer two things from their petition. The first is that the article from the *Jewish Messenger* caused problems for the Jewish community of Opelousas. Why else mention the fact that the public declaration in the *Daily Picayune* was a repudiation of the ideas expressed in the *Jewish Messenger*? Secondly,

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[17] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, May 9, 1861.

[18] Rosen, 38.

since this community felt the need to declare their support for the Confederacy, one can suspect that the loyalty of Jews, at least in the eyes of some Confederate citizens, was circumspect based on the opinions expressed in this New York publication. Were there petitions or public declarations from non-Jewish Confederate citizens which contained expressions of support for the Confederate cause? Was the support of Confederate citizens who belonged to the religious majority ever publicly questioned? The answer to these questions is no because the fidelity of this group of individuals to the Confederacy was never in question. The Confederate South depicted Jews, free African Americans, and German immigrants as southerners whose loyalty was in constant doubt and therefore, needed to be viewed with suspicion. A petition by the Jews of Savannah was further evidence of the fact that Jews in the Confederate South felt they had to constantly proclaim their allegiance to the Confederacy.

During the same month the Jewish community of Opelousas declared their devotion to the Confederacy, German Jews in Savannah did the same thing. On May 15, 1861, in response to statements in the northern press which cast doubt on Jewish support for the Confederacy, Savannah residents of Jewish descent met at Armory Hall and passed a series of resolutions to reaffirm their commitment to the Confederate States of America. The resolutions established the similarity between the Confederate revolution of 1861 and the German revolution of 1848-1849 and adopted the cause of the South as the cause of Savannah Jews. The people gathered at Armory Hall then founded the Confederate States Volunteer Aid Association.[19] By establishing a connection between the Confederate revolution and the German revolution, the Jews of Savannah wanted to let non-Jewish Confederates know they understood the principles that motivated them to wage war. In spite of these public declarations of fidelity to the Confederacy and the monetary donations given to help the cause, as the Confederate fortunes declined, non-

[19] Greenberg, 238.

Jewish southerners blamed southern Jews for these problems. This was never more apparent than later in the war when the economic and military fortunes of the Confederate States of America began to decline.

The year 1863 saw the Confederacy plagued by hyperinflation and shortages of basic items such as salt, coffee, corn, and flour. The searing defeat at Gettysburg in July 1863, coupled with Confederate losses at Vicksburg, Port Hudson and Chattanooga during that same year, demoralized southerners who looked for someone or something to blame for these turn of events. Southerners chose to blame Jewish Confederates, whom they labeled as hoarders and extortionists who profited from the misfortunes of their fellow citizens. Furthermore, these individuals also characterized Jewish southerners as evading conscription to the detriment of the Confederate war effort.

Less than two weeks before the start of 1863, the *Richmond Enquirer* published an editorial that charged Jews with avoiding conscription. The piece stated that while some Confederates had been dragged from their needy families because of conscription, "thousands of Jews have gone scot-free simply for the virtue of denying their allegiance to the country…" The editorial continued by complaining about the large numbers of Jewish citizens in the city of Richmond. According to the author, "one has but to walk through the streets and stores of Richmond to get an impression of the vast number of unkempt Israelites in our marts…elbowing out of their way soldiers' families and the most respectable people in the community."[20]

On February, 16, 1863, the *Richmond Enquirer* published a provocative piece called "Grievances" that called upon the Confederate Government to defend the southern people from extortion. "What is the use of a Government, say many, if it cannot repress extortion; let us have

[20] Eli N. Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 200.

a *maximum*, and penalties, and hang some bakers, a few farmers, millers, shoemakers!" The choice of words used in this article made it appear as if the problem of extortion was not simply limited to one profession such as farmers or bakers. Instead, this article implied that those guilty of extortion were in a number of different professions. The article concluded by asking whether the federal government would leave the Confederate people "helpless in the hands of all these Jews and blockade runners."[21] This article left no doubt that at least in the mind of this author, the groups responsible for the rampant extortion sweeping the war ravaged South were Jews and blockade runners. The attack on Jewish southerners continued in the pages of the Richmond based periodical, *Southern Punch*.

The *Southern Punch* adopted an anti-Jewish tone and placed the blame for the hoarding of goods in the capital city on these individuals. Besides referring to Jews there as "Richmond Yankees," the magazine proposed a new name for the capital, "Jew-rue-sell'em."[22] During the war, referring to anyone as a "Yankee" would have been derogatory. By referring to Jews in Richmond as "Richmond Yankees," this periodical depicted these individuals as disloyal to the southern cause and as supporters of the Union. The new name for the capital of Richmond, "Jew-rue-sell'em" meant to connect Jewish citizens there to the exorbitant prices and extortionist practices that plagued the capital.

John. B. Jones, who worked for the Confederate War Department in Richmond, began his diatribe against Jewish southerners early in the war. On September 7, 1861, Jones wrote in his diary how Jews profited from all wars and lacked a nationality, which he believed meant they displayed loyalty to no side during a conflict. "Now they are scouring the country in all

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[21] *Richmond Enquirer*, "Grievances," February 6, 1863.

[22] Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate State of Richmond: A Biography of the Capital* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 151.

directions," Jones said, "buying all the goods they can find in the distant cities and even from the country stores. These they will keep, until the process of consumption shall raise a greedy demand for all descriptions of merchandise."[23] His negative comments about Jewish Confederates continued throughout the war.

On July 15, 1863, Jones discussed in his diary how a group of Irish, Dutch and Jewish citizens convened daily at the residence of General Winder in order to gain a pass which would permit them to go north. "They fear being forced into the army; they will be compelled to aid in the defense of the city, or be imprisoned. They intend," wrote Jones, "to leave their families behind, to save the property they have accumulated under the protection of the government."[24] In his diary entry, Jones characterized some Jewish southerners in Richmond as caring more about the protection of their personal fortunes than about their country or even their families.

In February 1864, Jones accused five Jews of defecting to the enemy with $10,000 worth of gold. According to Jones, the reason these five individuals left was to avoid service in the Confederate Army. Jones' comment reinforced the belief among southerners that Jews skirted their responsibilities as Confederate citizens on the battlefield.[25] The negative depictions of Jewish citizens in the pages of the *Richmond Enquirer* and *Southern Punch*, as well as in the diary of John B. Jones help illuminate why Jewish citizens, such as the community in Opelousas, Louisiana and the Hebrew Ladies of Shreveport, felt a compelling need to publicly declare their patriotism. In addition to the Jewish community from Opelousas and the women from Shreveport, Richmond, Virginia native Reverend Michelbacher of the German Hebrew

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[23] Mark I. Greenberg, "Ambivalent Relations: Acceptance and Anti-Semitism in Confederate Thomasville," *American Jewish Archives* 45 (1993): 13-30, 21.

[24] Earl Schenck Miers, ed., *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (New York: Sagamore Press, 1958), 242.

[25] Howard Swiggett, ed., *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* (New York: Old Hickory Bookshop, 1935), 141.

Synagogue, Bayth Ahabah, also felt the need to assert the loyalty and devotion of Jewish citizens.

In his 1863 sermon, given on a day set aside for Confederate Thanksgiving and Prayer, Michelbacher defended Jews from the charges of speculation and hoarding. Michelbacher said that members of the Confederate Congress accused the Jews of "engaging in the great sin of speculating and extorting in the bread and meat of the land." He emphatically denied this accusation and used a commonly held stereotype of Jewish shop owners to make his point. Michelbacher discussed how money was extremely important to Jews and that no member of this race would hoard goods for later sale when they could receive payment for goods immediately. In order to drive the point home that others in the Confederacy bore the blame for speculating and the rising costs of goods, Michelbacher made it a point to attack speculators himself. What better way to illustrate that once again, Jews were not to blame for speculating, than by publicly castigating those responsible? He said the speculators "have seized and engrossed the meat and the flour of the poor…"

Next, Michelbacher took on those who said southern Jews were not actively fighting on behalf of the Confederacy, another common complaint leveled against Jews during the war. Michelbacher stated the Jewish people had always faithfully defended their homeland and that the great generals of the Confederacy, men such as Jackson, Johnston and Lee, would attest to the patriotism and devotion of the Jewish men within their ranks. During his sermon, Michelbacher said the actions of Jews in the Confederacy proved their undying patriotism since many young Jewish men had either been killed or severely injured fighting for the Confederacy.

Michelbacher concluded by saying that the enemies of the Confederacy "were as detestable to them [Jewish soldiers], as were the Philistines to David and his countrymen."[26] In comparing the hatred of Jews for northerners to the dislike David and his people had for the Philistines, it placed the loyalty of the Jews in a context all religious southerners could understand. Michelbacher wanted to leave no doubts in the minds of his fellow Confederate citizens about the fidelity of Jewish citizens to the South. Richmond citizens of Jewish descent were not "Richmond Yankees," as the *Daily Dispatch* claimed. Instead, Michelbacher painted a picture of Richmond Jews as "rebels" through and through.

The charges of extortion were not limited toward Jews who lived in the Confederate capital of Richmond. In Georgia, charges of extortion also followed Jews who called this state their home. One example of this occurred in Thomasville, Georgia in August 1862. The town's non-Jewish residents passed a resolution which blamed "German Jews" for purchasing items of "prime necessity" and then "demanding high prices for them." The resolution gave these Jewish residents ten days to leave the town before they faced removal by force.[27] Furthermore, the petition by the non-Jewish residents of Thomasville, also accused Jewish residents of the crime of "having no feeling common with the Confederacy" since the United States drove a number of German Jews southward.[28] In other words, this petition accused German Jews in the Confederacy of being Unionists who had no loyalty to the country where they now lived. This petition is evidence that extortion and hoarding occurred in Georgia as well as in Virginia.

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[26] Michelbacher, 3, 4.

[27] Rosen, 267. According to Rosen, nothing came of this resolution. The Jews remained in Thomasville after the ten day period and were not driven out of the town. Perhaps, more than anything else, this resolution was a way to publicly air their grievances about the misfortunes befalling citizens in the Confederacy.

[28] Louis Schmier, "Notes and Documents on the 1862 Expulsion of Jews from Thomasville, Georgia," *American Jewish Archives* 32 (April 1980): 9-22, 13.

Unfortunately, this document also is evidence of the fact that Jews unfairly received the blame for the economic problems the citizens of Thomasville faced.

In response to the proposed eviction of German Jews in Thomasville, the Jewish citizens of Savannah passed their own set of resolutions which condemned the petition adopted weeks earlier in Thomasville. "This wholesale slander, persecution, and denunciation of a people, many of whom are pouring out their blood on the battle fields of their country, in defense of civil and religious liberty," the petition proclaimed, "is at war with the spirit of the age-the letter of the constitution-and the principles of religion-and can find no parallel except in the barbarities of the inquisition and the persecution of the dark ages." Their appeal to an "enlightened public opinion" characterized Jews as a class as honest, loyal and dependable. The Jewish residents of Savannah ended their resolutions by asking all Jewish citizens to boycott any and all newspapers which published and supported the resolutions adopted in Thomasville.[29] The Jews of Savannah were not the only residents of Georgia who condemned the petition passed by Thomasville citizens. The Jewish members of the Tattnall Guards and the 32nd Georgia Volunteer Infantry Regiment also condemned the Thomasville petition.

On September 17, 1862 the Jewish members of the Tattnall Guards of the First Georgia Volunteer Infantry Regiment, submitted their own set of resolutions to the *Savannah Republican*. These soldiers mentioned how the Thomasville petition not only accused Jews of speculation during the nation's darkest hours, but "alleged that our sympathies are aloof from the cause of Southern independence, and that our hearts are indifferent to the final issue of the great struggle for separate nationality, in which these Confederate States are engaged." The men called these allegations "wanton and reckless" and then went on to refute these claims by discussing the contributions of Jewish Confederate on the battlefields. "Wherever the standards of the

[29] Schmier, 15-16.

Confederate are unfurled, he may be seen," these soldiers argued, "clothed in the soldier's garb, fully armed for the conflict, and serving upon many a hard contested field, with the effusion of his life blood his devotion to the cause of Southern honor and independence."[30]

Three days later on September 20, 1862, the *Savannah Republican* printed an official protest from the Jewish soldiers of the 32nd Georgia Volunteer Infantry Regiment. In a radical departure, these soldiers admitted that there were probably a few Jewish individuals who were indeed guilty of speculation and extortion. Yet, these men thought it extremely unfair all Jews would be condemned because of the actions of a select few. And like the previous soldiers petition, the one from the Jewish members of the 32nd Georgia Volunteer Infantry Regiment defended members of their religious faith against charges of disloyalty by highlighting the number of Jewish soldiers in the Confederate forces. The petition told the "gentlemen of Thomasville" that they just needed to examine the members of different military companies in order to discover that some of them are filled with "none but German Jews and foreigners" who fought on behalf of "their adopted country."[31] In addition to these soldiers' petitions which defended Jews against charges of disloyalty and extortion, there were also newspaper articles which heralded the contributions of Jewish men and women on behalf of the Confederacy.

The *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* published an article that defended Jewish southerners against charges they were not doing enough to aid the Confederate war effort on the battlefield. The article began by stating there were one hundred and seventy-one Jewish men who were injured in battles that took place near Richmond. And in case any readers believed Jews were "Johnny come latelys" to the Confederate war effort, the *Southern Confederacy* article ended by

[30] Schmier, 18-19.

[31] Schmier, 20-21.

asking "Was not the first man killed in this war in South Carolina, we believe a Jew?"[32] The author asserted that men of Jewish descent fought for the Confederacy since the beginning of the war. However, based on the evidence available, it appears that the attacks against Jewish Confederates continued into 1864.

The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* defended Jews for their contribution to the war effort and against the charge of speculation. The very fact that this defense of Jews exists is evidence of the fact that non-Jewish Confederates still felt that the action of Jews hurt, rather than aided, the Confederate war effort. An article in the February 6, 1864 edition of the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* stated that those who blamed Jews for the crimes of speculation and extortion only did so in order to divert attention away from themselves. "Whatever else the Jews have speculated in, and we do not believe they have speculated in anything more than the Gentiles," the author wrote, "they have not speculated in flour or in any of the necessaries of life, an enormous crime which is perpetrated every day by men calling themselves Christians."

The piece continued their defense of Jewish Confederates by noting how Jews contributed as many men and as much money to the Confederate cause as any men from any other religious denomination. Furthermore, this article characterized Jewish soldiers as "among the bravest in our ranks" and said that while there were some Jews who might have fled the South to avoid conscription, there were also native born Confederates who did the same thing and now basked in "the coal fires of Liverpool and London."[33] While this article failed to clearly articulate the attacks against Jewish Confederates, based on this article the reader can once again infer that Jews were being charged with extortion, speculation and shirking their duty to volunteer for the Confederate Army.

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[32] *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, January 27, 1863.
[33] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "The Jews," February 6, 1864.

The charges of extortion, hoarding and not volunteering to serve in the Confederate armed forces plagued Jews who lived in Confederate Georgia and Virginia. The charges of extortion and speculation also appeared in Georgia, as evidenced by the petition of non-Jewish residents of Thomasville, Georgia. In Virginia, the *Southern Punch*, and the *Richmond Enquirer* charged Jews with speculating and hoarding at the expense of the Confederacy, while Reverend Michelbacher alluded to this accusation in his 1863 Thanksgiving Day sermon. The city of Richmond, home to the *Enquirer*, the *Southern Punch*, and Reverend Michelbacher, was ravaged by shortages during the war. The combination of economic inflation and an increase in population as a result of the influx of refugees, plus government and hospital workers, may have added to the hardships Richmond residents faced during the war. While the population of Richmond was 37, 910, according to the 1860 census, by the middle of the war the estimates are that the city's population increased to 100,000.[34] The attacks which accused Jewish residents of extortion and hoarding were a direct result of this environment.

Yet there were also those in the Confederate South, in addition to Reverend Michelbacher, that defended Jews against the charges of speculation, hoarding and avoiding conscription. Articles in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* and the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* defended Jewish Confederates against these charges. The *Daily Dispatch* discussed the bravery of Jewish soldiers in the Confederate forces and wrote how Jews did not speculate any more than their non-Jewish counterparts. The *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* declared that Jews fought on behalf of the Confederate States of America since the conflict began. While there were no articles which either attacked or defended Jewish residents in the Louisiana press, Jews in Louisiana still felt the need to publicly declare their loyalty, which illustrates Jews in this location were also probably subject to suspicion. This was evidenced by the petitions adopted by

[34] Thomas, 24, 128.

Jewish residents of Opelousas and Shreveport, Louisiana in order to repudiate the message of the New York publication, *Jewish Messenger*.

Besides the anti-Semitic attacks which occurred in such newspapers like the *Richmond Enquirer* and the *Southern Punch*, the life of Confederate statesman Judah P. Benjamin is further evidence of the hostile environment which southern Jews faced during the war. Judah P. Benjamin was born on the island of St. Croix in 1811. His parents emigrated from St. Croix to Charleston, South Carolina in 1813. At the age of fourteen, Benjamin left his parent's home in Charleston to study law at Yale University. After returning from Yale, Benjamin settled in New Orleans where he established a thriving law practice and achieved economic prosperity. He built a plantation, Bellechasse, outside New Orleans, purchased one hundred and forty slaves and became a sugar planter. In 1842, he was elected to the Louisiana state legislature and ten years later the people of Louisiana elected him as their representative to the United States Senate. Benjamin would continue to represent Louisiana in the Senate until February 4, 1861 when he resigned his seat after the secession of his home state.[35]

During the four years of the Confederacy, Benjamin had the privilege of serving in three different Confederate cabinet positions. He started out as the Attorney General, became the Secretary of War and was appointed to his third and final cabinet position, Secretary of State, on March 17, 1862. Benjamin continued to loyally support President Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy until the bitter end in 1865. As a reward for his dedication to the Confederate cause, he was forced to flee the United States, never to return. Even though Benjamin adopted the social customs of the South, married a Catholic woman, rarely, if ever, attended synagogue, and held positions of influence within the Confederate cabinet, he was still a target of anti-Semitism.

[35] Evans, 4-5, 31, 41, 110.

Someone who wrote to the *Richmond Enquirer* expressed the opinion that it was sacrilegious to have a Jew serving as Confederate Secretary of State.[36] After the fall of Roanoke Island in 1862, it appeared Confederate Representative Henry Foote agreed with this assessment. Foote proposed an amendment to the Confederate Constitution "so that no Jew will be allowed within twelve miles of the capital [of Richmond]." Part of his motivation for this new amendment was his outrage over the issue of extortion. Foote believed that if he banned all Jews from Richmond, the problem of extortion and speculation within the city limits would magically disappear.[37]

The Civil War diaries of Mary Boykin Chestnut also contained anti-Semitic comments about Benjamin. In one diary entry, Chestnut discussed how people referred to Benjamin as "Mr. Davis' pet Jew" while another entry talked about whether Davis or Benjamin wrote a presidential message. Chestnut argued Davis wrote it because the document blamed God for the Confederacy's problems. According to Chestnut, if Benjamin had written it, "the Jew would have accused Jesus Christ instead."[38] If someone who reached Benjamin's pinnacle of success still had to deal with anti-Semitism from people like Chestnut and Foote, it is obvious that less successful Jewish southerners also faced expressions of anti-Semitism in the Confederacy. However, the charges of disloyalty which plagued Jewish southerners appeared to be misplaced. The story of Secretary Benjamin is but one example. Other Jewish southerners expressed

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[36] Korn, 177.

[37] Evans, 149. Benjamin unfairly took responsibility for the fall of Roanoke Island in February 1862. Instead of admitting to the Confederate citizens and members of the Union that the Confederacy had no cannons, rifles or ammunition to send to help the men at Roanoke Island, Benjamin took it upon himself to protect the Confederacy and admit the loss was his fault.

[38] Evans, 153.

patriotic sentiments and behaved in different ways that showed their dedication to the Confederate cause.

New Orleans native Clara Solomon mentioned her support for the Confederacy in her diary. Solomon repeatedly expressed patriotic sentiments, sentiments which were similar to the patriotic sentiments expressed by non-Jewish southerners during the war. On July 3, 1861, Solomon mentioned a picnic being held in a local city park to raise money for the families of volunteer soldiers. She discussed her disappointment that it was raining outside and that she was unable to attend. Donating money to the families of Confederate soldiers was one way southerners, especially women, showed their fidelity to the cause. This was not limited to one ethnic or religious group. As noted earlier, free African American women donated their time and made financial contributions to the Free Market of New Orleans. The "Ladies of Milledgeville" established a fund to benefit soldiers wounded at the Battle of Shiloh and gave a concert at Newell Hall to raise money for soldiers' clothing.[39] On January 3, 1862, the editor of the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* noted how the women of Henrico County formed the Ladies Ridge Benevolent society to raise money for the needy families of Confederate soldiers.[40]

In April of 1862, Solomon rejoiced after receiving news of the Battle of Shiloh. Yet, she also expressed intense sorrow for the "many brave and noble sons sacrificed upon the altar of Liberty." In the end though, Solomon felt the cause deserved this kind of sacrifice. Alva Benjamin Spencer, a member of the Third Georgia Regiment, expressed his belief that soldiers who died did so for a "noble and just cause" and would be remembered as "martyrs to the cause

[39] *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, April 15, 1862, "Soldier's Concert," November 4, 1862.

[40] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, "Our ladies-their patriotic efforts," January 3, 1862.

of Liberty and Independence."[41] Louisiana native Gustave A. Breaux discussed the death of Private John Oliver Locke and stated Locke "fell as a martyr to the cause of Liberty."[42]

Even after her hometown fell to Union troops in April 1862, Solomon still hoped the day would come when she would read in the *Daily True Delta* that "our independence is acknowledged" by the Union.[43] From this statement, it is evident that Solomon no longer saw herself as a member of the United States, instead she saw herself as a member of the Confederacy. When she said she hoped "our independence" would become a reality, she aligned herself on the side of those who waged war for southern independence. Fauquier County, Virginia resident Amanda Chappelear characterized the war from the South's perspective as a "struggle for independence and peace."[44] Solomon and Chappelear, regardless of their religious affiliation both aligned themselves behind the cause of the southern Confederacy.

After the fall of New Orleans, Rabbi Gutheim, who led the congregation the Dispersed of Judah, refused to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. He willingly left his home of New Orleans for Montgomery, Alabama and remained there for the duration of the war. While in Montgomery, he delivered a prayer where he asked God to "bless the Confederacy in the just cause of the defense of our liberties and rights and independence…" He continued his prayer by placing the blame on northerners for initiating the war, which Gutheim claimed was "steeped in

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[41] Clyde G. Wiggins III, ed., *My Dear Friend: The Civil War Letters of Alva Benjamin Spencer, Third Georgia Regiment, Company C* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2007), 39.

[42] Gustave A. Breaux, February 17, 1864, Gustave A. Breaux Diaries, Manuscript Division, Tulane University.

[43] Clara Solomon, July 3, 1861, 74, May 27, 1862, 47, Clara Solomon Diary, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[44] Amanda Virginia Chappelear, April 14, 1862, Amanda Virginia Chappelear Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

ambition and revenge."[45] Using language similar to Rabbi Guthiem, Reverend Michelbacher in Virginia also described the war as a fight to protect the "rights, liberties, and freedom of this, our Confederacy…" and said the Union army wanted to "deprive us of the glorious inheritance which was left to us by the immortal fathers of this once great Republic."[46]

Other non-Jewish clergymen in the Confederacy characterized the war as a fight to defend southern rights and liberties and to achieve the South's independence. Reverend O.S. Barten in Warrenton, Virginia, the Reverend Henry Tucker in Milledgeville, Georgia, and the Reverend Stephen Elliott in Savannah, Georgia all delivered sermons during the war which depicted the war as a fight to protect the rights and liberties of southerners, and to establish the independence of the Confederate States of America. Based on the words and actions of Clara Solomon, Rabbi Gutheim, and Reverend Michelbacher, it appears Jewish southerners expressed the same sentiments about the war as their non-Jewish counterparts.

Jewish southerners in Confederate Georgia, Virginia and Louisiana showed their support for the Confederate cause by donating money and essential items and drafting public declarations of loyalty. Their actions helped sustain Confederate nationalism. The Hebrew Ladies of Shreveport donated shirts, socks and undergarments to the Shreveport Rebels. The Jewish congregations the Gates of Prayer in New Orleans, Louisiana and the House of Love in Richmond, Virginia raised money to donate to the war effort. The Jewish communities in Opelousas and Shreveport, Louisiana and Savannah, Georgia drafted petitions in 1861 which publicly declared their support for the Confederacy and the cause of southern independence. The

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[45] Bauman, 363.

[46] Reverend Michelbacher, Prayer for the Confederacy, Jewish American History Foundation, http://www.jewish-history.com/civilwar/prayer.htm.

actions, as well as the words of Jewish citizens, indicate that these individuals were as devoted to the cause of the Confederacy as much as their non-Jewish counterparts. The words of Clara Solomon, Rabbi Gutheim and Reverend Michelbacher illustrate this point. In sermons delivered in the Confederate cities of New Orleans, Louisiana and Richmond, Virginia Gutheim and Michelbacher characterized the war as a fight to defend the rights and liberties of southerners and to establish the independence of the Confederacy. Non-Jewish Confederate clergy in Confederate Georgia and Virginia described the war in exactly the same way.

Yet, Jews still felt the need to publicly declare their loyalty to the Confederacy in these petitions. This meant that during the war, Jews in the South were on the defensive. They had to defend themselves against charges their actions hindered, instead of aided, the war effort in the Confederacy. Southerners charged Jewish Confederates with the crimes of extortion, speculation, hoarding and evading conscription and there is no evidence that suggests there was a regional distinctiveness in terms of how Jews were treated in Confederate Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia.

The Thanksgiving Day sermon by Reverend Michelbacher in Richmond which defended Jews against charges of extortion, hoarding and avoiding the draft illustrates the negative environment Jews faced in the Civil War South. The 1862 petition drafted by the non-Jewish residents of Thomasville, Georgia is also indicative of the precarious situation Jews faced during the war, as are the words written about Jews by Confederate War Clerk John B. Jones. Within the pages of the *Richmond Enquirer* and the Richmond based periodical, the *Southern Punch*, Jews were attacked and charged with participating in extortion and avoiding the draft. These charges depicted Jewish southerners as profiting from the misfortune of their fellow Confederate citizens.

In spite of these virulent attacks, there were some southerners during the war who defended the actions of Jewish citizens during the war. The *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* depicted Jews as fighting on behalf of the Confederate States of America since the war began in 1861. Meanwhile, the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* also defended the contributions of Jewish soldiers on the battlefield and against the charges of speculation. There is little doubt that Jews in Confederate Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia encountered anti-Semitism during the war, yet the evidence indicates the Jewish community actively contributed to sustaining Confederate nationalism. Even though Confederates continued to view Jewish southerners as a threat for the duration of the war, the presence of Jews in the South did not undermine Confederate nationalism.

CONCLUSION

There were five themes which shaped Confederate identity and allowed southerners to create a separate identity for themselves as citizens in the Confederate States of America. The five themes of Confederate nationalism were the American Revolution, religion, slavery and white supremacy, and states' rights. Confederate citizens used the five themes of Confederate nationalism to interpret not only their actions in the Civil War, but the Civil War itself. The fact that Confederates saw their actions as a fight to protect the ideals of the American Revolution, their privileged status as the chosen people of God, the institution of slavery, and the concepts of white supremacy and states' rights, justified the war, distinguished northerners from southerners, and bonded citizens together in the Confederate States of America.

This dissertation offers evidence to support the notion that Confederate nationalism was not monolithic. Instead, an ensemble of themes emerged to form a Confederate identity distinct from the identity of those Americans who had not seceded. Previous historians, such as Paul Escott in *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism*, Drew Faust in *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, and Anne Sarah Rubin in *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy* have also argued that a number of different themes converged to create Confederate identity during the war. This study, along with the work of historians Escott, Faust, and Rubin analyzes the content or the themes of Confederate nationalism instead of the weakness or strength of nationalist ideology. And like these previous studies, this dissertation focused more on the social dimensions of the war instead of battles. While there can be no doubt the Confederacy needed to win on the battlefield to ensure the country's independence, the mindset of Confederate citizens during this war and how they saw themselves was equally as important. If the Confederacy had any chance at success, southerners

not only needed to win on the battlefield, they also needed to change the mindset of their country's citizens so that they no longer saw themselves as Americans citizens but as citizens of the Confederate States of America.

This study of Confederate nationalism is significant for a number of different reasons. This dissertation adds free African Americans back into the historical narrative of Confederate nationalism and re-examines their role in the seceded states in detail. Previous works on Confederate nationalism by historians like Paul Escott, Drew Faust, Gary Gallagher, and Anne Sarah Rubin either marginalized or completely ignored free people of color who lived in the Confederacy. The research conducted for this project demonstrated that whether some free people of color willingly supported and sustained Confederate nationalism differed by region within the Confederacy.

In addition to adding free African Americans back into the historical narrative, this study also adds the component of regional specificity to the historical debate about Confederate identity. A regional study which compares and contrasts the themes of Confederate nationalism has not been done before. This research, which focuses on three specific geographic locations, instead of all eleven states in the Confederacy, creates an in-depth and detailed picture of the structure of Confederate identity within Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia. The three states chosen for this study were selected because they each reflected the differences in topography, economic interests, and climate which characterized the distinct regions of the South. While not comprehensive, the study is suggestive of patterns in other states, as well.

Since this study has a regional focus, one may ask how representative the states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia were in regards to the themes of Confederate nationalism. In the other states which seceded from the Union, the themes of Confederate nationalism which

would have emerged in these eight locations would have most likely been very similar to the themes of Confederate identity which appeared in Louisiana and Virginia. The state of Georgia was exceptional because inhabitants here felt the need to debate whether the principle of states' rights needed to be upheld during the war or willingly sacrificed in order to establish Confederate independence. In Georgia, the governor, some state representatives, ordinary citizens on the home front, and soldiers on the field of battle debated the topic of states' rights. This study benefitted from incorporating the voices of these individuals, as well as the voices of women, who lived during the Civil War and defined themselves as loyal Confederate citizens. The diaries, letters, and personal correspondence these individuals left behind offers a glimpse, albeit a limited one, into the mindset of citizens in the Confederacy and how they internalized and/or interpreted the five themes in order to define their own status as Confederate citizens.

The American Revolution was discussed in the same context in Georgia as it was in Louisiana and Virginia. The first unifying theme of Confederate nationalism highlighted the common interests among southerners since they all fought to protect the concepts of liberty, freedom and self-government from destruction at the hands of a tyrannical northern government. These were the very principles achieved by the founding fathers after the American Revolution. And in the minds of Confederate citizens, there were a number of similarities between their goals and the goals of their revolutionary ancestors. The *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, the *Richmond Examiner*, and the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder* all contained articles which stressed how the Revolution of 1776 and the Confederate Revolution of 1861 fought for the same fundamental principles.

Examination of the American Revolution as a theme in the political culture of seceded states suggests the inherent differences which existed between American and Confederate

citizens. Confederates saw themselves as the true descendants of the revolutionaries who achieved their independence from Great Britain. Therefore, Confederates, not northerners, were the only ones who could claim this heritage. As a result, southerners appropriated revolutionary heroes like Thomas Jefferson and George Washington for the Confederate cause. Newspaper articles published in the *Lynchburg Daily Republican* and the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* connected Thomas Jefferson and George Washington to the Confederate revolution of 1861, as did songs like "The American Rebels" and "God Save the South." Music, along with sermons and Confederate textbooks, disseminated the message to the Confederate public that their revolution was intimately connected to the American Revolution.

An "Us vs. Them" dynamic which pervades study and song established Americans and Confederates as two separate and distinct entities. Confederates cast themselves in the role of the American revolutionaries while southerners equated the Union with tyrannical Great Britain. While it could be argued northerners also saw themselves as the true descendants of their revolutionary ancestors, when northerners refused to protect the constitutionally given rights of southerners and threatened to enslave the south, Confederates saw Americans as a threat to the constitutional rights colonists fought so hard to ensure. In the minds of Confederate citizens, northerners betrayed their revolutionary ancestors and could no longer claim to be the true descendants of the colonists who fought for and achieved their independence during the eighteenth century.

Religion was a second unifying theme of Confederate nationalism. The fast day proclamations decreed by President Jefferson Davis asked all members of the Confederacy, regardless of geographic location, to go to their places of worship and ask God to bless their cause. Clergymen in Confederate Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia preached fast day sermons

which declared God was on the side of the South during the war. Fast day proclamations, sermons, and newspaper articles, which combined patriotism with religion, identified the fate of the Confederacy as dependent upon receiving God's blessing for the cause.

Southern Christians saw themselves as having a special duty bestowed upon them by God. God entrusted Confederate citizens with the protection of the enslaved African American race and the institution of slavery. This not only justified the war, it also explained to southerners that their role as guardians of enslaved African Americans bonded them together in a community of like-minded individuals and made them God's chosen people, which explained why God supported the Confederacy. In addition to sermons, newspaper articles in the *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, and the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* all called upon readers to place their faith in God and look to him for a Confederate victory. Thus, it was God, not man, who would ultimately decide the fate of the Confederate nation. Again, songs like "We Conquer or Die" and "Southron's Chant of Defiance" disseminated the message to the men and women in the nation that God was on the side of the Confederacy and that He alone would decide the final outcome.

Slavery and white supremacy promoted a Confederate nationalism devoid of regional specificity. These two themes of Confederate identity replaced class with caste and defined all whites as superior to African Americans. The concept of white supremacy and its potential loss, along with the possible loss of the institution of slavery, threatened all white Confederates, not just the wealthy slave owners, the native born, or members of the religious majority. Even before the official formation of the Confederate States of America, the speeches and letters of prominent southerners attempted to use the potential loss of slavery and white supremacy to convince southern whites of the need for solidarity. Georgia Governor Joseph E. Brown's

"Address to the Poor Men of the Mountains," and the 1861 editorial "The Non-Slaveholders of the South" by James De Bow emphasized that poor whites and non-slaveholders had the most to lose if the Union succeeded and abolished the institution of slavery and established racial equality. Therefore, according to Brown and De Bow, it was imperative these two groups align themselves with slaveholders in order to ensure the perpetuity of slavery and white supremacy.

The Confederate States of America was built upon the assertion of African American inferiority and speeches given by prominent members of the Confederacy reinforced the southern belief that slavery and subordination to whites was the natural condition of African Americans. The "Cornerstone Speech" of Vice-President Alexander Stephens and the speech of Confederate Senator Benjamin Hill emphasized this assumption. Meanwhile, articles in Virginia newspapers like the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, the *Richmond Enquirer*, and the *Lynchburg Daily Republican* discussed how Union troops in occupied territory promoted racial equality in order to illustrate how the loss of white supremacy affected white Confederates in these areas.

Implicit in the third and fourth theme of Confederate nationalism was the southern belief, albeit untrue, that northerners desired to elevate African Americans, once they were all free, to the same economic, social and legal status as whites. This established an enormous difference between Northern and Confederate society since Confederates saw themselves as fighting to protect slavery, white supremacy, and racial inequality while northerners, supposedly, fought for the equality of the white and black races. Pro-secession pamphlets and speeches, along with newspapers articles published during the war, declared that the Republican Party wanted to end the institution of slavery and establish racial equality throughout the United States.

Confederate citizens in the states of Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia agreed on most of the themes of nationalism, as this study defined them, with the exception of states' rights.

Examination of the theme of states' rights reveals a Confederate regionalism because in Georgia, the discussion of states' rights took on a different form than the debate over the same issue in Virginia. In Georgia, Governor Joseph E. Brown led the crusade to protect the concept of states' rights. And as a result, he attacked the government policies of conscription and habeas corpus; policies Brown believed were unconstitutional and violated the concept of states' rights and the rights of Georgia citizens. Brown recognized states' rights as one of the Confederacy's founding principles, and felt it needed to be protected during the war at all cost. In a series of letters to President Davis which the *Richmond Enquirer* published, in speeches before the Georgia General Assembly, and in letters to local Georgia newspapers, Governor Brown vehemently protested against conscription and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by a central authority.

However, by 1864 Brown not only continued to vocally criticize conscription and habeas corpus, but he also began to publicly advocate peace overtures to the Union after each Confederate victory. It was this stance, which also had the support of Confederate Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens and his brother, Georgia Representative Linton Stephens, which drew the ire of Georgia soldiers. These men, stationed outside the state of Georgia, blasted Brown for even considering peace overtures to the Union, praised the leadership of President Jefferson Davis, and voiced their support for the policies of conscription and habeas corpus which extended the life of the Confederate nation.

In addition to the soldiers' petitions, Governor Brown's stance on conscription and habeas corpus was also attacked in the local newspapers. In 1862, no newspapers agreed with Brown on the issue of conscription but by 1864, newspaper editorials spoke out against the suspension of habeas corpus. The *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, the *Augusta Daily Chronicle*

and Sentinel, and the *Milledgeville Union* agreed with Brown's criticism of the suspension of habeas corpus. Yet the *Savannah Daily Republican* vehemently disagreed with Brown and questioned his loyalty to the Confederate cause. Based on the evidence, it appears Virginia citizens differed from some of their Georgia counterparts because they expressed a willingness in their local newspapers to temporarily sacrifice the principle of states' rights, if need be, in order to win the war and establish Confederate independence. This opinion appeared within the *Richmond Examiner* and the *Lynchburg Daily Republican*. Therefore, the dialogue about states' rights proved to be divisive in Georgia, while in Virginia, the same debate promoted unity.

The Confederate flag was the physical manifestation of the five themes of Confederate nationalism and promoted unity across regional lines. The flag, and the music the flag generated, promoted common interests among southerners and reinforced the idea that a community of like-minded individuals existed in the Confederacy. The number of music publishers in the Civil War South, along with their numerous distribution networks, ensured people in different locations throughout the Confederacy would be exposed to the patriotic ideas contained in songs about the flag. Songs like the "Bonnie Blue Flag" and "The Confederate Flag Red, White & Blue" depicted Confederate citizens as a band of brothers who fought for the common cause of liberty and who were all united under the banner of the nation's flag. Once again, newspapers like the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* and the *Savannah Daily Republican* published patriotic songs which also contributed to this image of Confederate citizens as being united around the nation's banner, regardless of geographic location. In southern towns and cities occupied by the Union, the Confederate flag took on additional meaning. In Union-occupied New Orleans, the flag became a symbol of resistance and defiance. For citizens in this occupied area, the flag also signified their continued fidelity to the Confederate cause.

Two potential challenges to Confederate nationalism were free African Americans and Jewish Confederates. Confederates would have viewed free people of color as a threat because their very existence violated the third theme of Confederate identity, slavery, and in some instances the fourth theme, white supremacy. This dissertation proves free African Americans and Jews did not undermine Confederate nationalism. In fact, some free people of color in Louisiana and Jewish southerners sustained Confederate nationalism with their actions. In Louisiana, some free people of color achieved economic prosperity and received certain privileges which were denied to their counterparts in Georgia and Virginia during this time. Free people of color in Louisiana were allowed to enter skilled professions. They could also testify against whites and in New Orleans, free people of color were not required to register their status with the state. Newspapers articles in the *Daily Delta* and *Daily Picayune*, written by whites and free people of color, emphasized the similarities between these two groups instead of the differences. Because of their privileged status in Louisiana society, some free people of color willingly showed their dedication to the Confederate cause and sustained Confederate nationalism by raising money for the New Orleans Free Market and volunteering for military service.

While some free people of color in Louisiana could best be described as "Southern Rights" African Americans, free blacks in Virginia were coerced patriots. In Virginia, while there were some free blacks who appeared to willingly support the southern war effort, state officials also relied on coercion to force free African Americans to labor on behalf of the Confederacy. Explicit and implicit forms of coercion defined the existence of free blacks in the state. Explicit coercion included notices in the newspapers about future impressments of free blacks while implicit coercion consisted of articles and government speeches which attacked the

free black population and left little doubt about the precarious position free African Americans occupied in the Confederate States of America.

As a result, free blacks may have felt there was little alternative but to support the state and Confederate war efforts in Virginia. For example, an article from the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* urged free blacks to report to City Hall to do their duty for the Confederacy or face punishment for failing to do so. Other articles which disparaged the free African American community, as well as speeches by government officials which highlighted the precarious situation of free blacks in a nation based on the institution of slavery all conspired to force some free people of color in Virginia to volunteer in ways which advanced the state and national war efforts.

In Georgia, just like in Virginia, whites distrusted the commitment of free blacks to the Confederate cause, even though a group of free blacks in Savannah volunteered their services to the state, only to have Governor Brown reject their offer. And there were examples of explicit coercion in local Georgia newspapers like the *Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* which advocated the conscription of free blacks to ensure that they would contribute to the Confederate war effort. For free blacks in Georgia, as well as in Virginia, coercion on behalf of the Confederacy was more of a reality than volunteerism. But in all three locations, southern whites had a hand in determining how free African Americans expressed their support for the Confederate war effort.

Even though Confederates also viewed Jews with distrust and continually questioned their loyalty to the Confederate cause, their situation was different from that of African Americans who lived in the south. Jewish citizens were still white and the third and fourth themes of Confederate nationalism, slavery and white supremacy, depicted Jews as guardians of

the enslaved African American race and elevated them to a position of authority over all African Americans. Yet, Jewish Confederates, regardless of location, felt the need to prove their fidelity to the war effort, either through monetary donations or petitions which declared their devotion to the Confederate States of America. Jewish congregations in New Orleans and Richmond made monetary donations to aid the families of volunteers. Petitions from Jewish communities in Opelousas, Louisiana and Savannah, Georgia reaffirmed their commitment to the Confederate States of America. Their actions left little doubt that Jewish southerners, a religious minority within the Confederacy, adopted the Confederate cause as their own.

However, as the southern economy worsened Confederate citizens in Georgia and Virginia depicted Jewish southerners as engaging in activities like extortion and draft dodging which weakened the Confederacy's chances for independence. While articles published in Richmond by the *Enquirer* attacked Jewish southerners, articles published by the *Atlanta Southern Confederacy* and the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* defended the contributions Jews made to the Confederate nation, as did petitions written by Jewish soldiers from the state of Georgia.

Even though the eleven southern states seceded and formed the Confederate States of America more than one hundred and fifty years ago, the debate still rages about what themes influenced the formation of Confederate identity in the new nation. While no one would deny the Confederate experiment officially died on April 3, 1865 when Union troops entered the southern capital of Richmond, the fact that historians continue to discuss and analyze Confederate nationalism illustrates that the 1861 southern rebellion still reverberates among people today. Perhaps there is no tribute more fitting to the ordinary men and women, like Amanda Chappelear, Ella Gertrude Thomas, Sarah Morgan, and the Cater brothers, who called the southern Confederacy their home than for historians to discuss the themes which allowed

these individuals to imagine themselves as citizens of the Confederacy, thus keeping the discussion of Confederate nationalism and the memory of the Confederate States of America alive in the twenty-first century.

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